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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

(Established 1844)

THIRD SERIES

Volume I

OCTOBER—DECEMBER,

1922



Published

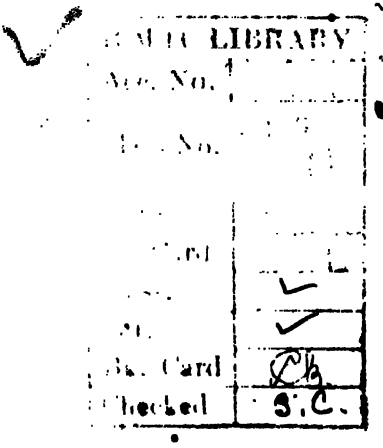
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

First Series *1844*

New Series *1913*

Third Series *1921*



Presented by
Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

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Premchand Roychand

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1921

THE SINGER

(Translated from the Original Bengali by the Author)

The crowd listens in wonder to Kashi, the young singer, whose voice, like a sword in feats of skill, dances amidst hopeless tangles, cuts them to pieces, and exults.

Among the hearers sits old Rajah Pratap in weary endurance. For his own life had been nourished and encircled by Barajlal's songs, like a happy land which a river laces with beauty. His rainy evenings and the still hours of autumn days spoke to his heart through Barajlal's voice, and his festive nights trimmed their lamps and tinkled their bells to those songs.

When Kashi stopped for rest, Pratap smilingly winked at Barajlal and spoke to him in a whisper, "Master, now let us hear music and not this new-fangled singing, which mimics frisky kittens hunting paralysed mice."

The old singer with his spotlessly white turban made a deep bow to the assembly and took his seat. His thin fingers struck the strings of his instrument, his eyes closed, and in timid hesitation his song began. The hall was large, his voice feeble, and Pratap shouted "Bravo!" with ostentation, but whispered in his ear, "Just a little louder, friend!"

The crowd was restless; some yawned, some dozed, some complained of the heat. The air of the hall hummed with many-toned inattention, and the song, like a frail boat, tossed up[illegible]t in vain till it sank under the hubbub.

Suddenly the old man, stricken at heart, forgot a passage, and his voice groped in agony, like a blind man at a fair for his lost leader. He tried to fill the gap with any strain that came. But the gap still yawned: and the tortured notes refused to serve the need, suddenly changed their tune, and broke into a sob. The master laid his head on his instrument, and in place of his forgotten music, there broke from him the first cry of life that a child brings into the world.

Pratap touched him gently on his shoulder, and said, "Come away, our meeting is elsewhere. I know, my friend, that truth is widowed without love, and beauty dwells not with the many, nor in the moment."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ON THE THRESHOLD [1]

I have found flowers at my doorsill growing,
Windflowers come when no wind is blowing,
Late and pale
Cowslips that wait for the nightingale
To leave his thorn for my eldertree,
Friendly ivy that plaits for me
About my doorposts of ivory,
Folding my foolish dreams together
Against the trouble of windy weather.

Near the door of my dreams there grows
A rose of roses—a tall red rose
With dreamy dews she is thick-beset;
A fire in bud she is folded yet.
I shall enter in
Love's untrod garden that rose to win
On a day to come when my dreams will go
Straight to the heart of that rose I know;
And the heart of the rose will beat so high
That I shall hear it,—ay! even I;
And the bud will shiver and flush and break
To a splendid rose for Love's dear sake.
Ah dreams, go swiftly! Dear rose, awake!

NORA HOPPER

[1] This unpublished poem by the talented authoress Nora Hopper who died on 14th April, 1906, has been very kindly placed at the disposal of the Calcutta University by her husband Mr. W. H. Chesson.

NATIONAL EDUCATION AN ESSENTIAL OF NATIONAL ART

The Art of a nation is the expression of the ideals of that nation through its distinctive emotional attitude towards life and its problems. In its highest manifestations it is the revelation of the Soul of the people; it is the perpetuation of their moments of Vision of the Infinite; it is the crystallisation of their efforts after Realisation of the Divine; it is their reproduction of the Archetypes.

No one denies that there is *National* Art, however much they may argue about the existence of National Geography, or National Mathematics, or even National Education. One has but to think of the Art of Japan—chiefly in colour and naturalistic, the Art of Greece—chiefly sculptural and humanistic, the Art of Egypt—architectural, geometric and allegorical, or the Art of India—ornate, religious and symbolical, to realise that countries express themselves in beauty in quite different ways which can best be described as National, and which are the resultant of local conditions of climate, materials, social customs, and the outlook of the times and the people.

In this National Art of the Hindus there are unrivalled and unequalled examples of its ancient architecture in Indian temples; of its stone sculpture in the caves of Elephanta and the rocky hillsides of Mahabalipuram; of its classic paintings in the Caves of Ajanta; of its highly developed music in the Carnatic system with melody types and a use of the material of vocal sound to an extent unthought of in the West; of its poetry and drama in Tukaram, Mirabai, and Kalidasa. All these and countless others are evidences of Indian culture of the highest degree at a time when the Western World was in its childhood. Only when Indians travel much more extensively through other countries than they do at present, will they realise the priceless treasure their country possesses in the

heritage of Beauty left to it by its Artist-lovers of old, for a true sense of relative values of those things which are well-known comes only from the sense of comparison gained by seeing similar things in many lands.

The most striking characteristics of all Indian artistic expression are an absorbing interest in religion, little attention to personality or to the fleeting appearances of Nature, and the expression of the general or type rather than of the particular or transient. In this ancient Hindu Art human portraiture was neglected, landscape and seascape were almost unknown. Imagination, not Nature or models, was the source of art; creation, not the idealisation of a work of nature, was the aim of the artist; symbolism, not accuracy of detail, was the method; and the qualities of the Divine, as presented in the lives of gods and goddesses, not the likenesses of men or nature, was the message of this art.

The predominant thought in judging Western art is, "How like it is to.....!" That concerning Eastern art is, "What a feeling of.....it evokes!" The Indian does not make God in his own image, rather he thinks that the less like man its creation is the more likely is it to resemble God.

It is necessary thus to analyse briefly the distinctive features of Indian Art in order to understand the causes that have led to the degeneration and loss of the ancient artistic power of the people, and in order to revive it and rebuild it from its still existent national foundations in the nature of the race. It is an undeniable fact that no great works of art have been produced in India for the last hundred years. With the Tagores alone has the ancient genius reasserted itself in literature and painting. Only in the memories of the people, in their home customs, and in the traditional industries does the continuity of the ancient national culture persist and by carefully nourishing these the future shall grow naturally from the seed of the past, that seed from the great tree of knowledge of the fruitful era of India's past culminating in the

13th century, the seed which fell into the earth, the hearts of the common people, and there seemingly had to die in order that it may burst again into abundant new life through their freshly awakened National Consciousness, stimulated by the atmosphere of National Education.

The desire to express emotion is the motive of art, but the actual power of expression is dependent on the training and education of the artistic talent in an atmosphere of encouragement, appreciation and affinity. Under the system of education imposed on India by the British Government these have been absolutely lacking. English educationists, starting with the idea that Indians were uncivilised heathens, and failing to understand the rationale of their art, ignored India's past in history, in institutions, in science, in art. It despised and taught its students, directly and indirectly, to despise the already existent National Culture.

One of the probable causes that led to this unworthy attitude towards Indian Art is that almost every artistic effort in India is interlinked with religion, and as the British Government had tried to make their system of education palatable to Indians by the promise of religious neutrality, it found that in the case of the Arts it was practically forced "to throwout the child with the bath," as the French say.

Indian architecture is bound up with *Shastric* directions dealing with proportionate measurements allotted to each God in the portions of the buildings over which each rules,—Hindu sculpture knows no subjects other than stories of the deities; Hindu music was dedicated to the Goddess Sarasvati and sang nought save the praises and the worship of the gods and goddesses; even the art of dancing was like Miraim's of Jewish fame—it was done before the Lord and danced before the Ark. The educationists must have plainly seen that it was impossible to encourage the continuity of the ancient culture without indirectly encouraging the people in their "heathen" religion and this a Christian government could not conscientiously do,

especially with the missionaries ready to report on the matter to those in high places at home. The easy way out of the difficulty was not to teach the Arts at all, and this was the policy actually adopted for a certain length of time until reforms in education, particularly on the artistic side, began to be pressed by the later educationists, and a break having already been effected with the old tradition, the foreign authorities proceeded not only to make Indian boys into the likenesses of English gentlemen, but even to make latent Indian artists into *English artists* !

For a time Indians themselves, thus trained, thought it "progressive" to look on the art of their own country with contempt. To the present day those who have that "little learning" which is such "a dangerous thing" build their houses after Western styles (quite unsuited to tropical conditions of climate), fill them with English or French furniture whose design and wood carving cannot for a moment compare with the excellence of the art of carved house doors in South India, for instance; regale themselves with indifferent gramophones, and when asked to play or sing immediately produce the Austrian portable harmonium and endeavour to make their voices "coincide" with its artificial tones!

These things are the result of a system of education (so-called) which poured scorn on India's past achievements and within the last twenty years imposed the artistic method and training of a foreign civilisation on a naturally refined, receptive, artistic, people cut adrift in their training from religion (their national spring of action), from their ancient traditions of art usage (the soil in which flourishes the art of each country), from the industrial and economic demand of the people for artistic, home-made productions (the practical service of the artist to his country).

Religion is inextricably interlinked with every side of life in India. There is no division into secular and religious in art, sex, customs, or commerce. This being so, the absence of

a religious atmosphere and training sapped the very foundations of Indian Art, and when an attempt was made to teach art in Government schools,—drawing, for instance,—it was on the system of the South Kensington School of Art, a system utterly opposite to that in which the artistic race-mould of India has been set. Its result is a product unworthy of either civilisation.

Indians rely on their powers of quick and minute observation, retained in the memory, made use of after interior contemplation on the subject chosen, so that its vital essence may be realised and then brought again into manifestation through the active creative impulse of the artist, which employs the knowledge of form retained in the memory and works from an interior vision, or dream, or inspiration. Indian art employs no models, no plans. South Kensington art builds its whole system of training on copying from plates and models, or direct from Nature. Hindu art is the child of Yoga: Western art is the child of Science.

By re-establishing Religion as an obligatory subject in all the schools and colleges under the control of various National Schemes of Education the first step has been taken towards the renaissance of every form of Indian art, for it brings the nation back to its own message and its own method.

With regard to another great repository of Indian culture, music, English education has had the grace, or the contempt, to leave it severely alone. No music syllabus has been arranged by it for Primary or Secondary Government schools, and as far as Universities are concerned there never was a thought that Indian music might be worthy of inclusion as a Degree subject though Western music is included in British University syllabuses as a matter of course.

As music is the language of the emotions it thus follows that the emotional side of the nature of the youth of India has been entirely neglected and undisciplined by the self-instituted educators of this country.

The introduction of music as a regular subject right through every class from Kindergarten to School Final would be a step of supreme importance for the cultural future of India. Every child has a voice and an ear, and in India almost everyone loves music. In Western countries every child is taught singing and is trained in the elements of music. Under the new conditions of Indian education with Indians as Ministers of Education, the same opportunity must soon be afforded to every Indian boy and girl to receive instruction in their own National music, and to have the refining, disciplining, uplifting effect of song on their plastic emotions interwoven with their purely intellectual studies. Young people love singing, and the character flowers best in those conditions which give it happiness, so the promoters of such Education will know that the inclusion of music in their syllabus will enrich the individual nature; unify conflicting temperaments in the harmonising influences of good music sung in unison by large classes—itself a method of instilling the principles of co-operation—give a wider national understanding and appreciation of its own music; continue the musical traditions of the race, and by recognising, encouraging and dignifying the whole profession of music make ready the way for the natural growth and development of Indian music.

For those who are specially talented in music the National University and the Hindu University have prepared a Syllabus to cover a Degree Course in Indian music—that of Bachelor of Music, of a standard equal to that of any Western University but more inclusive in that it requires from its candidates an elementary knowledge of the Western system, whereas the West ignores the presence in the world of any system but its own and gives no encouragement to the training of the voice. National Education without the inclusion of music would be a contradiction of its name, and the arrangement and publication of a graduated course of training in music from Kindergarten class to Bachelor of Music Degree examination as a

recognised constituent of National Education is, in itself, a national service. It will undoubtedly do much to restore Indian music to its former high position, when no officers of the nation, no members of the King's retinue, were more honoured than the musician.

Not only as an encourager of the Beautiful, but also as a reformer of abuses and a barrier to degenerating influences, must the National Teacher of Art stand firm. Alas, in taking into its favour a musical instrument, the harmonium, which limits its age-long power of expression, India has put herself under a more denationalising influence than that of a foreign political government. The British Government left India's music alone, but the Central Powers of Europe in the person of the Austrian harmonium are insidiously conquering India's soul. The ancient Greeks were devotees of music which at that time was almost identical with Indian music. Their greatest educationist, Plato, said,

"The introduction of a new kind of music must be shunned as imperilling the whole state; since styles of music are never disturbed without affecting the most important political institutions...Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited. When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them."

Accordingly, National educationists will encourage the practice and development of the noble Indian instruments and discourage the use of the harmonium even as a *sruti* accompaniment, as its presence offers too great a temptation to frail humanity to take a short cut to learning on accompanying instrument, but one which forces the singer to omit all the microtones which are the precious distinguishing features of Indian music, or else if these are retained accustoms the ear to disharmonious relations between sounds that ought to be absolutely coincident in pitch. Only instruments which can produce the microtones can be admitted in Indian musical

education. The encouragement of folk-music must be undertaken. The songs associated with all agricultural processes, the chanties of sailors, the dancing songs connected with various kinds of Kallattum, will be revived and taught in village schools and thus the ancient culture which is permeating the life of the people be used as the basis for a new impulse of artistic expression such as has taken place so successfully in other countries.

It is remarkable that three forces have underlain all artistic expression in India, namely, religion, beauty, and utility. The art of design, for instance, is kept alive in every household through the religious custom of invoking the goddess to the home by drawing symbols before the house-door, and these two acts are interwoven with the prosaic utility of ensuring cleanliness in the pathway to the house. The art of modelling is widespread in its elementary stages through the necessity for having clay images for certain religious festivals, and it is intimately connected with the earthenware industry. What a difference between the beauty of line and the decoration of countless brass cooking vessels in India and the iron pots of England or the kerosine tins of America !

This triangle of forces must be adhered to in the industrial revival of New India, and none except the system and curricula of the National Systems of Education give the groundwork for them, for they firstly include the religious atmosphere, then encourage a system of courses in drawing, modelling, literature, architecture and music based on the former artistic culture of the nation, and finally aim at applying all its training in science and art to the economic prosperity of the country, and seek to turn out producers of things needed by the people rather than members of the parasitic professions.

This will be accomplished largely by employing as teachers in the schools those who have traditional knowledge and experience of India's past arts and crafts. As a result there will be, in the not very distant future, well-educated Indian

architects who will design the modern Temples of Humanity, known as Courts of Justice, Council Chambers for the various autonomous Provinces, Public Halls, etc. There will be famous designers for silk and cotton weaving, for embroideries and laces and carpets as Eastern in spirit and treatment as those of old yet capable of expressing the fresh wave of life of the present. Already the painters of the younger generation are being guided to express themselves in the racial method in the Tagore School of Art in Calcutta; and even as the presence of the Muhammadans gave greater freedom to Carnatic music, without destroying the individual character so will the impulse from Western musicians create in both these divisions of Indian music the desire for further expansion rising up from within and manifesting itself along the lines of its own idiom eventually to bring forth a new Thyagaraja, poet and musician laureate of Asia.

Political events in India during the last twenty years have newly awakened her National Consciousness. With it is linked a greater sense of pride in the nation's past as regards heroism, dignity, power of self-reliance, and world-wide reputation. A larger number of unprejudiced travellers between East and West, and a greater amount of interchange of ideas has in these days produced a better standard of comparison in artistic matters with the result that India's most legitimate pride in her unsurpassed art treasures, alas chiefly of the past, has flamed up anew, and the desire to regain the ancient powers of art creation has sprung to life again in many a patriotic breast.

From National Consciousness and National Pride has issued the demand for National Education, and, as the present Government gives only denationalising education, the Society for the Promotion of National Education was started. It is significant that its President Sir Rabindranath Tagore, is an epitome of the Arts, being a poet, dramatist, musician and practical mystic.

As a result of National Education will come National Creation of character, art, crafts, sciences, industries, which are the true source of a nation's wealth, and of its high status in the Commonwealth of Nations. And its twin result will be National Commerce, the science of regulating the laws of supply and demand; of adjusting international interchange on a basis of just dealing, not of exploitation or out of necessity for market but of harmonious relationships, the truly artistic side of Commerce, not sufficiently thought about. National Education is accordingly the link between India's glorious past and its heir, the more glorious future; for it will give her that "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" which alone "lead on to sovereign power."

India is recognised as having given the gifts of religion and philosophy to the world; she also has wondrous gifts of Beauty to offer to humanity. In providing facilities for the expression of the soul of Young India through encouragement of, and pride in her traditional Arts the Society for the Promotion of National Education undertook a National service along the path of Beauty, a path as necessary as politics, or physique, or knowledge, or religion, for the qualities which are the essentials of artistic creation, *viz.*, proportion, perspective, balance, symmetry, contrast, clarity of idea, necessary for all other subjects are most accurately, directly, and demonstrably trained through Art, which Plato placed next in order of time to gymnastic (the training of the body) and before instruction in intellectual subjects.

MARGARET E. COUSINS

GANDHI AND TAGORE.

"To which God shall we offer our oblation?"[1] is the question over which the mind of the country is exercised, when it finds that its two representative leaders of thought and practice are pointing in different directions. Rabindranath Tagore ranks among the great creative geniuses of the world whose songs sway nations. No Indian political leader within living memory has been so popular as Gandhi. Search the whole world through, we cannot find two gentler souls. They speak with authority and decision that spring from undoubted conviction and are putting us to confusion by their different voices.

In all his recent utterances, which glow with the love of truth, Rabindranath urges for a closer co-operation between the East and the West. Gandhi is the leader of the non-co-operation movement. He is the sworn enemy of all that goes under the comprehensive term of western civilisation and seems to aim at a state of things when we would be free from trams and taxis, posts and telegraphs, doctors and lawyers. With him it is a delusive optimism to believe that machinery will save India. The effort of civilisation, the labour of science, and the progress of art have not added to man's happiness but have taken away something substantial from it. Gandhi pleads for the freedom of the human spirit which is now at bay, as it were, before the horrible monster of a mechanical civilisation. For Rabindranath, on the other hand, machinery does not matter so long as we have the right attitude to it. If the living centre of mind is healthy, these externals do not count. It is a false theory to assume that we are spiritual in proportion to the fewness of the material

[1] *kasmai dēvāya havishā vidhēma.*

instruments we employ. He cannot concede that we shall be more free in spirit, if we throw away our papers and pens, cut off the telephone and the telegraph and reduce ourselves as much as possible to the level of the primitive cave man. Rabindranath is the deadly enemy of outworn tradition and conceited prejudice. The caste system, in his opinion, does not help the expression of the free creative impulses of man. Gandhi is of the opposite view. Without the restrictions of caste, communal life would be endangered. Rabindranath looks upon the caste system as being responsible for the moral bankruptcy, the blatant philistinism, the cynical selfishness and the bitter class feeling of modern Indian life. But Gandhi points his finger at those who have shaken themselves free from caste and are drifting aimlessly in the eddies without any sober sense of social responsibility and concludes that the nation would be landed in a disquieting chaos, if it should give up caste altogether. The mystic poet that Rabindranath is, he pleads for the freedom of mind and spirit and calls for a reform of all institutions, social and political, which work against it. Gandhi is primarily interested in the political part of national life.

More than all, the two seem to differ in their respective attitudes to life. Rabindranath speaks of the joy of life, the freedom of spirit and the delight of existence and Gandhi takes a grim, austere attitude that life is suffering, it is a course of discipline, or a round of restraints. Rabindranath believes in the blamelessness of natural life and glorifies the artist who has the ability to love and enjoy the world. Instead of renouncing the flesh, he seems to feed, refine and adorn it. His art glorifies its beauty and its passions. He rebels against all restraint and acknowledges no authority save that of spirit. Gandhi preaches the doom of the natural world, its pomps and vanities and proclaims and practises the blessedness of poverty and chastity. It is as hard to think of Gandhi in silk robes and velvet shoes singing away the joy of life as

it is to imagine Rabindranath in rags with ashes on his face and an alms-bowl in his hand preaching the glories of poverty. They evidently embody two different ideals in their lives and teachings.

We cannot charge either with insincerity or want of patriotism; we cannot impute any motives of expediency. They are much too great for such temporising. They have the strength of soul to fight untruth and falsehood in whatever shape they clothe themselves. They possess such a deep love for their country that they hate parasitism as a carcer for India. Standing for opposed ideals, they yet declare that they derive their inspiration from the ancient wisdom of India. On second thoughts we shall see that the opposition is only apparent and by their temperamental differences they have been led to emphasise different aspects of one ideal. They differ only in the distribution of emphasis on the aspects of the ideal and not in the ideal they set forth.

On the fundamental proposition that the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul, they are agreed. They build their schemes on the sure foundation of spirit more solid than rocks. Each individual will have to realise the hidden glow within himself before he can burn with enthusiasm for the true, the good and the beautiful. To get at the deepest centre of self, we have to free ourselves from the externals. We then realise the great oneness, the experience of infinity, the triumph of the living over the dead, embodied in the great exclamations of joy of the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita "I am everything and everything is me." When all is conquered and we become alive to the reality of the one spirit, the soul bursts forth in a perfect utterance of concentrated spontaneity. In the poetry of Rabindranath, we have the expression of the abounding joy of life, which makes the common things of earth instinct with higher values. His deeply spiritual nature looks at the things of the world with the fearless gaze of an unspoiled

child, sees them as they are and feels himself to be a part of them all in a way not easily comprehensible by our sophisticated minds. It is the proud privilege of Rabindranath the artist, to speak to us in vivid image and burning phrase of the kingdom, the power and the glory that will be our share when we become the children of light. Gandhi with his vision concentrated on the actual, tells us of the wilderness of sands that we have to traverse in pain and defeat, before we can reach the spiritual heights. Rabindranath reveals to us the secrets of spiritual life and possession and Gandhi points out the inevitable suffering we have to put up with in the upward ascent. Rabindranath describes to us the life of an individual who has tamed his passions and ennobled them, while Gandhi tells us of the strife of an individual who is wrestling with his passions and trying to conquer them. They emphasise the two sides of the one truth. Gandhi says, we can be saved only by suffering and Rabindranath adds, of this suffering the end is perfection. Gandhi says that freedom consists in an independence of passions and Rabindranath adds, true independence means dependence on the Eternal. The best way to conquer passion is to replace it by a stronger and nobler one, for an empty heart is a hollow thing. Rabindranath, by his magnanimous imagination brings before our minds an entrancing view of the holy and tranquil order that hovers over the earth and tries to charm away the evil passions of the wild heart and create a lofty enthusiasm for the ideal. But Gandhi cannot rest content until the ideal becomes actual, until the consuming passion is converted into a creative energy. Being a supreme artist, Rabindranath recognises the value of beauty in the daily life of mankind and the important part it has played in the growth of the human spirit. While he allows that the simplification of the wants of life is quite good and even necessary for a poor nation, he does not admit, that it by itself means a high level of life. It is possible to be poor and brutal and ugly as much as to be

rich and vulgar and ugly. Plain living is not always high thinking and in many cases it is no thinking at all. Rabindranath and Gandhi both believe that the function of the body is to be a helpmate of the soul. A human being is essentially a thing of spirit and the body must be subdued to its spiritual function. This involves a training of the body. Neither is of opinion that a mere mortification of the natural desires is a source of spiritual good. It is true that, in this matter, Gandhi adopts an emphatic, nay exaggerated tone, which perhaps is justified by the state of the country where men are running after pleasure and comfort, ease and luxury. If we are to prepare ourselves for the spiritual struggle, if we are to make ourselves ready for unlimited self-sacrifice, we should acquire a complete detachment from material possessions and a control over bodily appetites. Only then could we empty ourselves to the uttermost and follow the path of truth even to the scaffold. Of course, this does not mean that Gandhi looks upon the innocent joys of life as pollutions of the soul. He is not a sour ascetic who asks us to roam in the wilderness clothed with leaves, nor does he worship the vulgar cult of the vermin. The common things of earth and air which never grow old and never decay are sources of spiritual joy and their appreciation is to be cultivated to a larger extent since their value is not diminished by sharing. In the spirit of all the great religions of the world, Rabindranath and Gandhi urge, that, though poor, we can be rich in spirit and sometimes wealth is a hindrance to spiritual growth but this is not to countenance the apotheosis of the dung heap, and the morbid love to wallow in beastliness.

It may be of interest to follow their views on the different aspects of Indian life, political, economic, cultural and social. It is not to our purpose here to defend or denounce their views. We shall only describe them so as to throw light on the question of the principles involved.

Gandhi, it is to be acknowledged, leads the mind of the country in the sphere of politics. Though Rabindranath is first and foremost a poet, his poetry palpitates with the life of the country. 'He cannot rest in peace, when the nation is enslaved, when millions die of hunger and when more suffer from disease and are tormented by poverty and when almost all are deprived of the life of the soul. Both believe in truth and hold that falsehood is bound to wither since it has no roots in reality. Both hold that the soul that has no weakness in it cannot be overcome. The tyrant may torture and kill the body but it gives him no purchase on the soul. If we are armed with truth and right we may go ahead shrinking from nothing. Believing that none can resist virtue for long, these leaders of modern India ask us to stick to truth and righteousness at any cost. When they convinced themselves that the Government of the country was not based on principles of justice and generosity but rested on the force of arms, they announced to the world that it was not worthy of trust. Rabindranath threw off his knighthood in a memorable letter whose words still echo in our ears. Gandhi organised a movement to kill the institution by refusing to it the food on which it thrived.

As much as possible, Gandhi wishes to avoid the infliction of suffering on others. He feels that the end may be gained by passive resistance. Patience will shame the spoiler. He will grow weary with wickedness when it meets with no resistance. The movement of non-co-operation is based on this principle. Co-operation is always conditional. We obey the laws and respect the established institutions when we feel that they work for the general good. It is this recognition that underlies the spirit of law-abidingness. To go on doing so when we feel that the Government has forfeited its trust is a real act of unkindness to the Government and disregard of the interests of the community. Non-co-operation is an attempt to induce a change of heart in the offender and the

best service one could render to brother man when he goes wrong. It cannot however be admitted that Gandhi is right in thinking that the Indian Government has really no regrets about the events of 1919 and persists in ruling India by the sword. This, after all, is not to the point in an abstract discussion of the fundamentals. If passive resistance does not bring about a change, active resistance may be resorted to. We cannot say, that on the principles of Gandhi, active resistance of the aggressor is disallowed. It is a distinction of degree whether the resistance is active or passive. It is hard to draw the line between the two. The right attitude to develop is a spirit of brotherhood and if resistance is to be offered, it should be in a spirit of humanity. This is not easy but all good things are as difficult as they are rare. We should not resist in the spirit that a man who has made me suffer must suffer too.

Rabindranath and Gandhi do not in any way encourage a hatred of the Britishers. Rabindranath denounced the western 'nation' as a mechanical organisation intended to further power and success and not peace and joy. And yet he has love and admiration for the 'peoples' of Europe. Gandhi adopts the same principle. "One may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him"; "you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation" (Second letter to the Englishman). Gandhi also hopes "that before long it would be possible for India to co-operate with England on equal terms."

Both of them recognise that in this world there is no effect without cause. They ask us to drop the lazy habit of blaming the British for everything. The Britisher did not do either good or bad, without our co-operation. The cheap theory that the hatred of the Britisher is the beginning of all virtue is denounced by them. We suffer for our sins and now is the time for repentance, expiation and mourning. The non-co-operation movement is, at any rate with its leader, a movement of

self-purification. The subjection of the country is the result of our want of character, our moral weakness, which can be removed only by self-discipline. It alone can rescue the spirit of the Indian from the obsequiousness bred by years of subjection. It is only through suffering that the nation can be saved. "No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. The mother suffers so that her child may live.....Life comes out of death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?" (Young India, "The Law of Suffering".) We must first establish Swaraj within ourselves before we can achieve Swaraj for our country.

It is impossible to overestimate the good that Gandhi has achieved, by his insistent emphasis on non-violence and truth. Everywhere in the world people who are subject to perpetual restraint of mind, censorship of the press, suspicion of the cultured, repression of free thought, tend whenever opportunity arises, to forswear all restraint and live dangerously claiming the utmost license of personal conduct. There is certainly something romantic when men are ready to bear witness to their faith by the blood of their body. We are compelled to admire those who defy all persecution and meet defeat and death with a smile in their faces. But both Rabindranath and Gandhi proclaim in decisive tones that when we resort to crime and violence there is a sudden snapping of something in the soul and we get beyond all bounds and do not shrink from any measure. We become mad with emotion and deprived of the truth of the soul and the most degrading instincts overcome us and we go about raging animals dealing out danger and discomfort, death and destruction. Our leaders affirm that the true sacrifice is sacrifice for truth. Even to the wicked, says Gandhi, let us be truthful. He asks us not to surrender ourselves to hatred. We should tame our passions, develop a love of truth, and a loathing of falsehood and acquire that elevation of spirit which is necessary for humanity and

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fellowship. Unfortunately, Gandhi makes mistakes with regard to his following. He can fight injustice with absolute calm and a clean conscience but ordinary humanity cannot fight unless the blood boils. For moral heroes, it may be possible to fight without hatred, without betraying any anger or impatience of spirit but ordinary men will have to pass through long periods of moral evolution before they can reach those heights. Gandhi's estimate of human nature should have been considerably upset by the Nankanasahib tragedy and the recent happenings in Malabar.

Gandhi has succeeded in making politics serious, spiritual and wider in range. It has no place for the empty windbags full of rant and rhetoric. Only those with courage and wisdom to face realities can take to it honourably. There is no more hitting below the belt but only a clean fight in the open. Gandhi has touched the heart of the country and the political situation has become in the true sense of the word a national concern. The vital defect is that his political programme is much too advanced for the large masses of those who call themselves his followers. It is likely that he may reconsider the situation in the light of recent events.

It is not easy to reconcile the burning of foreign cloth to which Gandhi attaches great importance, with his high spiritual ideal. It is to Gandhi, primarily an economic problem. He clearly says that the boycott of foreign cloth "is not devised as a punishment. If the Government were to-day to redress the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and consent to India attaining immediate Swaraj, the boycott movement must still continue." Nor does he think that it is sinful to soil our hands with anything made in Great Britain. "Things other than cloth which can be better made outside India, she must gratefully receive upon terms advantageous to the contracting parties." Foreign cloth symbolises to Gandhi the poverty of the masses. "The fine fabric that we

have imported from the West or the Far East has literally killed millions of our brothers and sisters and delivered thousands of our dear sisters to a life of shame." By developing a taste for cheap cloth, we have impoverished our country, and that sin we have to expiate by not only giving up our foreign cloth but by making a huge fire of what we have. These demonstrations may perhaps be thought necessary to inspire with a deep sense of Swadeshi men who have neither the will to die nor the strength to live. It also provides an opportunity for developing strength of purpose. If India can act as one mind in Swadeshi, says Gandhi, "she has learnt the secret of attaining Swaraj—the art of destruction and construction in a scientific manner." Gandhi does not think that we shall always go in Khaddar, for if we "are satisfied with coarse Khadi for a few months, India need not despair of seeing a revival of the fine rich and coloured garments of old which were once the envy and the despair of the world." The love of the poor which is a passion with Gandhi is the cause of his hatred of machinery, which to him stands for increasing poverty and class-feeling. He knows however that it is the abuse of machinery that has made mankind miserable. He allows simple contrivances like the Charka, which bear clearly the impress of the ideas behind them while he disallows those which weigh down the activities of the soul and become sources of overpowering temptation.

The question, being one of economics is to be judged by experts in that field with due regard to the force of sentiment. In India, we suffer from a peculiar mental disease. If a lawyer makes a huge pile by virtue of his legal learning, we take him to be great in every line of human activity. We get him to preside over all our meetings, religious, social, scientific, economic and political. We consider him an expert in all subjects from art to zoology. When the Britisher established his rule over India, he showed himself to be politically superior to Indians but he put on

an impertinent pose of superiority in all other directions as well and we, to our lasting shame, blindly acquiesced in that view and regarded our religion as barbaric, our philosophy as puerile, our art as grotesque and our *vīnā* as inferior to the harmonium! Even so to-day we believe that Gandhi is an authority in economics and education and social reform and what not, because he happens to be a spiritual saint. It is time to free ourselves from this mental derangement and the consequent confusion of issues. Let us not mix up things secular and sacred but decide economic questions on economic grounds and make a huge bonfire of foreign cloth, if that be the most economical use we can make of it.

In educational matters, Gandhi has adopted a surprising attitude. As a part of his programme that Indians should wash their hands clean of the British Government, he required the students to boycott the institutions aided or managed by the Government. Apparently the students were being used for a political purpose. In his eagerness to shake off the fear and the lethargy of the people, Gandhi demanded this drastic step of the boycott of educational institutions. But he overlooked the central fact that student life had its own sacred privileges which ought not to be bartered away for anything on earth. There is no meaning in calling upon young and immature minds with no capacity for judgment to sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is a noble ideal but the self which we are asked to sacrifice must be a really rich self. The offerings which we bring to the altar of our country's freedom must be costly ones and not empty and broken vessels. Of course, most men to-day feel that there is something wrong with the whole system of education. Rabindranath and Gandhi declare that it does not promote the true interests of culture or humanity. "We are provided with buildings and books and other magnificent burdens calculated to suppress our mind. The latter is treated like a library shelf densely made of wood to be loaded with leather-bound volumes of

second-hand information. It has lost its own bloom of life and borrowed polish from the carpenter's shop. All this has cost us money and also our mind : while the vacancy thus produced has been crammed with what is described in official reports as education. In fact, we have bought our spectacles at the expense of our eyesight." " What I object to is the artificial arrangement by which this foreign education tends to occupy all the space of our national mind and thus kills or hampers the great opportunity for the creation of a new thoughtpower by a new combination of truths " (Socialist Review). Gandhi revolts against exclusive worship of Western culture and its national idolatries and asks us to destroy the existing institutions before we set to build new ones. This programme gave rise to a strange idea in men's minds that Gandhi was a determined foe of Western culture. It is true that some of his statements lend colour to such an idea. But his real view of what the future of Indian education should be is not different from that of Rabindranath " that all the elements in our own culture have to be strengthened, not to resist Western culture but truly to accept and assimilate it, and use it for our food and not as our burden : to get mastery over this culture, and not to live at its outskirts as the hewers of texts and drawers of book learning." Being a great educationist, Rabindranath believes in absolute freedom of mind. Intellectual bondage is no cure for intellectual error. Truth has no particular brands. It is not a patent medicine bottled up and bearing a particular chemist's label. Gandhi knows it all but believes that we must sweep the table clean before we can start constructive work. Expert educationists rightly feel that the existing institutions could be shaped to the new purpose. Reform from within is more desirable and practicable than outright destruction. This is the opinion of Rabindranath and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee thundered the same view into people's ears some months back and thus saved the Calcutta University from what would have otherwise proved a grave crisis in its affairs.

In social matters, Rabindranath takes his stand on the sanctity of soul and the inviolability of self. He is a true man who has the courage of his convictions, who never shrinks from doing what he feels to be right, for fear of offending men. His poetic soul declares that each man is a law unto himself. He does not believe in languid virtue done without warmth. He is for generous surrender and not mechanical submission. The yoke of law is burdensome to him. The poetry of life should flow down copiously in all our activities. To love madly is better than to love wisely. However much this law of absolute freedom may be valid for the perfect man, Gandhi feels that there are dangers in applying it to the society at large. To allow undisciplined minds indulging in cheap emotions to rule themselves would be to make a madhouse of this fair earth. It is true that morality should be spontaneous and if spontaneity were all, immorality would be the highest virtue. Gandhi knows the weak side of human nature and pins us down to rules and regulations. Though Rabindranath does not glorify wildness and adventure in the name of self-expression or spontaneity, the so-called "free" minds readily misconstrue his theory into a mystical anarchism which excuses adultery when it is redeemed by love and defends vice when it is inspired by a holy passion. Gandhi as a practical reformer is afraid of the consequences of encouraging men to sweep away their environment, defy contemporaries and become laws unto themselves. While all that may be true for the perfected, the beaten track is the best for the normal. Both Rabindranath and Gandhi admit that discipline and delight, law and liberty, go together. Only Rabindranath lays more stress on the latter and Gandhi on the former. In moral life as in politics, freedom is not possible except in obedience to law. Those who cannot prescribe right laws to themselves must accept laws made by others. We should live by law living the law we live by without fear. These laws which are the curbs on the passions

of man must ultimately be taken over into an inward inspiration. Then routine relaxes and we get a sweeter life than mere legal piety.

Gandhi appreciates the Dharma of the Hindus on account of its instrumental value. It tests virtue, trains character and teaches the beauty of goodness. It is the social conscience which works for the recreation of man. Rabindranath feels that the organisation of caste is inconsistent with the truth of spirit. There is no doubt that Gandhi with his quiet strength and determined courage will be able to mend it, if he is convinced of its inconsistency with true humanism. He is however not yet of that opinion. On the question of untouchability, he feels very keenly and has therefore come down on it with great force. If we are loyal to the spirit of truth, we must look with respect on all who bear the human face divine. In the opinion of Gandhi, our treatment of the untouchables is the greatest blot on our civilisation. He does not care, if he upsets settled forms and disturbs complacent ease. The terrific words which he uttered at Nellore, where he met a set of women fallen from virtue cannot easily be forgotten. When he was told who they were, he was overcome by feelings of sorrow and sympathetic shame. He felt that honour was vital to the soul of womanhood and dishonour was a desecration of the holiness of love. What pained him most was the state of our society which could suffer such a system with conscience, the brazen hardness of men, the legality of temple ritual which knew not any mercy or justice, pity or shame. He made his hearers sensitive to a new delicacy in the law of chivalry that it is not he who does not go out of his way to tempt a woman that is virtuous but it is he who when tempted by her enables her to preserve her honour. The present writer has heard from friends that the mighty power of his personal purity roused the slumbering conscience of many hardened hearts. It is clear that if only he be convinced of the evil effects of the caste

system, he would be the first to shake its power. He cannot stand shams.

It is true that his conservatism in social matters has added to his popularity. Many of those who have not the strength to shake off routine and convention, who have abandoned the attempt in despair, who are afraid to be alive in a world that is dead, are taking shelter in the views of Gandhi. Rabindranath feels intensely that the spirit of man is being smothered by these walls of separation and cannot sympathise with Gandhi's cautious conservatism. He can only tell Gandhi that his conscience has taken the wrong side.

In Rabindranath and Gandhi we have representatives of the Greek and the Christian conceptions of life. Rabindranath reminds one of Plato. He is the philosopher-poet-mystic-educationist who abstains carefully from forcing his views on his pupils but enables them to become their own masters. He never flatters, never dogmatises but works on the head and the heart by his sweet speech and subtle humour. By the generous and noble thoughts he expresses in his gracious poetry, he touches the heart and rouses an enthusiasm for the ideal. He is the typical genius of Bengal, famous for her art and culture, lecturing at Santiniketan, like Plato in the olive grove of the Academy. Sauntering among the tall trees, pacing the colonnades, he delights his pupils with fresh springs of thought and new pastures of feeling. It is his heart's desire to establish a *Vishvabhārati* where may be gathered all the wit and genius of the day, artists, poets and philosophers. An idealist trying to live ever in the pure radiance of the spirit, "he is like one who retires under the shelter of a wall in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along."[1] Gandhi hails from the hard-headed matter-of-fact Bombay. He is a democrat of democrats and a born leader of men who is able to control all by virtue

[1] Plato, *Republic*, IV. (Jowett).

of the divine principle of love he embodies in himself. None can be blind to the beauty of the great law he lives and propounds. In him we have the ideal man of India, of unlimited patience, of transcendent virtue, who cares for nothing, wants nothing for himself, neither fortune nor fame, and yet out of the abundance of his love for humanity is devoting himself to the cause of justice and truth for his native land. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the statement of the Rev. Mr. Holmes that Gandhi is the greatest man of the world to-day. "When I think of Rolland, I think of Tolstoi. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life. He speaks his word. He suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for his kingdom on earth."[1]

C. S. R.

[1] Rev. Mr Holmes.

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

(Translated from Persian)

Love! 'Tis the heaven and hell, the joy and affliction of two fevered souls.

*

Doth heart verily speak to heart the lovers' language mute? Why, then, are my tears unanswered; why are my prayers unheard? Sweetest, dearest, said the nightingale, All is not love that blossoms, nor all hope that blooms.

*

I seek not love or loyalty, for they are fickle and false; but thus much I do seek; a moment's thought, a moment's greeting, a sweet farewell.

*

I think of thee by day, and dream of thee by night. I look for thee in solitude, and search for thee in a crowd; and yet thou art nearer unto me than my shadow, closer unto me than my breath.

*

Not ruby lips, not willowy waist—not these—kindle the flame of love; but something secret, something hidden, read but *by* and *in* lovers' eyes.

*

I bring lilies and roses to thee, for they are fairer than all that human art can fashion. I bring worship and devotion to thee, truer than aught that any mortal can boast; I bring love to thee, for that is sweeter than all else that human heart can give. Accept these offerings, and accord a glimpse of the heaven that smileth behind that jealous veil.

One turn in the garden; one loving pressure of the hand; one passionate kiss; one fond embrace. Let us snatch from Fate one, only one moment of bright, perfect joy. The stars are setting, and lo! in a trice the caravan will wend its way.

*

To me, the Lover—what is sunshine but a haunting gloom? What is the loveliness of nature but an aching desolation? What are the roses but so many bleeding hearts? What are the warblings of the nightingale but muffled lamentations? All is vain and hollow, dull and dreary, where *thou* art not.

*

Each day bringeth its burden, each joy its pain. But pain and burden notwithstanding—let us love while we may.

*

Greetings to thee, my unattained Love, Greetings to thee! The Lode-star of my thoughts wert thou, through countless changes of seasons; my goddess of idolatry through the ringing aisles of Time. And now that thou art wholly beyond attainment, shall I cover thy memory with laurel-wreaths, or build thee a sepulchre in my heart? No fading, perishable gift will be thine; but thine will be a place in my heart, a sacred, hallowed shrine.

*

Wilt thou not lift the veil and disclose thy radiant vision? Wilt thou not say a word and ease the sorrow of my stricken soul? Wilt thou withhold the realisation of my fondest wish, my most cherished dream?

*

Fling, fling cares away; bring forth the cup! Come, Beloved, come! for the sun of life is westering; come ere it declineth, and the great Night broodeth over all.

I call thee—wilt thou not hearken to Love's voice? I recount Love's pain to thee—wilt thou not allay it? Wilt thou not hear and heal? Wilt thou not comfort and cheer a love-sick soul?

*

The nightingale in the bower, the moth round the flame! Lo, there, in life, what the poets have conceived in dream—Love's unquenchable ardour, Love's intense self-sacrificing fanaticism.

*

Death laughs at us while we are dazed, stunned, bereft! Fates mock at us while we lie helpless—their prey! In this encircling wreckage, ruin; let thy love, at least, be one unfailing beacon, one sustaining strength divine.

*

Heart! that sacred home which lovers' secrets enshrineth! Heart! that Temple Divine which our holiest treasures entombeth! Heart! that holy chain which linketh man to God! Heart, suffering heart! How glorious art thou, and yet so red with wounds!

*

We value not those whom we possess. We grieve for them when they are gone. We long, when longing eyes bring them not. We repent, when repentance is of no avail.

*

I rose at the first streak of dawn. I enjoyed nature's soft, virginal caress, I heard the joyous carolling of the birds: but for me its message was this: Brief is life, brittle is joy, sure is death, and nothing else is sure.

*

Nothing weighs more heavily in life, sighed the lover, nothing weighs more heavily than separation; for doth it not set two loving, yearning hearts on thorns, and make this mute earth a hell?

Nothing can comfort, assuage, or heal the wound which loving love inflicts; nothing can soften, allay, or cure the pain which blighted hope begets. Let joy be a prayer, and so let sorrow be.

*

The secrets of fate neither I may read nor thou. They are a mystery which none born of woman can solve. Behind the veil our destiny is fixed, unalterably fixed, and that destiny we must needs fulfil. When the veil at last lifts, lo! dust and ashes am I, and so art thou.

*

Union of heart and heart, flawless friendship, unfailing love! Vain thought! On this little raft of mortality, sailing unto eternities, of fellow-travellers we see myriads, of trusty confidants none.

*

To whom buildest thou these towering temples and frowning mosques? To whom prayest thou with folded hands and bended knees? To whom offerest thou this curling incense, this streaming blood? Thou holdest back thy gifts from those that need; thou showerest them on Him that needeth not.

*

Let foolish fears cease; let idle cares go. Enjoy the shining hour; for many, many a hope setteth with the setting sun.

*

At dawn the nightingale thus besought the red, moon-washed rose: put thy glory aside, for full many a rose like thee, in this garden, has had its brief, fleeting day.

*

Youthful Love! how fair, how self-contained it is! No calculations blur its golden dreams: no flaw mars its comely countenance: no forebodings of evil ruffle its sweet placidity. Detached from the world, it stands ineffably self-centred, mightily self-reliant, defiantly alone: but soon, too soon, alas! comes Life's rude awakening, the horrid, disillusioning sway of Reality.

*

The mind museth over things that have been, over things that are: the heart swelleth and the tears flow.

*

I floated on the Tide of Time—whither I knew not. Around me, restless, rose and fell the Waters of Uncertainty. Bound my barque for an unknown shore. I had heart-breaks, achings, fears; peace I had none. And so is Life, for such as give not an undivided love to Thee!

*

There are times—moments worth riches untold—when youth revives, and the world puts forth for us a vernal freshness. What can have recalled the glorious past? what evoked our sunny spring-tide? 'Tis the memory of some half-forgotten sighs; some joyous tears; some faded dreams.

*

What can I render—what homage or offering—with halting tongue and trembling heart of mine—when the whole creation sings thy praise, and in thy love rejoices? And yet, that which flows from the heart—spontaneous, unbidden—is not that a gift, worthy even of Thee?

*

Shall I seek pleasure? alas! pleasures pall; shall I seek riches? they bring no joy; shall I seek wisdom?

wisdom sheddeth no light. Where is peace, O Heaven? where sweet content?

*

A glance, a word, a smile, a kiss—any one of these may capture, conquer, crush the heart.

*

Would I expose my wounds, or voice my sorrows? No, surely not. My wounds are wounds dealt by friendly hands; my sorrows are sorrows born of idle fears.

*

Tears! ye relieve the suffering heart, ye wash the bleeding wounds, ye sanctify earthly love, ye bless the dearest joys, and uphold us in the hour of sorest trial. Truest of friends, sweetest of comforters! ye are, for man, what none else is for him; in power peerless, in compassion God-like.

*

There is no picking and choosing here, no shaping or altering the course. We bring with us our own chart, and according thereto we steer our barque.

*

Fret! Fret for whom? Fret for what? why fret at all, since fretting brings no fruit? No tears will change; no prayers will alter, that which is to be. For what is writ, is writ.

*

I take things as they come, without undue rejoicing, without complaint. Love, hatred, weal and woe—naught elateth, naught depresseth me. Like ripples on the water; like breezes in the air, they come—the vicissitudes of life—and they go!

Pitilessly do the eyes reveal what the lips so jealously guard—love's secrets sweet, love's anguish divine.

*

Restore our youth, O God, restore our youth! *That* ours—any one is welcome to thy garlands, thy laurels, even thy crowns.

*

Here once was thy abode, Love's ineffable home! But now, how changed!—a desolate, dismal waste! Pause awhile, O unheeding Time, Pause awhile and let me mourn and weep: for sore distress is mine.

*

These wakeful eyes—Ah, how they have watched! This suffering heart—Ah, how it hath bled! And all in vain!

*

Recallest thou the promises that youth held out to thee? Barren of fruit, false, mocking; whither are they flown? How vivid, how heart-breaking, the contrast between those golden dreams of the Past, and the lurid, sickening realities of the Present—with that Loved-One gone!

*

I have loved and sighed. I have suffered and endured. I doubted how I would fare, and fear seized me through and through. Yet I have borne it all; only, dearest, ask not how?

*

Raven tresses, snowy neck, red lips, and soft, caressing eyes! Not one of these, Beloved, not one would I exchange for all the hoarded wealth of Kaiqobād or Kaikhūsrū.

Let us sit together, Beloved, though it were for a moment; let us sit together, and gather visionary flowers in the Field of Time; let us weave them, and wear them, and press them closer to our heart; for the rolling Tide of Death, soon, full too soon, alas, effaces and engulfs us all!

*

Enough of griefs! Drown them in the sparkling cup! Let me clasp thee to my bosom, and hold thee locked in fond embrace! Griefs will come, and griefs will go—let us quaff the Nectar of Life, while the chalice is in our hands!

*

On this stage where thou and I alternately watch and play. Here, strange, stirring scenes we see. Here, the unresting tide of Life glideth on before our eyes, sweeping away things profane and things divine. Here, honour is but a name; love a mere rollicking pastime; religion a hypocritical farce. We love the play until the bandage falls from our eyes, and then we discern that all is sound and fury, tinsel, counterfeit—mirage!

*

One by one our powers fail us; one by one our kinsmen, even our friends, forsake us! Everything here below seems shifting, changing, vanishing! Nothing remains the same. Nothing endures! Ah, what a kaleidoscope is life! Truly hath the poet sung: "Like water we come, like wind we go!"

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

WILL EXCHANGE EVER RISE TO TWO SHILLINGS GOLD?

Will exchange ever rise to 2*s.* gold? How is it that the Government attempt to raise and stabilise the exchange-rate fails to-day, although a similar attempt was successful in 1898? These have been for sometime the common inquiries of the educated public to the students of Economic Science. An answer to these questions is attempted below.

Up till 1893, as silver was freely coined into rupees at the Indian mints and there was no restriction on the movements of silver, in the very same way as gold was freely coined in London at the fixed rate of 4·25 sovereigns for 1 oz. of gold with no restriction on its movements, the value of the rupee in sovereigns depended on the world-ratio of exchange between gold and silver. Consequently our exchange fluctuated along with the world-fluctuations of this ratio.

Since 1873 owing to Germany's demonetisation of silver and other causes, there was a continuous increase in the demand for gold and a corresponding decrease in the demand for silver; this naturally led to a continuous fall in our exchange.

In order to check this instability which was detrimental alike to Indian trade and commerce as well as to Government finance, the following remedy was applied. Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver and fresh coinage was suspended. (We may note here that the rupee fell in the meantime from about 2s. in 1873 to 1*s.* 3*d.* in 1892.) Now this measure meant that the rupee which was so long linked with silver was unlinked from it and given an artificial monopoly value, dependent solely on its limited supply together with the demand for it, and absolutely independent of its silver content. The value of the rupee,

however, fell to 1*s.* 1*d.* in 1894 but steadily began to increase thereafter until it was stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.*

Now evidently it is necessary for us to see (*i*) why the value of the rupee fell and (*ii*) how it could rise thereafter, while the price of the silver was still continuously falling and (*iii*) how it could be stabilised at 1*s.* 4*d.*

As to (*i*) and (*ii*) we must remember that the government measures made the rupee independent of its silver content and hence the rise and fall of the rupee had no connection with the price of silver. And further fall of the rupee means that the Government attempt to give it an artificially higher value failed; but why? It is because the supply of the rupees, *i.e.*, the total circulating currency, was evidently greater at the time than there was demand for it at the price-level then existing. It is well-known that an artificially higher price can be given to a commodity by a monopolist only when he can restrict its supply, so that the marginal demand price of its restricted supply is greater than the ruling price of its existing supply in the market. So it is clear that mere fixation of the existing supply cannot raise its value, it can only check its fall, provided the demand conditions remain the same: it is not merely fixation of the existing supply, no mere postponement of its further addition but restriction and curtailment of its existing supply is what is essentially necessary for raising its value. So the falling off of the value of the rupee means that its demand must have fallen off most probably owing to a change in the volume of trade. Its later recovery means that the demand for money must have increased with the growing prosperity of Indian trade, until it gradually rose to 1*s.* 4*d.*

The stabilisation of the rupee at 1*s.* 4*d.* means that its further appreciation in value was put a stop to. While there is a continual increase in demand owing to a growing trade, it can easily be met by fresh coinage or addition of currency. But could the Government check its fall, had the

volume of trade continued to contract just as it did from 1892 to 1894? Evidently, it could not do so by those measures alone.

This analysis would help us to form a correct estimation of the Government measures that were undertaken last year in the so-called pursuance of the recommendations of the Babington Smith Committee and also to explain their failure. This Committee, it is to be remembered, was appointed in May, 1919, to solve the difficulties that had been troubling the Indian exchange and currency for some time, the most important items of which were two in number:

(1) depreciation of sterling in terms of gold, which made it impossible for the rupee to retain a fixed value with both; and

(2) rise in the price of silver to unprecedented heights, which necessitated a continual adjustment of exchange with a view to protect the rupee from going to the melting pot.

The report of the Committee was published early in February 1920, and with them an announcement by the Secretary of State in which it was decided to link the rupee to gold instead of sovereign and to fix and stabilise its value at 2*s.* gold (11·3 grains of gold).

The actual course of the market rate of exchange from the 5th February, 1920, when the Secretary of State began to sell Reverse Councils at the rate of 2*s.* gold, until to-day is well-known.

The first thing that attracts one's attention in this connection is the Government's futile attempt to link the rupee to 11·3 grains of gold, as recommended by the Committee. This failure has been very disastrous in its effect, for it ended in huge losses to India, in heavy deficits of the Government finance. It is, of course, very easy to criticise a measure after it has failed and it is not our business here so much to criticise the Government for its failure as to correctly read the underlying causes thereof.

On the 31st of January, 1920, as Sir James Wilson points out in an article in the "Asiatic Review" of January last, the value of the rupee in India was 6·7 grains gold and the value of its silver content was 7 grains. At first sight it seems incredible indeed that in face of this fact Government would undertake on the 5th February, to sell Reverse Councils at the rate of 11·3 grains gold. In other words, Government undertook to sell 11·3 grains of gold per rupee while the market-rate was 6·7 only. Certainly no sane man can ever imagine to bring down the price of gold in this way. But there is another side of the shield: it may be that the Government in this way intended to restrict the rupee-supply and thus to enhance its value artificially in gold. Even in this latter case the Government had no justification to sell Reverse Councils at that rate, while its demand was persistently strong even at a rate considerably lower.

On closer study the Government measure may not be found, however, to be as foolish as it at first sight appears. We are, of course, entitled to argue that the recommendations of the B. S. Committee to fix the rupee at 11·3 grains gold was based upon the hypothesis that (*i*) silver would continue to command a very high price for at least some time to come and (*ii*) that India's trade-balance would continue to be favourable to her, and consequently the Government cannot be justified in adopting this recommendation *in toto*, if at the time of its adoption the facts were not in consonance with these hypotheses or ran contrary to them. Well, the latter hypothesis was certainly falsified by facts, for, from January, 1920, onwards, the demand for sterling remittance set in (*vide* Currency Report, 1919-20, p. 8). But if this can be condoned, Government's adoption of the value of the rupee at 11·3 grains gold on the 5th February would appear to be neither foolish nor rash. For we find the average price of bar silver in New York was highest in the month of January, 1920, when it was $132\frac{13}{16}$ cents, say 133 cents per ounce. This shows that

the price in gold of 165 grains of silver (the silver-content of a rupee) was 11·47 grains, *i.e.*, it was above 11·3 grains gold. Now the cent price of bar silver which makes a rupee content correspond to 11·3 grains gold=130·98 cents, say, 131 cents. And this calculation shows that for three months, from December, 1919 to February, 1920, the average price of silver was higher than this though at other times it was considerably lower. So, early in February, 1920, at the time of the adoption of this recommendation the Government had a sufficient show of justification to adopt it.

Wherein then lay the mistake of the Government? First, it lay in their decision to sell Reverse Councils at all; secondly, in blindly fixing the rate without paying any heed to Indian market conditions. The Government ought to have ascertained *first* as to whether this demand for Reverse Councils was temporary or not. But the Government mistook this adverse balance to be a temporary phenomenon and inasmuch as the mercantile community did also share this view, the Government may be excused for this. The second mistake of the Government cannot however be so lightly passed over. True it is that the New York price of silver in December, 1919, and in January, 1920, does give to the Government an apparent show of justification: but this does not bear scrutiny. For, import of silver was restricted before the 5th February and there were prohibitions on its export. So the silver market in India was an isolated and closed one. Though the average price of silver in New York rose to so high a level in January that a rupee content equalled 11·47 grains gold, yet on the 31st of January it was worth in India only 7 grains gold. Was it a wonder then that the demand for Reverse Councils was so strong and persistent? What fool is there who would not like to purchase 11·3 grains gold with only 7 grains, or more correctly with 6·7 grains for this was the gold equivalent of a rupee, although its silver content was worth as much as 7 grains?

Thirdly, Government ought to have foreseen that exchange could not have been raised to 11·3 grs. gold, unless it was in a position to do either of these two things: (*i*) to undertake to sell Reverse Councils to an unlimited extent; (*ii*) to reduce the then existing supply of rupees by about one half so as to enhance its price from 6·7 to 11·3 grains gold. The first course was obviously impossible and the adoption of the second was fraught with many difficulties. But it must be remembered that these were the only courses that could lead to success. To put the rupee at its newer value, one must either lower the price of gold or enhance the purchasing power of the rupee. So the Government ought not to have set their hands at all unless they had courage enough or had thought it wise enough to restrict the rupee supply to the full extent the measure demanded.

But subsequent events show that the Government did make no attempt to restrict the rupee supply, for they did not allow the deflation of the currency caused by the sale of the Reverse Councils to enhance the purchasing power of the rupee and went on adding to the currency as lavishly as before. This policy of the Government must be denounced as inconsistent with their avowed policy of enhancing the value of the rupee to 11·3 grains gold. If the latter course was known to them as impracticable, they had no right to squander crores of rupees in an experiment doomed to failure. This is inexcusable. But the truth seems to be that the financial experts of the India Government had no clear notion of the relation of the volume of currency to its purchasing power. They had pinned their faith wholly on the trade balance theory and imagined that a favourable trade balance would enable the Government to make the 2*s.* gold rate effective (*vide* para. 4 of the Government of India's Reply, dated the 16th November, 1920, to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce).

A more fatal mistake in the currency notion of the Government cannot be imagined. If the finance gods at

Simla obstinately stick to this mistaken theory of theirs, some more crores of rupees would be wasted away in another unsuccessful attempt at the time of India's favourable balance. It is necessary to realise that no amount of favourable balance would ever enhance the value of the rupee without curtailment of its supply, nor, in fact, it can. What a favourable balance can do is this: it can stabilise an exchange rate, when this rate has been fixed in consonance with the purchasing power of the rupee. But it can never enhance this rate.

Some of our readers might imagine that if in 1898 it was possible to fix the rate of exchange at a higher level, why should it not be so now? A little careful attention to the analysis of the causes that led to the stability of exchange in 1898 would explain this apparent anomaly. It is to be remembered that the volume of currency that is necessary to finance the trade at a given price level depends upon the volume of that trade. So if the volume of trade expands with no change in the price-level, it would create a demand for additional currency. Now if this demand for currency be fully met, the existing price-level would remain undisturbed; but if this demand be not satisfied, it would make money 'tight' and price-level would gradually fall, *i.e.*, the value of the rupee would rise. This was exactly what happened in 1894-98. Stoppage of further addition to currency together with the growing volume of Indian trade led to the enhanced value of the rupee. Why then a similar measure would not succeed now? First, because the range of difference between the current and the proposed value now is much greater, being from 6 grains of gold to 11·3. And secondly, because political and economic unrest throughout the country would not allow the Government to reverse the policy to which it had committed itself, *viz.*, the policy of diluted currencies and inflated prices.

So it is clear now that the ascribing of failure (to make 2*s.* gold rate effective) to India's unfavourable trade balance is

wholly wrong. Even with a favourable balance our exchange position would not have been appreciably better.

Now we have answered the second question, *viz.*, the reason of the failure of the Government measure for raising and stabilising exchange at 2*s.* gold; and incidentally also the first. Let us, however, be more explicit. As to whether the rate would ever rise to 2*s.* gold, it is evident from our previous analysis that *the par of exchange always does and always must mainly correspond with the purchasing-power of the rupee.* A little reflection would show that the trade-balance theory does only explain the fluctuations of the rate from the par (within the range of the specie-points) and not the determination of this par itself. So it is clear that exchange can never rise unless the value of the rupee rises.

Now the value of the rupee, as we have already indicated, can be enhanced either (*i*) by the contraction of currency or (*ii*) by refusing to meet its further demand that improved trade-conditions may subsequently occasion. The first course as we have seen, the Government did not pursue last year, although the time was most opportune for it, probably because it was not found expedient in their opinion. If they did not find it expedient then, certainly it will not be found expedient now. Public expenditure, both civil and military, is running with an amazing acceleration; any retrenchment there seems unthinkable. The labourers and wage-earners are fighting hard to exact higher rates of remuneration; they are enforcing their terms successfully, wherever their services are difficult to dispense with. Struggles are going on everywhere for the adjustment of incomes to a newer level of prices. This increased level of prices, in short, has come to stay and any appreciable contraction of currency is therefore impracticable and contraction to such huge an extent as a two-shillings-gold rupee would require is simply unimaginable.

The adoption of the second course may indeed succeed in raising the value of the rupee to some extent, but its

enhancement to the extent of 2*s.* gold is extremely improbable; and when we remember that this always involves a very slow and tedious process, its probability recedes almost to the vanishing point. So we see our exchange is never likely to rise to 2*s.* gold.

We have brought our inquiry to a close. But the readers may, very naturally, ask, "we do not care so much for a high exchange as for a stable exchange; can our exchange be made stable and if so, at what rate and when?"

In our opinion an attempt should be made to stabilise the exchange at 1*s.* 4*d.* gold, as soon as the balance of indebtedness shows itself unmistakably in our favour. Any rate higher than this is not likely to be effective in the near future and hence should not be attempted. And this should not be done before the balance of indebtedness permanently returns in our favour, as it soon should. Stability will be impossible to maintain if this balance continues to be persistently unfavourable. So the Government should wait till then. It was wise on the part of the Government not to yield to the clamour for re-introducing the sale of Reverse Councils; any further sale would have meant further disaster. The Government as well as the public should both remember that the exchange rate would in the main always correspond to the purchasing power of the rupee. It is too rigid and too mechanical a law to yield to any consideration. Any attempt to ignore it must fail.

There is reason to believe that it will be possible to raise the present value of the rupee to 1*s.* 4*d.* gold; if not at once, then by stages, *viz.*, *first*, by linking it with sterling and *then* along with the recovery of sterling with gold. And if the Government condescends to link our rupee *first* to 1*s.* 4*d.* sterling and immediately declares its intention to do so, the time may not be far distant when stability would be in sight. An announcement like this is likely to restore confidence in the rupee and this in its turn will very likely improve our export trade.

The Government coffers still hold a considerable quantity of gold, the nominal value of which is much below its real market price, due to the reckoning of the rupee at 11·3 grains gold. This altered value of the rupee would at once free a considerable portion of this metal, and if this be utilised to cancel as much as possible, of the 33 crores of (*vide* para. 34 of the Budget Statement for 1921-22) unbacked notes that the Government of India printed last year (and thus inflated the currency), the stability of our exchange at this rate will be fairly assured. But definite steps to give practical effect to this rate must not be undertaken by the Government, as we have repeatedly said, until the balance returns in our favour.

PRAFULLACHANDRA GHOSH

THE SNAKE CHARMER'S DAUGHTER

On the banks of a river whose waters run sluggish and muddy, twenty miles from the nearest town—twenty miles from anywhere—a collection of mud huts stood huddled together. The huts were not a bit nice—that is to say, they were not of the newest nor driest. Neither did their inhabitants look any too prosperous. The largest of the huts was rented by old Chunee Lal who scraped new skins—and his brother. It was not pleasant work, but steady. In the smallest hut lived Hera and her old grandfather, the snake-charmer. A snake-charmer's earnings are more than a little precarious, and the two often went hungry. Hera could handle the snakes quite as well as old Ram, and so accompanied him from village to village. One other went with them curled up in the waist-cloth Hera tucked tightly around her—and that was Bela. Flat-headed, with small glittering eyes, Bela measured the unprofessional length of six inches, and as Ram pointed out was quite useless in the matter of impressing an audience. He had been exactly three inches when Hera found him curled on a stone—asleep in the sun. And from the moment he curled as contentedly around her finger she claimed him hers. He was the only plaything moreover she possessed, for fifteen is the age of womanhood in the East, and Ram had already heard whispers of marriage from two directions. Hera remained oblivious, however, to either of the two suitors, Rai Dass, whom she regarded with tolerant amusement, for was he not as old, if not older than, Ram himself? And Khaitan, whom all feared for his strength and who was never sober. But Khaitan had money and to Ram, who remembered only a life of struggling starvation, money was as a god. So he favoured Khaitan's suit and chid the girl for avoiding one who could so easily provide all the comforts of life. Hera's

thoughts, however, centred elsewhere. Elsewhere to where the river broadened widely and a fisherman cast his nets at dawn of each day. He was a light-hearted fisherman too, who sang at his work and lived in a hut perched high on the banks of the river. One never-to-be-forgotten day the waters had swirled a struggling object past the bamboo raft which supported him and his nets. So Bhim saved a life and formed a friendship which grew deeper with the passing months. While in Hera's eyes the two-roomed hut sheltered the bravest man she had ever known—for had he not rescued her at the risk of his own life?

When the yellow marigold flowers bloomed in their profusion around the little stone temple, Ram received Bhim's offers of marriage—with indifference. Bhim was but a fisherman. So the weeks passed uneventfully except that the weather grew ever more sultry than was its wont. There were whispers of rainless days to come. For days the sun blazed in an unclouded sky. When the drought fell, those who could, had long made their preparations for what was to happen. In the hut of Chunee Lal the three-inch wick floating in its small oil-filled reservoir burned all night while the two brothers scraped the last skins clean—for money was needed to buy grain before it rose in price beyond the reach of all. Gafoor who owned sundry small plots of land had already collected and sold the miserable little white *brinjals* which he knew full well would never grow to a purple largeness. The crop of small brown potatoes was hastily dug and sold too. All worked except Ram. *He* sold the few remaining silver ornaments he still possessed and bought his grain of the very coarsest. Yet was the quantity small for two. From village to village Ram tramped playing the weird high notes of the serpent-dance. But none were there to listen and the coppers remained girded around the lean brown bodies. Even the women laboured in the fields whilst children worked industriously mixing and piling up the dung cakes for future firing.

A wood fire would soon be a luxury unobtainable. After three weeks of blazing heat the last green thing disappeared. For three weeks longer Ram's store of food held out. When a week later the river shrank to a rivulet, Bhim hung up his nets and left for the nearest town. Ram might have gone too had it not grown too late, for of the serpents two were dead and two escaped—he half suspected Hera had in mercy let them go to seek their food how they could—but said naught. The girl had already started roaming in company with the other village children the strips of jungle land in the hope of finding the wild guava, banana, or jack-fruit which might by luck be growing there. With her went the cherished Bela, hid in the folds of her bodice, invisible except for eyes and wicked flat head. Once a day Hera provided him a meal of some sort—and she, who would take naught from others for herself, milked the goats when none were near that he might have a draught of his favourite drink.

It was when Hera found the first dead paddy-bird lying with its claws upturned to the sky, when she and Ram had starved for two nights and a day, that Khaitan urged his desire of a speedy marriage. Perchance he had waited for this very time. Perchance he knew the girl hated him—he whom all the village hated. Anyway, Ram said naught, but Hera watching the old grandfather, wept and agreed. Bhim was away, none knew where—and those who went from the village seldom returned. So preparations for the marriage feast were set in motion, and Khaitan's loud blustering voice could be heard daily issuing from Ram's hovel. More than once already had Khaitan laid rough hands on the village children—but none dared say a word, for was he not landlord and owner of the holes they lived in? His manner towards the girl changed too, and he grew ever more rough and bullying as the days passed. Once did he even tear from her grasp the playmate Bela and fling him on the ground vowing he should die—which he would have done, had not Hera's quick fingers

effected a timely rescue. But ever after Bela's eyes shot points of fire and his hiss was sharply perceptible whenever Khaitan's loud voice sounded in the near vicinity. Ram laughed at the tiny thing's rage. "Lo! he is too small to have poison in him," he would declare. Two days before the wedding Khaitan worked himself into a tipsy fury. At the door of the date-leaf hut wherein the toddy sellers resided, he sang songs and uttered oaths which caused the older women of the village to shake their heads and regard the young bride-to-be with compassion. It was well for Ram that the river ran a rivulet—and the deepest tank for miles around looked a puddle—else Hera might have stilled her fears and shudders in the waters which were not. But no tragedy happened—and the wedding took place at the end of the second day. Throughout the night the bridegroom, hopelessly intoxicated, snored the hours away, while Hera dry-eyed, sat huddled in a corner, awaiting the dawning day and whatever it might bring forth.

The first rays of the rising sun brought with it gladness and grief. It was Bhim's voice calling her name which roused her from her state of stupefied misery. Out in the sunlight she listened to his tale; away beyond in the big town there was good work waiting and he had returned, alas, too late to take her back there with him. Just how too late he was, Khaitan (now brought to consciousness by the babble of tongues) told him with curses and threats. Hera would return to town, or anywhere, with *him* in the future. The sight of Bhim may perchance have infuriated Khaitan, for, rushing into the hut, he vowed the girl should return to his home immediately. "For thy rags and tatters are ready enough," he shouted, flinging out the miserable little bundles which lay heaped in a corner. An earthen vessel still containing a small quantity of the night's toddy caught his eye. Raising it to his lips, he drained it dry—the crash with which it shattered to bits as it touched the ground prevented the gathered

on-lookers from hearing a faint peculiar rumble away to the East. Ram raised his voice in faint protest that the girl be not borne away so rudely—but was thrust aside with a foul word. At her husband's rough command Hera, terrified, lifted her possessions one by one, but as she did so—the sound of a sharp hiss fell on the ears of Khaitan. It was Bela. A look of redoubled fury leaped into the man's eyes. With a savage growl, before the horrified villagers, Khaitan's hand shot forth to the red bodice where Bela lay curled. There was a sound of tearing and a cry from the girl. Bhim raised a brawny fist—but stopped short. Six inches of enraged swaying muscle and sinew had reared itself on Hera's neck. The small eyes glittered evil and the wicked flat head stiffened and struck—once, twice, three times. There was a gasp from the collected group, this was better than a snake-dance. Khaitan's hand with three red dots sank to his side nerveless. Twenty minutes later his nerveless body slid to the ground in a heap. Twenty more, and Razak, the headman of the village who had seen many die, covered the face of what an hour ago had once been Khaitan's.

And now it was over—a tragedy was no longer in progress to obscure the senses of the many present. The low rumblings away to the East made themselves persistently heard to the joyful listeners. Delighted eyes watched the big black cloud which had so long been unobserved spread itself quickly across the horizon. And Bhim watching the tears which fell from a glad girl's eyes, marked them full in company with the first drops of long prayed-for rain.

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

AUGUST STRINDBERG[1]

[1849-1912]

If we are to think of a keynote to the character of Strindberg as a great literary force of his age and country we feel inclined to say that in a very real sense Strindberg stands before us as a solitary personality detached from the world around him by his extraordinary originality and independence, his abhorrence of sham and his combative spirit. His whole life from start to finish was an uninterrupted series of struggles—of conflict with the members of his own family, with his Professors at the University, with the conservative section of his community, with the general run of the reading public and lastly with the critics who were so slow to recognise his merits.

His rebellious temper and the disconcerting novelty and boldness of his ideas and views kept him in a state of severe isolation from his contemporaries whose unsympathetic attitude embittered his life, accentuated his self-assertive individualism and almost morbidly developed in him an over-critical temper.

He also became pessimistic and cynical for a time under the stress of his arduous conflict with the existing order.

The influence of materialistic science the study of which he pursued with keen zest made him decidedly sceptical.

But later in life the meaning of life's struggles and vicissitudes gradually became clear in the vision of a higher stage to which the activities of earthly existence appeared to be preparatory and he found peace and repose for his troubled soul in a mystic faith.

[1] Based on Edwin Björkman's English Translation of Strindberg's Plays in 3 volumes (Duckworth & Co.).

We are told in his "Creditors" that "suffering purifies, sorrow ennobles" and in his "Dream Play" that "in order to free themselves from the earth-matter, the offspring of Brahma seek privation and suffering. There you have suffering as a liberator."

A fitting close to such a career was the happy life of a recluse, retired from the busy haunts of men in a solitary but tranquil home enlivened by regular visits from his children (always dear to the heart of Strindberg[1]) and sweetened by his intense love of music and flowers.[2]

It is a noteworthy fact that the poor tradesman's family in which August Strindberg was born cared little for social restrictions. The seed was thus sown in the future dramatist very early in life of a revolt against class distinctions based on inequality of social status more or less artificial. The years of his childhood were again years of stern struggle with pecuniary difficulties on the one hand and on the other with the people around him, from whom he usually stood aloof having little in common with them—a struggle calculated to rouse later in life the latent combative energy of an indomitable spirit.

Small wonder that in his teens young Strindberg became noted for his extreme sensitiveness to unjust outside interference or external pressure and also for his intense hatred of and revolt against every form of injustice and wrong. In "The Link" (1877), Sc. vii, one of the jurors, Alexander Ekland, says "A case like this, where one not only innocent, but offended against, has to take the punishment, while the thief has his so-called honour restored, may easily bring about that people grow less forbearing toward their fellow-men." In the next scene the farmer Alexandersson (fined for slander)

[1] *Cf.* "There Are Crimes and Crimes" (1899) Act II, i. Maurice to Henriette—"Astarte, now you demand the sacrifice of women" (*i.e.*, of Jeanne). "You shall have them, but if you ask for innocent children, too, then I'll send you packing." Plays. Second Series, p. 35.

[2] *Cf.* "The Dream Play" (1902).

bursts out in indignation—"Who'd believe it, that justice means honour for the thief and a flogging for him that's robbed! Damn it!" The realistic description of the labourers' lot in his "Dream Play" (1902)—poor sufferers who are doubly punished, once in being born poor and again through the consequences of their poverty—brings home to us Strindberg's keen sense of injustice.

In "The Dream Play" (1902) we also come across a more pronounced bit of autobiographical hint in the Officer's complaint that "that one wrong" (unjust punishment undergone by him) "gave a false twist to my whole life." So deep was the impression made upon Strindberg's imagination by this sense of injustice and unjust punishment that the topic recurs in several of his plays. In "Pariah" (1889) Mr. Y (sentenced to hard labour on a charge of forgery) remonstrates bitterly with Mr. X (who killed a man unintentionally and got off scot-free) thus:—"You have suffered a misfortune which might have brought you two years of hard labour. You have completely escaped the disgrace of being punished. And here you see before you a man—who has also suffered a misfortune—the victim of an unconscious impulse—and who has had to stand two years of hard labour for it."

The Poet in "The Dream Play" says that "I will tell that justice is not always done"—and challenges the Daughter to say if it is justice to rejoice over the return of Lena's sister from the city where she went astray but never recognise the merit of one whose health and beauty have vanished in the fulfilment of domestic duties and who is "sent to prayer-meetings to be reproached for not being perfect."

Injustice in a more acute form oppresses the poor coal-heavers—"the foundations of society"—who must "sweat as in hell so that the black coals may be had" for the kitchen stove, parlour grate, factory furnace and street lighting yet they are the people who "work the hardest, get least food; and the rich, who do nothing, get most." With

exquisite humour the author next introduces into this awful scene—"on the shores of the Mediterranean"—a gentleman who "must take a walk" to whet his appetite so that he "can eat something for dinner."

His early experiences and struggles sharpened in him a naturally keen inquisitive and questioning spirit. He remarks in the Author's Preface to "Miss Julia" (1888) "I find the joy of life in its violent and cruel struggles, and my pleasure lies in knowing something and learning something." He began to probe mercilessly and deeply into problems of individual and social life with a bold sceptical mind leaning towards pessimism and cynicism till for a time he grew reserved and self-centred. Like the Daughter of Indra in his "Dream Play" he "wanted to study men and life and see whether things were really as bad as they say." The craving to know became at this time an insatiable passion and to this may be traced the dominant note of intellectualism in several of his plays, such as, "Pariah" (1889), which has been rightly characterised as a stage presentation of an intellectual "wrestling match" in which Mr. Y is practically subjected to a searching analysis and dissection by Mr. X. "Simoom" (1888) in which Guimard falls a victim to Biskra, the Arab girl, who employs mental suggestion as a means of revenge, and "The Stronger" (1890) with its "quivering mental conflict" used as a force for transforming the destinies of men.

We stand amazed at the sight of the way in which Strindberg relentlessly employs in his naturalistic plays his extraordinary powers of keen and unerring observation. He displays the accuracy of his results in his "Pariah" in the Sherlock Holmes style of detection by Mr. X of Mr. Y's guilt. To quote the language of his superman, Gustav, (in "Creditors"), we verily watch him "dissecting a human soul and laying out its various parts on the table."[1]

[1] Plays: Second Series, p. 207

While on this point, we may turn for a moment to plays in which Strindberg's pessimism or cynicism finds an unmistakable expression.

In "The Link" (1897 ?), Sc. iii, we have an instance of extreme cynical humour in the Lawyer's advice to the incriminated servant girl as to how she must fasten by means of a legal technicality a charge for slander on her own master whom she has robbed. The witnesses are advised to save their conscience by taking the precaution of swearing by keeping only "their fingers on the Bible"! Yet there is an elaborate service conducted by the Pastor as a prelude to this mockery of administration of justice. In the 4th Scene the Pastor's excuse is that one gets used to such things "after having tended souls for 40 years"! Besides, his belief is that "all men lie"—some even from "sheer kindliness." In the 8th Scene the Lawyer condemns the baffled master as a downright fool because he loses the suit by adhering to truth! In the 13th Scene when the young inexperienced Judge's strong sense of duty troubles his soul that "the laws appear to him a couple of centuries behind his ideas of right" and in despair he proposes to give up his profession, the Pastor consoles his troubled spirit with the cynical counsel that a few years of service will make it easy for him "to crush human fates like egg-shells."

The "Dream Play" (1902) is also full of pessimistic notes. The Prologue tells us that the speech of the human race "sounds as if it has no happy ring"—"for even their mother tongue is named complaint." In the opening scene the Officer observes, "Every joy that life brings has to be paid for with twice its measure of sorrow." In the same key the Mother complains, "Oh this life! If you do anything nice, there is always somebody who finds it nasty. If you act kindly to one, it hurts another"—a sentiment echoed by the Officer too who cries, "Oh Lord! what a fuss there is as soon as anybody wants to do anything new or great" and the

Lawyer finishes off with "my dreams are of nothing but crimes"—"it is misery to be man!" Last but not least is the suggestion that this world is crazy—"it is a bedlam" where "justice becomes the undoing of men and equity often turns into iniquity." The refrain of the whole play is practically this that "men are to be pitied." Foulstrand is delineated with hideous realism. Strindberg seems to carry here his cynicism to excess and even his Fairhaven proves to be disappointing on a closer view as there is "not one happy person in that paradise" and the Husband wishes to die when his joy is full because "at the heart of happiness grows the seed of disaster." With bitter irony the Lawyer says to the Daughter "Once a liberator appeared and he was nailed to the cross by all the right-minded."

Not to multiply instances, we shall next make only a bare reference to "The Burned Lot" (1907) in which the Stranger lays bare with relentless realistic touches life as it is, especially in his conversation with the Student and in his answer to the query of Mrs. Walström "if he ever thought it pleasant to live" (Sc. ii) and to "The Dance of Death" (1901) in which Captain Edgar's philosophy of life consists in the belief that all life is horrible and that "as long as the (human) mechanism holds together the thing to do is to kick and fight with hands and feet, until there is nothing left" and when the end comes "a wheelbarrow of dust has to be spread on the garden beds," that's all.

The next important factor in Strindberg's growth is the death of his mother when he was only thirteen, an event which gave a new turn to his serious mind and he henceforth began to brood on religious questions which kept a firm hold on him up to 1867-68 and shaped his later life.

While at the Upsala University he was strongly influenced by Darwinism, then a new force, though it was afterwards condemned by him as "veterinary philosophy and animal science." In his middle life he continued to be a scientific

devotee of truth for truth's sake somewhat after the style of Huxley and in matters social and political his earlier views were noted for an over-developed individualism partly based on the Revolutionary abstract ideal of man's inalienable primary rights so common at one time with the followers of Payne, Godwin and even J. S. Mill. A distinct leaning towards materialism was the outcome of the scientific bent given to his genius by his studies and interests in life about this time.

Literary Career: First Phase
[1870-1885]

At the age of twenty-five Strindberg became drawn to literature while yet making tentative efforts to find his life's mission. His preoccupation with social problems now proved a decisive factor in his life. His first novel (written æt. 30) in which he describes this period of tentative literary activities is remarkable equally for social criticism. For a time Swedish events and adventures and the Swedish people made a strong appeal to his imagination and he made himself conspicuous by his frank analysis of the prevailing social and political conditions of his country laid bare with deep insight and fearless candour.

At this time virtually his dramatic career may be said to begin though the turning point of his artistic career is marked by a volume of short stories on modern conditions of marriage and married life and the relation of the sexes written about 1884. This was the year when his mental condition began to show signs of assuming an alarming turn. His interest in the burning social topic of the day indicates the gradual growth in him of a decided critical attitude towards the woman problem destined afterwards (from 1886 to 1894) to develop into a definite hostility to Feminists and the Feminine movement.

We may just refer here to "The Link" (1897) "The Creditors (1890)," "The Stronger" (1890), "There are Crimes and Crimes" (1899) and "The Dance of Death" (1901).

His anti-feminine attitude is largely responsible for the unfavourable light in which womanhood is represented in Tekla's character. It is also indicated by the account of her life given by Miss Julia to Jean and in the character of Gerda, the divorced wife of the Master. Henriette too, who sacrifices Adolphe without a qualm and holds Maurice fast with something of a weird Satanic power in the toils of her Cleopatra-like charms, fares no better at his hands.

The Second Phase: Period of Naturalistic Plays [1886-1894]

His bold and free utterances on sex morality involved him in 1884 in a criminal prosecution which, though it ended in his acquittal, embittered his soul already sorely tried by his strained relation with his first wife and his conflict with the Feminists who as disciples of Ibsen and Björnson were fighting hard to remove what they sincerely considered as irrational sex disabilities resulting from conventional social inequality. The Ibsenites revolted against the iniquitous social injustice of harsh judgments pronounced on even feminine escapades in accordance with a stern moral code established by the stronger sex and relentlessly applied to women alone; while a preferential treatment was accorded to male delinquents in matters of greater heinousness or graver import. This "double code" of accepted ethics was an eyesore to the Feminists. Strindberg's became by 1886 a pronounced attitude of hostility to the Feminist movement and he was now fast moving towards a social outlook of his own.

His attitude towards the sex problem is well illustrated in many of his plays from "Miss Julia" (1888) to "The Thunderstorm" (1907).

This period marked also a distinct change in his views regarding the masses. Under the growing influence of the modern scientific spirit of Germany ending in the deification of rampant individualism, his idealistic visions about the common people gave place to the new Nietzschean idea of the need for supermen. His artistic method underwent a corresponding change and he exchanged his early romantic and idealistic art for naturalism and realism. This naturalistic phase continued vigorously up to 1896-97 and it includes 8 One-Act plays besides the highly autobiographical naturalistic tragedy of "The Link" belonging to the year (1897) of renewed literary activity after his mental crisis and representing dramatically the unhappy dissolution of his marriage (in 1891).

The intense bitterness with which Strindberg views this tragedy of the breaking of the conjugal tie comes out clearly in the Lawyer's speech in the "Dream Play" in which he says that he can stand a murder case in court but knows nothing worse than "to separate married people" for "then it is as if something cries treason against the primal force, against the source of all good, against love—"

Themes and Treatment

Sex-duel for supremacy occasionally resulting in the exploitation of man by woman—as of Adolph by Tekla in "Creditors" whom Gustav pities for having felt "the hypnotising power of skirts"—forms the theme of several experimental plays belonging to this prolific period of his dramatic creations (1886-1894) and a weird gloom pervades the plot of some of these pieces.

"Miss Julia" (1888), for instance, represents in a highly dramatic fashion a double conflict of complicated action in which the struggle between the sexes is set off with that of the growing power of superficial feminine elegance and

refinement in a really decadent social order against a solid substratum of manly vitality in the old social order which has successfully stood the test of time. The biological superiority of the male sex is vigorously maintained in the typical supremacy of the valet Jean which is explained by the general observation in the Author's Preface that "sexually he (man) is the aristocrat because of his male strength, his more finely developed senses and his capacity for taking the initiative." Similarly in "Creditors" the superman Gustav is made to assert to Tekla—"for the woman, you know, is the man's child, and if she is not, he becomes hers, and then the world turns topsy-turvy"; and once again (later on in the play) turning to the defeated Tekla, on whose moves depend the plan of Gustav the chess-player in this game, he triumphantly adds—"And why you were doomed to be fooled? Because I am stronger than you, and wiser also."

To return to "Miss Julia" with reference to the question of class distinctions. The idle notion that the barrier of birth stands insuperable between, say masters and servants, receives a rude shock in this modern "school for scandal" when these masters are made to suddenly discover that silently the moral effect of an unavoidable close contact between two artificially demarcated strata of social life is to diminish the social gulf conventionally supposed to keep the two classes for ever wide apart. The crux of the whole matter is aptly indicated by the valet Jean that "perhaps, at bottom there isn't quite so much difference as they think between one kind of people and another."

The unsuspected influences of the talk of the great ones on those held to be inferiors who never miss an opportunity of closely watching their so-called superiors—who see, hear, observe, note and exercise their natural intelligence in forming judgments on everything associated with the upper classes, and who reflect, criticise and draw conclusions from an uninterrupted succession of daily experiences—are sure to produce a social reaction both

useful and hurtful to all concerned. No rank or status, however exalted, can entirely free the great people from the infirmity of pettiness or worse exhibition of weakness and shortcomings displayed through want of self-control in unguarded moments when the *basal* human nature even in highly civilised man comes to the surface and inspite of artificially set up barriers between class and class makes the whole world kin. This intensifies in the lower classes a sense of wrong and injustice leading to a revolt against restraints and disabilities imposed on them by an effete social organisation. The unwarranted assumption of superiority by a class not essentially superior in intellect or moral fibre makes them chafe, fret and become rebellious. This process of *detection*, ever at work in society below the surface veneer of polish, refinement, aristocratic restraint and reserve, nobility of birth, is shown with relentless realism. In another play "The Link" in two scenes (sc. ii and sc. ix) the author has once more shown the nature of such a compact between the Baron and the Baroness as well as the inevitable sequence thereof in the social organism.

It is in the light of a critical attitude towards society and social problems indicated above that the inner significance and right value of such plays as "Miss Julia," pre-eminently socialistic, must be gathered. Miss Julia reveals in the history of her own life her mother's character—the relation of her parents with each other, the mother's plot against her own husband in the love intrigue she carried on with a rich brick-manufacturer, and her hatred of the male sex which led the daughter to suspect and hate men and promise never to be "a man's slave."

In "The Link" (1897)—especially sc. xvi—the effete elements are represented by the upper classes while the lower stratum of society is made to stand for what is vigorous and vitalising in life. We shall only refer to the hideous mutual recriminations into which the married pair in high life break out inspite of a previous resolution to the contrary.

The Baron and the Baroness, anxious to avoid social scandal, mutually agree to separate for one year keeping the cause a secret with them out of tender solicitude for their child—"our love that has taken flesh, the memory of our beautiful hours, the *link* that unites our souls, the common meeting ground" (sc. x). This is highly autobiographical, we may note in passing. The same note is struck repeatedly, as, for example, in the "Dream Play" where the Mother says that the thought of her children "has been my life and my reason for living—my joy and my sorrow" and also in "The Thunderstorm" (sc. i). To the presiding judge a divorce suit in which "two persons who have loved try to ruin each other" seems simply horrible—"it is like being in a slaughter-house." The parties to the suit object too late to the jury's decision when the child too is proposed to be placed under two guardians. They are in a dilemma—. "It is hard to part! And impossible to live together." Strindberg's own verdict and his feeling in the matter could not be more clearly and strongly embodied.

This powerful play on sex duel ends in a pessimistic tragic note when the Baroness finally refuses to seek shelter with her mother in her crushing misfortune. She will rather go into the woods "to scream against God who has put this infernal love into the world as a torment for human creatures" and at night into the Pastor's barn "to sleep near her child"! The demand for woman's equal rights with man is referred to by the Sheriff and the Constable in the opening scene and in sc. x, the Baron says to his wife, "my error caused you to respect me. Whether it was the male or the criminal you admired most, I don't know!"

Strindberg seems to condemn a "civil marriage"—a marriage contract without a wedding ceremony resorted to in order to "steal a march on the social body and its laws." The result—"all went to pieces," and husband and wife compelled to wink at each other's infidelity for the sake of the child. But how long can the husband bear to introduce "his friend's

mistress as his wife" for the sake of appearances? The inevitable "separation" with its scandal followed. The Baron concludes (sc. xvi)—"Do you know against whom we have been fighting? You call him God, but I call him nature." This remark is very significant with regard to the author's naturalistic bent at that time.

This scientific bent of his mind created in him a living interest in a number of problems—psychological and sociological—some of which have been treated in a highly interesting manner in his dramatic works.

Strindberg's plays dwell or touch on a large variety of topics ranging from heredity and determinism, the play of the sub-conscious, mental suggestion, criminal impulse, individual responsibility, sex-duel, the marriage problem and post-marital relation to psychical experiences, mysticism and the idea of superman. Anything like a comprehensive treatment of all these aspects is out of the question here. We shall only refer to a few important items.

In "The Link" (sc. xvi) the Baroness, when blamed by her husband for the unfortunate termination of the "separation"-suit as regards the fate of their son, vehemently says in self-defence—"But did I make myself? Did I put evil tendencies, hatred and wild passions into myself! No!"

"The Burned Lot" (1907), which is partly a study in criminology, contains a character, the Stranger, whose idea is that life however shaped is full of "connections and repetitions." He avers (sc. i)—"I have met with occurrences that seemed to me absolutely inevitable, or pre-destined." Gustav (in "Creditors") holds (what Tekla calls) the enlightened idea that "whatever happens must happen"—"whatever happens is to a certain extent necessary."

Strindberg's appears to be a modified Ibsenite doctrine of heredity according to which deeds are done under the influence of a tendency in a person's nature more or less pre-determined by ancestral character.

In "Pariah" (1889) the play of the subconscious is dramatically utilised. Mr. Y explains in detail how involuntary errors (or crimes) seem to commit themselves without being *willed* for which one should not be held responsible. He considers himself the victim of an "unconscious impulse" and describes the mechanical process that led him to forge a signature showing how he unconsciously learned to reproduce the signature "automatically." Mr. X too puts forth a similar plea in extenuation of his own misdeed which he did not report being unwilling "to spoil both his own life and that of his parents for the sake of an abstract principle of justice." This Mr. X, like Gustav, is a bit of a superman who illustrates Strindberg's intellectualism. According to him "the most dangerous of human groups is that of the stupid." He remains unconvinced when Mr. Y tries to seek refuge for his crime in "an outside influence," say "mental suggestion," as the cause of his criminal act, and drives Mr. Y to the next alternative, *viz.*, "could it possibly be my primitive self which pushed to the front while my consciousness was asleep—together with the criminal will of that self, and its inability to calculate the results of an action?"[1] Poe's theory of mental suggestion is used in the "Simoom" (1888?), as we have already noted, and also in "Creditors" where the latent tendencies in Adolph are called forth by its help. There is also a passing reference in "Pariah" to Bernheim's work on mental suggestion.

In his "Creditors," which in a way is a "thesis-play," Strindberg deals with the question of moral responsibility with reference to the Pagan idea of Fate or the Christian doctrine of Providence. According to the author, Fate or Providence, heredity and environment which tend to reduce individual responsibility leave, however, only a "narrow margin unprotected" within which area individual liability operates and where men are accountable though guiltless

[1] Plays. Second Series, p. 256.

—"guiltless in regard to one who is no more accountable to oneself and one's fellow beings."

"The Naturalist has," Strindberg observes in the Author's Preface to "Miss Julia," "wiped out the idea of guilt, but he cannot wipe out the results of an action--punishment, prison, or fear."

Tekla in her self-defence refers to Gustav's theory of "all our actions being determined in advance" adding that she was "driven by her nature and the circumstances into acting as she did." So also Adolphe (in "There are Crimes and Crimes")—"My dear Jeanne, no matter how much harm that woman may have done you, she did nothing with evil intention—in fact, she had no intention whatever—but just followed the promptings of her nature."

Gustav rejects, we see in "Creditors," the very idea of "making it up" for past wrongs and with intelligent generosity accounts for Tekla's past deeds as due to what he will not even call a "fault"—"it is a trait—just a trait, which is rendered disadvantageous by its results."

Similarly, the Stranger (in "The Burned Lot" sc. i.) remarks—"I have beheld life from every quarter, from every standpoint, from above and from below, and always it has seemed to me like a scene staged for my benefit. And in that way I have at last become reconciled to a part of the past, and I have come to excuse not only my own but also other people's *so-called faults*." (Italics our own.) "The innate or acquired sense of honour" inherited by the upper classes, for instance, is such a "*trait*" that has "become disadvantageous to the preservation of the race." Thus it proves the undoing of Miss Julia who frantically appeals to Jean for help "Do me this last favour—save my honour."

In Act III, sc. ii, of "There are Crimes and Crimes" the long conversation between Adolphe and Henriette deals with strange psychical phenomena—the imaginations of murder not actually committed considered as a form of mental

disease, "the power of the evil will to kill" in some mystic way, loss of will power in a man "depolarised" by accumulated hatred of those whom he had offended by his tyrannical sway.

When called upon to repent for her admitted faults—"malice, arrogance, cruelty"—Henriette sharply repudiates all responsibility by the answer that "they are like the dirt left behind by things handled during the day and washed off at night."

In Act IV, sc. i, occurs an allusion to thought-reading as a means of detection of criminal intentions. Maurice and Henriette in their conversation are full of suggestions about the "will to believe." The whole of Act IV. sc. ii, is quite an interesting psychological study.

Emile (Jeanne's brother) just refers to the problem of socially unequal marriages with their unhappy consequences. Marriage and married life practically form the theme of "The Dance of Death" (1901). The demoniac strife between man and wife, their vulgar mutual recriminations and struggle for mastery, described with ugly and grotesque details, present life in its elemental vigour and energy and naked savagery. Intellect clashes with intellect with great force and feelings collide with one another with brutal fury. On the top of all these conflicts there is the strange spectacle of an uncanny attachment for each other not worthy of the name of love. Captain Edgar and his wife Alice act like half-tamed wild animals put in a cage—ever ready to fly at each other's throat and tear each other to pieces, growling and snarling fiercely whenever an occasion arises but the next moment licking each other in quite a friendly fashion with evident signs of peaceableness, if not of affectionateness. They observe for the sake of their offspring a kind of marital armed neutrality. Curt observes in disgust to the Captain "What is happening in this house?.....The place is so filled with hatred that one can hardly breathe.' They combine brutal frankness in mutual

accusation with calculated conspiracy to work the adversary's ruin. The husband keeps the wife as his slave and the wife openly shows a despicable eagerness for his death. They absolutely hate each other, quietly torment each other, have no confidence and little love, yet pretences are carefully kept up. He complains of her devilish temper and she confesses that "her husband is a stranger to her even after 25 years of marriage and she knows nothing at all about that man." Here we have got sex-duel with a vengeance. Curt inveighs against marriage having "seen one marriage at close quarters" (meaning his own) which was dreadful—but Alice's experience is worse. With stoic resignation he advises her not to apportion blame but to accept the fact as a trial to be borne. This is an autobiographical touch. In Alice's case even the children instead of being "the uniting link became the seed of dissension—what is held the blessing of the home turned in to a curse." Well might she exclaim—"Well, I believe, that we belong to a cursed race!"

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE THREE RINGS

[PARAPHRASED FROM LESSING'S *NATHAN DER WEISE*]

[Nathan, the wise Jew of Jerusalem, is invited by Sultan Saladin and is asked which of the three religions followed in the Sultan's realms—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—is the true faith. By way of answer Nathan narrates the famous story of the Three Rings.]

Nathan.

In bygone years in East there lived a man,
Who had a wondrous ring of priceless worth;
He always wore it on his hand. The gem—
An opal—sparkled with a hundred hues.
It had the magic power to make the man,
Who wore it with a humble trustful heart,
Belov'd of God and trusted of mankind.
What wonder, then, that this wise sage of yore
Ne'er took it off? What wonder, too, he wished
This ring, from son to son successively,
As priceless heirloom in his line preserved?
And thus he set about it. When he died,
He left his most beloved son the ring,
And bade him that he also, in his turn,
Should give the ring to him he thought the best
Among his sons,—the worthiest of all
Without regard to age. The secret charm
The ring possessed would surely make him best
And worthiest of all his family,
And also head and chief. You understand,
Sultan?

Saladin.

O yes, I do. On with thy tale.

Nathan.

Descended thus from father unto son,
One happy man possessed this magic ring,

Himself the best-lov'd of his father, but
Himself the father of three loving sons,—
Three sons, each one of whom he dearly loved,
As well, indeed, each one deserved to be.
So nicely balanced was the scale of love;
The father knew not whom to give the ring.
Now one, now next, and now the third he deem'd
Most worthy wearer of the magic ring
So secretly he promised each in turn,
As best of three, the ring. Thus matters stood.
It always pained the father, that he must,
Before he died, disown two worthy sons,
Who had believed his words, and whom he held
As dear as his own life. What did he do?
A crafty artist secretly he called,
And ordered him to fashion two new rings,—
Exact replicas of the old,—nor spare
Expense nor pains to make them as alike
The genuine, as far as art permit.
And when the artist brought him these three rings.
The old man ever could not tell the ring,
Which served as model. With his mind at rest
He called each son (the others knowing nought).
And gave to each one ring; and, blessing all
Three equally, he died.—Sultan, you hear?

Sultan.

I do, I do; but haste thee now to end
This wondrous tale of rings.

Nathan.

I've almost done;
What must have followed, you can guess yourself.
Scarce was the father dead, when each son came
With his own ring;—for each one wished to be
The best-belov'd of all. Their utmost skill
To know the true from false availed them not—

All three were so alike.—E'en so it were
An effort vain to judge which faith is best.

Saladin.

Have faiths to thee no higher worth than rings?

Nathan.

Your pardon, Sire! Which of the rings was true
I venture not to judge. The father got
Them made on purpose so that no one could
Distinguish them,—that none might dominate.

Saladin.

But rings!—Nathan, play not with me!—I thought
Rings might be made by man, but God-given faiths
Differ quite sharply as regards the dress,
The food, the drink, and many things besides.

Nathan.

But in their fundamentals surely not,
For rests not each upon the ONE GREAT TRUTH,—
The ANCIENT WISDOM—taught by Prophets old
To their Disciples? These in turn did teach
A newer generation; thus doth Truth
Expand throughout the world. Should we this Truth
Not hold with humble faith? Is not that right?
And which the faith that should attract us most?
Which faith to doubt the least?—None but our own:
None but the faith our fathers long have held,
The faith of those who from our infant days
Shower'd upon us blessings, care and love,
Nor e'er deceived us. Why should I deny
My fathers more than thou? Thou follow'st thine;
Then I, too, should be free to follow mine.
Could'st thou give lie unto thine ancestors,
Disclaim them, that in this way thou may'st prove
My fathers right? Or should I seek to prove
That thine, or of these Nazarenes were right?

Saladin (aside).

By God and Holy Prophet! He is right.
I stand amazed.

Nathan.

Return we to the rings.
As I have said, the sons disputed long:
Each swore he had the ring—the one, true ring—
Received with blessings from the father's hands.
The father loved them all so equally,
He could not favour one above the rest.
Rather than that such father play'd him false,
Each thought his brothers false, guilty of schemes
And plots against himself: but each one wish'd
To sift the true from false; and so agreed
To put their case before a judge.

Saladin.

And how
Decided he? I long to hear the end.
Come, speak, I listen.

Nathan.

Thus did speak the judge:
"I hear the true ring has the power to make
"The wearer loved by God and all mankind.
"That must decide. The owners of the two
"False rings can never gain the love of men,
"Nor please their God. Which brother of you three
"Is by the others best-belov'd?—Why stand
"Ye silent? Speak! Are not the others dear
"As his own self to him that owns the ring?
"Jealous are ye and proud, and each one loves
"And thinks himself the best;—all three deceived
"Deceivers are. None of the rings is true.
"The true ring has been lost; and, to conceal
"This loss, your father got three new ones made."

Saladin.

Bravo ! Bravo !

Nathan.

The good judge further said :
"Thus I advise : leave we the matter here
"As now it stands. Each from the father got
"One ring, an heirloom ;—therefore, let each one
"Believe *his* to be true. The father was
"Unwilling that but one be thought the best,
"For he did love you all, and equal loved ;
"He would not see one raised above the rest.
"Therefore, let each rejoice in his own heart
"As having won the father's dearest love :
"Let each one try to be the best-belov'd,
"And prove the charm residing in his ring.
"Let this be proved through patience, deep resolve,
"And faith firm-fix'd, and acts of righteousness,
"And confidence in God's e'er present grace.
"And when your children's children fail to see,
"Years hence, the inward greatness of these rings,
"Let them come once again to this great hall.
"Then shall preside a wiser, greater Judge
"Upon this seat. Now, go !" Thus spake the judge.—

Saladin.

God ! God !

Nathan.

Sultan ! If thou believ'st thou art
That promised judge.—

Saladin.

I ! Dust ! I ! Nobody !
Oh God !

Nathan.

Why thus, Sultan ?

Saladin.

Nathan ! Nathan !
The great wise Judge, who knows the true from false,
Is yet unborn ; His time is yet to be,
His judgment seat cannot be mine. Depart
In peace, and henceforth be my trusted friend.

POST-GRADUATE

A PLEA FOR AN ALL-INDIA COLLEGE OF CO-OPERATION AND FOR UNIVERSITY CHAIRS OF CO-OPERATION

"The Co-operative Education Programme for the Congress year, 1915-1916" defines the objects of co-operative education as "the formation of co operative character and opinions by teaching the history, theory and principles of the movement, with Economics, and Industrial and Constitutional History in so far as they have a bearing on Co-operation and, secondarily, though not necessarily of less import, the training of men and women to take part in industrial and social reforms and civic life generally."

With a view to attain the above objects of co-operative education a Co-operative College has been established at Holyoake House, Manchester. The College is under the control of the Co-operative Union through its Central Education Committee (the Co-operative Union being a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom, undertaking educational organising and advisory work on their behalf). The objects of the Manchester Co-operative College are thus set forth in the Prospectus—

"To complete the scheme of co-operative education by providing a centre for higher education in the specialised subjects required for the full equipment of the co-operator, and the further development of efficiency in the co-operative movement.

"To provide a centre for the cultivation of the co-operative spirit, the generation of enthusiasm for the application of co-operative principles, and the inspiring of students for service in the cause of co-operation; to assist in all possible ways in the diffusion of a knowledge of co-operative principles

and practice, and the cultivation of a healthy co-operative opinion; and to co-operate with, and help, all existing organisations having these objects.

"To undertake investigations and research that are calculated to aid the general development and progress of co-operation, and stimulate the application of co-operative principles in the solution of social problems."

The college is open to both men and women, but no student of less than 17 years of age is admitted except under special circumstances. The session or college year is from October to June, and the fee for a full course of instruction on the various subjects amounting to about 15 hours' teaching per week, is 12 guineas. Shorter periods and courses for special subjects are provided for those unable to take the full course.

We need not here detail the curriculum of the college. It is sufficient to say that it covers most, if not all, of the special subjects (*see appendix*) necessary to achieve the objects of co-operative education as defined above. It may, however, be noted that the scheme includes "Tuition by correspondence" and "Extension lectures" by which courses of study are taken to the localities of societies desiring them. Two scholarships of £20 each and two of £10 each are tenable at the college for the promotion of research and the encouragement of investigation of subjects of co-operative importance.

Now this work of the co-operative college so briefly summarised here may be thought to be only of importance to British co-operators. Such is, however, not the case, as students are received from the uttermost ends of the earth. As a writer in the "International Co-operative Bulletin" says—"During recent months young co-operative enthusiasts from India, Australia, Finland and Japan have assuaged their thirst for co-operative knowledge, and gained an insight into the romance of our movement, by studying at Holyoake House. Some have taken a regular course and others have been compelled to be content with a fleeting visit, reading as

they ran, gathering the flowers and fragrance of our growth, scenting the peaceful evolution promoted by the pioneers and now gradually encompassing the earth."

A similar—but more ambitious—scheme has been launched in Russia. In pursuance of a Resolution of the all-Russian Co-operative Congress a Co-operative University was opened on the 17th September, 1918, in Moscow at the premises of the Moscow Union of Co-operative Credit Societies. The University is intended to provide highly skilled instructors for co-operative work, properly trained directors for the boards of co-operative societies, editors of leading co-operative reviews, etc. The first section to be opened was the economic co-operative section, covering the teaching of economic subjects relating to co-operation, its theory, methods and organisation in general; the second was the commercial managers section; and the third included courses and seminaries for the study of co-operative production. Special courses of lectures on co-operative statistics, banking and book-keeping, co-operative housing, etc., have also been delivered. Every co-operative organisation has to contribute a percentage from its turnover for the maintenance and development of this important educational establishment. As the financial position of the University is secure, its promoters hope to be able to develop it into a real training ground on the basis of co-operation for highly skilled workers in the field of the economic and social reconstruction of Russia.

The French Government have recently taken the important step of founding a Chair of Co-operation at the famous College of France and of appointing Prof. Charles Gide—the *doyen* of French co-operators and the father of the co-operative movement in France—to that Chair. This new institution, mainly brought about by the efforts of the National Federation of Co-operative societies of France, is largely supported by co-operative funds voted with practical unanimity at the Paris Congress of 1919 and at a cost of 20,000 francs. French

co-operators have eagerly sought the opportunity of establishing this "chair" because the College of France is an institution, not only of national standing but one in which the Professors have complete liberty to arrange the courses of instruction and to follow the bent of their own scientific inclinations in research. The realisation of their purpose provides an opportunity for establishing co-operation in the highest educational circles as a subject of scientific investigation, and of extending its influence into thought hitherto untouched by co-operative propaganda.

In Germany, besides the Berlin University Chair of Co-operation held by Dr. August Muller, classes for co-operative education are held at selected centres. These classes cover various aspects of the movement, as suited to members and officials, the duration of the course being proportioned to the use which the learner proposes to make of his knowledge. The extent to which co-operative education has spread in Germany is illustrated by the number of books on co-operative matters—often discussing in detail comparatively small points of theory or practice—which have been written as theses, by men competing for degrees in the leading Universities. Such theses were unheard of by the learned men of English Universities until within the last four or five years; but they have been common in Germany for twenty years or more. The general standard of education at any rate among those who direct the affairs of co-operative societies in Germany seems to be considerably higher than is the case in most other countries, and while much of the credit of this is no doubt due to the efficiency of the general system of education, some at least must be ascribed to the work of the federations.

These examples from the West have their lessons for us in Bengal and India. Last year's statistics show that there are in India 32,439 co-operative societies of all kinds with a total membership of 1,235,891 and a total working capital

of 175 millions of rupees. It will at once be evident that the co-operative movement has taken firm root in the country and that the interest of a vast mass of the population of this country are involved in the success and stability of that movement. Now that success and that stability depend, mainly, if not solely, on a widely diffused co-operative education taken in both its narrower and broader aspects. Let us examine what has so far been done in the various provinces for co-operative education in the narrower sense (as apart from co-operative propaganda of which I shall treat later).

Some tentative efforts in the direction of the training of workers and office-bearers have been made in several provinces. In Bombay, the Central Co-operative Institute with the help of the Co-operative Department arranges short courses of training for secretaries and departmental officers. In other provinces the respective Departments arrange for a course of training for probationers with the help of their own officers. No University in India has yet thought fit to include Co-operation as a regular separate course of study, though some of them, specially the University of Calcutta, have included it as one of the subsidiary subjects in the Economics courses for the Degree Examinations. No chair of Co-operation has yet been thought of in connection with any of the old or new Indian Universities, though it is recognised by all that the co-operative movement is the most potent economic movement in India to-day. There are no strong Provincial Co-operative Unions or any All-India Co-operative body which may finance and control an All-India Co-operative College or University The examples from the West which I have described above show that Western Co-operators have realised—what we have not yet realised—that co-operation is an important subject of study and research which should not be neglected by any seat of learning. The ever-widening progress of co-operation, the multifarious applications of the

principles of co-operation to the solution of diverse economic problems make it imperative that the subject should be studied by the best intellects of the country for the furtherance of its own economic interests. Moreover, the institution of a Co-operative College, or a Chair of Co-operation filled and manned by experts means enormous strength to the movement. A co-operative society, be it a primary, or a central bank, or trading society, or a store or a federation, must depend for its success on efficient management. This efficient management is only possible if the men at the helm have been properly trained in the theory and practice of co-operation. In these days when the cry for vocational education is heard on all sides, the need for such recognised centres of co-operative training and research is all the greater, for the field of employment to our young men offered by co-operative societies is widening year by year; and, as new applications of the co-operative principle are made, as co-operative stores, housing societies, sale societies, cattle-breeding societies, market-gardening societies, industrial societies, whole-sale societies, federations are started in increasing numbers, new talents will be necessary and must be forthcoming. Indeed the want of such centres of co-operative study and research is largely responsible for the one-sided progress of co-operation in India. From these centres will radiate new ideas; new visions will arise, and new fields will open up. I would plead, firstly, for an all-India Co-operative College or University, whatever you may call it, situated in a central place like Allahabad. This College should be financed by all co-operative institutions in India and by the Provincial and Imperial Governments. It should make arrangements for both instruction and research in co-operation. It should have the most complete and up-to-date library of co-operative and general and economic literature, Indian and foreign.

It should publish a monthly Journal of Co-operation (superseding all provincial journals) containing news from

all provinces, the results of the research of the Professors, a record of co-operative activities abroad, notices of all important co-operative publications, etc. It should have an Editorial Board with a paid Chief Editor and Manager. Like the International Co-operative Bulletin and the Review of Agricultural Economics, the all-India Journal should be published in as many languages as is desirable and possible for circulation in the several provinces.

The College should be a residential one and should have a co-operative store, a co-operative dairy, a co-operative laundry, etc., attached to it, so that the students themselves might practise co-operation in as many directions as possible. The instruction offered by the College should be in different grades suiting different classes of students. The College should, moreover, have a Correspondence Section which should arrange for correspondence courses of instruction for those who cannot afford to come to Allahabad.

But such an all-India College of Co-operation can only arise out of the deliberations of an all-India Congress of Co-operators who alone can lay its foundations on solid finance. For this and for other purposes it is very desirable to organise at an early date an all-India Co-operative Congress.

Before this ideal is realised, however, it is within the competence of the various local Governments—I mean, the Ministers for Co-operation and Education—to found Chairs of Co-operation in the various Universities of India. The founding of a Chair of Co-operation means so much for the sound, efficient, and many-sided development of co-operation in the provinces that it needs no special argument from me. Private munificence and state contributions should be able to create an endowment of say—3 or 4 lakhs of rupees—for founding such a Chair of Co-operation. Moreover, co-operative education must be spread among all classes of the people; from the primary school up to the University stage

co-operation must form a compulsory subject of study. Authorities of every secondary school and every college should encourage and actively participate in the formation of students' Co-operative stores managed by students and teachers for their common benefit. Students of Economics in colleges should be accompanied by professors to visit centres of co-operative activity. In these various ways and through these diverse channels must we spread co-operative education if we are to reap the full benefit of this great new movement and equip ourselves for taking our proper part in the growing international co-operative commonwealth. What democracy is in the field of politics, co-operation is in that of economics. If responsible Government is to be a success it must be based on sound economic foundations: the brick and mortar of co-operation will build those foundations strong and stable. The successful development of co-operation can alone ensure the success of responsible democratic Government. Political and economic progress must go hand in hand; and in India, the land of small holdings, small capital and small home industries—economic progress' lies in eliminating the middle-men by co-operatively linking up the producer in the fields with the consumer and the exporter. The application of the co-operative principle alone can bring economic salvation to the millions of patient, toiling agriculturists of India.

PANCHANANDAS MUKHERJI

APPENDIX

SUBJECTS IN WHICH INSTRUCTION IS OFFERED BY THE CO-OPERATIVE COLLEGE, MANCHESTER.

Lectures are given, as required, on the following subjects :—

CO-OPERATION.

Section I.

History and Principles of Co-operation.

Economics of Co-operation.

Co-operative Problems.
Co-operation and Social Problems.
Co-operative Control of Raw Materials.
Co-operative Finance.
Co-operation in Agriculture.
Co-operative Production.
International Co-operation.
Co-operation in Ireland.
Co-operation in Scotland.
Co-operation in Denmark.
Co-operative Statistics and Statistical Methods.

HISTORY.

Section II.

General History.
Constitutional History.
Industrial History, 1066-1910.
The Industrial Revolution.
Economic and Industrial History of the Nineteenth Century.
Reform Movement of the Nineteenth Century.

ECONOMICS.

Section III.

Economics of Industry.
Money, Prices, and Banking.
International Trade and Foreign Exchanges.
History and Principles of Taxation.
Public Finance.
Economic Theories.
Social Economics.
Wages.
Economic and Social Problems.
Trade Unionism.
The Organisation of Industry and Commerce.
The Welfare of the Group.
Women in Industry.

CITIZENSHIP, SOCIOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

Sections IV & V.

Citizenship.
Local Government.

Central Government.
Political Science.
Sociology.
Ethics.

EDUCATION.

Section VI.

History, Theory, and Organisation of Education.
The Art of Teaching.
Co-operative Education: Its History and Organisation.

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC SPEAKING.

Section VII.

The Organisation of Propaganda.
Elocution and Public Speaking.

EMERGENCY AND SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Section VIII.

The Co-operative Movement and Taxation.

TECHNICAL SUBJECTS.

Section IX.

Co-operative Management.
Co-operative Book-keeping and Accountancy.
Co-operative Secretaryship.
Co-operative Auditing.
Co-operative Administration (covering the work of Co-operative Committees).
Commodities of Commerce.
Economics of Business Organisation.
Modern Business Methods and Office Organisation.
Statistics and Statistical Methods.
Commercial Law.
Co-operative Law.
Advertising.

VENGEANCE IS MINE

[*Translator's Foreword*:

Mr. K. M. Munshi has a rising reputation in Bombay, both as a lawyer and as a man of letters. This is an English version of his first long story, which is still, in the opinion of the translator, in spite of a certain amount of lack of polish both in the development of the plot as well as in the language (faults inseparable from every first effort), the best of his productions. This story has been chosen on account of its obvious importance for our present-day situation in India and the translator feels a certain amount of pride in presenting what he regards as one of the finest of recent productions in his mother-tongue to a larger public. The difficulties of translation and the short-comings of the translator in both the languages should account for all defects. The 'merit,' however, all goes to his friend, the original author.]

PART I

CHAPTER I

Friends in Need

Whatever philosophers might say, a home bereft of the master is no home. For two weeks Gunavanti's home had been in that sad condition; to her it had become sad and dreary like the cremation-ground. Her beloved lord and husband had left all worldly cares behind and had started out on his journey to heaven, and in departing had taken all light and joy from the life of the good Gunavanti. The Hindu wife's life is closely intertwined with that of her husband and, like the tender creeper which entwines the sturdy tree, when bereft of his supporting arm she withers away and her whole life becomes a desolate ruin. She cannot live alone by herself, for her life is wholly derived from her husband. He may be poor, a beggar even, but he is her God upon earth; and here was a learned, noble, high-souled husband gone. Gunavanti's happiness was at an end. Jagatkishor—the laughing, leaping,

darling Kishor of ten summers—the sole remembrance of his father—was the one oasis in this dreary waste of her life.

Darkness was falling outside, and Gunavanti's heart, too, was wrapped up in gloom. The ladies who had come to condole with her had departed. Jagatkishor had put his head on her lap and had sunk into the sweet sleep of innocence. Gunavanti's youthful beauty had been somewhat dimmed by grief but a graver matronly dignity had spread over her features; Rati's charms had disappeared but Kunti's quiet dignity had come in their place. Her black dress melted insensibly into the gathering gloom of the dimly lighted room. Only her face—with its quiet, peaceful, resigned expression was visible like the full moon shedding her cold quiet lustre upon a thick dark forest.

Footsteps were heard below. Gunavanti stretched forth her hand and turned up the light. It seemed Raghubhai had come. Raghubhai had been the closest friend of Gunavanti's husband. Why should he not be? Nilkanthrai had found him a place and had helped him forward in his career. Through his favour alone had he attained his present rank of the Kotwal of that small State. For a considerable while Raiji's house had been his home. Raiji was quite unused to the crooked ways of the world and so Raghubhai had taken upon himself all the trouble of running his household affairs and even keeping account of his income and expenditure. Even after Raiji's death he was a daily visitor and he regarded Gunavanti and her son as members of his own family. If such had not been the case Gunavanti could never have found any way out of her troubles.

Raghubhai came in. He had the power of favourably impressing a stranger at first sight. His tall person looked really splendid in a strong, silk-bordered Nagpur *dhoti*, an old-fashioned court-coat with a silk shawl thrown over the shoulders and a Kathiawadi turban which he had adopted to please the Kathiwad Prince whom he served. His face was

by no means very remarkable, but often there was a good deal of dignity in it and sometimes it struck an observer so much that he got a wholesome impression of the man. His eyes were deep set, and from them twinkled worldly wisdom and intrigue. His features plainly announced the man's greed for power as well as his firmness and his cleverness. His deliberate and cold manner of talking indicated experience and diplomacy. Rumour had it that even his superiors were a little afraid of approaching him. For the present he was the Kotwal and so he practically dictated the local politics. Poor Gunavanti had found no reason to be suspicious and regarded him as something nearer than her own brother.

"Well, sister-in-law; and how are you?" said the cold voice of Raghubhai. It was sweet enough though, for he had had long practice in speaking sweetly in a prince's court.

"Fairly well, brother. You are welcome."

Raghubhai took his seat on the swing[1] some distance away. He began to ask about her affairs; "How is Jagatkishor? Did he cry to-day?"

"No, not so much to-day. He will get used to it in course of time, brother. Is there any other course?" Gunavanti's voice got choked with tears while saying this.

"Sister-in-law, do have more courage. Even these days shall pass away and you shall be happy once again."

"I have done with happiness and misery in this life. I have but one object now. That is to see Jagat grown up."

"That you shall, of course, you shall. Do not be afraid. But now decide what is to be done next."

"What should I decide? I am ready to do whatever you and Ramkisandasji think proper."

Upon hearing this other name Raghubhai raised his eyebrows just a shade. "You see, sister-in-law, the matter stands thus," he began, and honied words, insinuating like the

[1] A big plank swing, big enough to serve as a bed and hung from the ceiling, is a common and necessary piece of household furniture in Gujarat.

serpent, poured glibly from his tongue, "Your wishes are *my* wishes. I am your humble servant, you must understand. For the family of Raiji Saheb I am ever ready to lay down all I have, even life itself. You are to me a mother and Jagat is my little brother. You see, I used to keep all accounts for Raiji Saheb and so I know exactly how you stand at present."

Just then from the veranda came the crash of a stick with its iron ring. Raghubhai's face fell a little on hearing this, but immediately it was wreathed again with his habitual ingratiating smiles.

"Hallo, here is Ramkisandasji himself. Now let us decide what is to be done."

The huge bulk of Ramkisandasji advanced into the lighted room. His youth he had spent among wrestlers and in various gymnasiums, and now, even at the age of seventy, his powerful limbs showed not the least trace of decay. Old age could not get even the thinnest end of its wedge into him. Only his long beard had grown snow-white. This, and the mark on his forehead, which announced him to be a devotee of Rama, and his big lustrous eyes, roused a feeling of veneration in all who saw him. He had his abode in the temple of Ramachandraji on the outskirts of the town, and in the hearts of all the townspeople besides. He was also a considerable power in that place. He was in close touch with all the local affairs, and in settling every dispute he had the chief hand. But he used his own transparent simplicity and his unshakable faith in God's goodness as the only solvents in all cases of trouble, and very often he came out successful. Cruel rapacious officials were afraid of him and sometimes, it was whispered, even the Prince himself. His learning did not extend much beyond the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas, but his simple honesty imposed a greater restraint on the wrong-doers of this small principality than the laws and all its guardians could do in more civilised regions. In an autocratic oriental court such a restraining force was really very wholesome.

"Tulsi, there are varied natures found among our mortal folk," quoted Ramkisandasji as he entered; "Well, child, how are you?"[1]

"I am well, Maharaj. Come in," replied Gunavanti.

Raghubhai smiled and bowed; then he said, just with a trace of shy humour, "Come in, Bawaji.[2] Well, and how are you, quite well?

"Yes," and, as if he had just caught sight of Raghubhai, he added, "Who is this? Junior Diwan! Well, how goes *your* game? What about your Diwanship?"

Raghubhai was the Kotwal, but most people in the State knew the goal he was aiming at. The Bawaji always addressed him as the "Junior Diwan." Some of Ramkisandasji's ways were very peculiar. Wherever he went, he had forsworn to take a seat or to talk in a low voice. He would keep walking to and fro, and while speaking to any one he would "hold him with his glittering eye" and shout out what he had to say in his loudest voice. People used to say that once he had told even His Highness to his face, "You are not merely a slave, but the slave of a slave." We cannot vouch for the truth of this, but this much is certain that the Bawaji was not one to mince his words with anybody on earth when occasion arose. Raghubhai writhed a little—but he put sugar into his voice, smiled a little and said:

"What did you say, Bawaji? Why jest with a humble individual? Of course with your blessings all shall come in time. Just at present we have been considering what sister-in-law should do now."

"What should she *do*? Why,—eat, drink and remember Rama."

"But you see, Bawaji, she has not the means now of keeping a separate house."

[1] Ramkisandasji and his associate *sannyāsis* always use Hindi.

[2] *Lit.* "father." An epithet applied to ascetics.

"Why not? Did not Raiji leave anything? I understood that you kept all accounts."

"Yes, but his expenses were high, so that after paying all debts barely five thousand rupees will be left."

"But he was earning three to four hundred monthly all these ten years and more. What accursed wretch has pocketed all that money?" roared Bawaji. No one could for a moment have misunderstood the look he darted at Raghubhai; his stout stick seemed as it were anxious to begin. The deep eyes of Raghubhai flashed out anger and hate for one moment, but immediately the fire was covered up with the ashes of cold calculating wisdom. After a moment he quietly answered the ascetic—

"Look here, Bawaji, be calm and listen to reason. It does no good to be hasty. I have eaten the salt of Raiji Saheb—"

"Yes, yes, I know all that. But what do you think we should do now?"

"What should we do? Whatever you and sister-in-law decide, that will I faithfully carry out. You see, she cannot go to Surat to her late husband's brother. The two brothers had lived apart for years. And the temper of his wife would not allow her widowed sister-in-law to live with them in peace. Besides, I do not think it advisable to get away from here just now. His Highness may be approached and with a little effort some State help may be secured for Jagat's education. It would, therefore, be well to stay on here at present and my home is always open to you."

"No brother; the inconvenience to you—"

"What inconvenience would it be to me?" said Raghubhai.

"Listen, Junior Diwan, do you wish to take Gunavanti to your place?" asked the Bawaji, shaking his head thoughtfully.

"Yes, that will mean saving of money; she will stay here and I too shall have the chance to serve the family and thus repay in a small degree what I have owed to Raiji Saheb."

"But will this benefit Jagat?" asked Gunavanti; she was unable to decide between the conflicting alternatives.

"Yes, something might be done for him, certainly. But—"

"It will indeed be very beneficial for him. I will myself take him to His Highness."

To the fond mother this seemed an inestimable benefit. If her son's future happiness could be secured why should she object to a little inconvenience to herself? And here was Raghubhai, almost Raiji's own brother. What objection could she have in staying with him?

"But, Bawaji, have *you* any objection?"

"No, child, I have none," said Bawaji and looked straight at Raghubhai; "well, if it is for the boy's good, go and stay with him."

Raghubhai jumped at this at once. "Sister-in-law, I was only waiting for your consent. I have already made all arrangements. I will send my wife to you to-morrow."

"Very well, brother, I will come to-morrow," consented Gunavanti. Her heart was silently bleeding at the thought of leaving her home.

"Very well, I must be going now," Raghubhai took his leave and walked out.

"I will also go, Gunavanti," said Bawaji and went out with him.

Gunavanti's eyes filled with tears; she bent down and gazed upon the face of her sleeping son. Poor lonely heart! For the sake of her child's happiness Gunavanti had to accept the terrible burden of Raghubhai's hospitality. The next morning dawned on Gunavanti still weeping bitterly at the thought of her bereavement and her helplessness.

At the door of the house the Bawaji separated from Raghubhai. Before separating, however, Bawaji's mighty arms caught Raghubhai by the shoulders and held him firm; he looked steadily for a few moments into his eyes.

"Look here, you, Junior Diwan! It is true that Gunavanti and Jagat are coming to stay with you, but remember, they both are under the protection of Ramji." As he said this, Bawaji whirled his stout stick more eloquently than words could express.

"Oh, my dear Sir, what do you mean!" With great difficulty Raghubhai could keep his features unmoved. He had however understood fully the eloquent gesture and it had set his heart trembling just a little.

CHAPTER II

CHILD FRIENDS

Poor Gunavanti had been forced at last to go and stay with Raghubhai. He showed untiring devotion and did not allow her to feel in the least her dependent position. His wife, Kamala, was a perfectly good-natured and simple creature, who seemed ignorant of the existence of the *Kaliyuga* in the outside world. She was incessantly busy with the affairs of her little home and her mind was always occupied with her little year-old daughter Rama. Gunavanti had no fear of disturbance from either of these. Her nature was always obliging and on account of her invariable sweetness of temper she became immediately a favourite with everybody. Ramkisandasji also paid regular visits to Raghubhai's house once or twice a week, and often took Jagat with him to his own temple. Ramkisandasji was the chosen high-priest of all the children of the town, they were all mad after him; but he had made Jagat his special favourite and treated him almost as his own son. In a short time the boy began to forget Raiji.

Jagat began to show his capabilities even at the tender age of twelve. After Raiji's death he behaved as if he alone had to bear all burden. Gunavanti was quite easy in her mind with regard to the boy. He had given up his childish

humours and his tears. But still he found it hard sometimes to control his temper, and sometimes he was disrespectful towards Raghubhai because he felt no special love for him. Except on these rather rare occasions he was always happy and invariably studious, and he often was found playing with little Rama.

People regard the ways of children as something insignificant—something almost lifeless; they think that these are not worth the attention of a grown-up man. But this is a great mistake, for "as the twig is bent the tree's inclined"; the events that have happened during these tender years and the friendships that are formed at that age leave deep and lasting impressions upon a child's character. Such are not left either by the events or the friendships of later years. The experiences to be described in this and the following chapters left such an indelible mark on the life of Jagat that we cannot afford to neglect them.

At this period Jagat's heart was loving and trusting. His mother's pure and innocent life had impressed his character forcibly. Gunavanti's hold upon the boy was the hold of perfect love, and hence it did not take her long to mould his character exactly as she wished. She had herself been educated in the old style. She had none of the outward show of the new-fangled, modern, educated ladies, nor had she their half-cultured manners. Gunavanti had committed the great crime of being quite unlike the "modern" woman, in as much as she was not ignorant of the ancient mythology and legendary lore of her country, which an "educated" woman to-day would affect to despise. So she was able to introduce fresh interests and fresh ideals into Jagat's young life through the immortal and ever-inspiring tales of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. She encouraged Jagat to imitate the deeds of our great heroes of the past. He had already, like Parashurama, rid the world of his imagination several times of the Kshatriyas and had often dragged down numerous Gangas

with a power and effort worthy of Bhagirath himself. Who has not had these sweet, madly-wise visions? He who has not had them is not human.

Raghubhai's garden lay shimmering in the early rays of an autumn morning. Birds were singing in the trees. Nature was smiling all round. Jagat came out, joy in his heart and a bow and arrows in his hands. Raghubhai had bought these for him, long the goal of all his boyish ambitions. Last night he had taken them to bed with himself.

In his play he had often achieved universal sovereignty by the mere twang of this bow and had carried off heavenly maidens innumerable. Every boy's life twines itself round such a toy—a toy representing a weapon, which symbolises the innate manly power. As he grows older he drops the toy and grasps the real thing. Man or boy, each seeks to forge the lever with which he would move the world. It takes on various shapes and is often changed; some succeed ultimately, in acquiring it, others in despair give up the attempt. The wooden horse is cast aside for the bat, the bat gives place to the pen, the pen in its turn is flung aside for eloquence of the tongue: but the final goal of all is one—to lead the ideals surging within to outward expression and thence to victory, and to invite the world to share the joys of that triumph.

Jagat was shooting his arrows here and there like a Greek Cupid. One arrow flew higher than intended. The boy had a fleeting thought of aiming at the fish[1]; but the arrow went over into the garden next door. There was a small wall between the two gardens. He stood still considering what he should do.

Some one was climbing the wall from the other side, slowly there came up over the wall a mass of soft dark curls, and then—a face. Jagat was struck with wonder and stood gazing at it. Gunavanti in all her tales had described the heroine as "the incarnation of all beauty." To Jagat the only "incarnation

[1] This was the feat which Arjuna performed successfully when he won Draupadi.

of all beauty" was his mother. Often when wandering about in the kingdom of his imagination, mounted on his own fancies, he had pictured to himself many a beautiful maiden, but the standard and type for all of them was Gunavanti. But this face! A girl of about ten, the indescribable joy of growing childhood brimming over from each limb, the spirit of innocence sparkling from her bright eyes, her pretty rose-bud face half-hidden under a mass of vagrant curls—all these quite vanquished Jagat and Jagat's impressionable heart and made him stand just where he was, staring in speechless wonder. The eyes of the girl were dancing with merriment and—in her hand was Jagat's lost arrow.

The girl climbed over to the top of the wall and asked, "Is this your arrow?"

"Yes," Jagat could not think for the moment what else to say; he stood still for a while.

"Don't you want it?"

Jagat recovered his gentlemanly manners, his instinctive respect for womanhood recalled him; "And who may you be, please?"

"I," said the girl in the voice of a *Kokila*, "why, I am Tanman." An older person would have laughed at this answer; but Jagat gravely nodded his head as if all his doubts were set at rest.

"May I come over?"

"Wait a bit. I will bring the steps and help you down."

Jagat fetched the wooden steps and getting up caught Tanman by the hands and brought her over to his side of the wall. Then they both jumped down together from the top of the steps and tumbled over each other, disentangled themselves, stood up, wiped their hands and looking at each other burst out into hearty peals of laughter. How divinely simple are children's friendships, how inscrutable their joys! How tender the meeting of hearts unfettered by the artificial manners of the world! What mutual faith and confidence! Such

friendships, such ties, are the only real ones in this world. But we, wise ones of the world, speak of the "marriage tie." created by force of circumstances, sanctioned by unholy custom, tied easily in the registrar's office and untied even more easily in the divorce court.

Jagat had so far had no companion in his life. To him, therefore, the companionship of this girl was like water to a thirsty man. The bow and arrows lay forgotten on the ground. Hand in hand they went to a small brick platform round a tree and sat down together.

"How long since have you come to stay here?"

"My father has just been transferred here. We came in only yesterday. Do you go to school?"

Jagat was very proud of his learning; so he at once exclaimed, "Why, of course, I go to school every day. I am learning English."

The little birds sang on merrily some time longer. Presently Gunavanti came out into the garden. Her attention was immediately drawn by the attractive beauty of Tanman, so she asked, "Jagat, who is this?"

"Mother, she is the girl from next door."

"Whose?"

"Oh! mummy dear, you told me yesterday the story of Shivaji, did you not?"

"Yes, dear."

"That the Goddess had brought his weapon to him?"

"Yes, but what of that?"

"Why, this is *my* Devi. She brought me my arrow."

The mother smiled at her boy's wit and said, "Indeed! But who has come in next door?"

Tanman could no longer keep quiet. She came forward—a very bundle of elderly wisdom—"You know, auntie" (how easy are relationships established in Hindu society!) "Mr. Hiralal, the head-clerk, has come in next door. I am his daughter. My name is Tanman. And you are Jagat's mummy?"

"Yes, dear. But I must go in now. I am glad you have come. Jagat will like your company. Do come again. What is your mother doing?"

"My mother is dead these two years. We are alone at present, father and I. I have a step-mother but she has gone home to her people."

"Well, I must go in now. Do come in whenever you like," said Gunavanti and went in. Now that he had the approval of his dear mother Jagat felt doubly secure.

"Come on, Tanman, what shall we do now?"

"Whatever you like."

"I do not at all care to play. Come on, let us talk."

"Yes, let's," said the girl and laughed. She laughed often and hers was a very sweet rippling laugh, which sounded like the trill of a song-bird.

The sun rises daily upon the world. Sunrises and sunsets, too, come into every man's life. So far in Jagat's young life there had blown only the cool fragrant morning breezes of his mother's quiet love. To-day, however, there burst upon him the light of a new sun, radiant with dazzling splendour. Many buds of imagination opened at its warm touch. The whole day at school Jagat thought only of Tanman. In the usual noises of the school-room his ear that day seemed to catch the sweet sound of rippling girlish laughter. That evening, after he was back home, he was standing on the garden steps eating something; suddenly he was pushed from behind. Jagat in one direction and his food in another, both rolled in the dust. Tanman ran up with hands outstretched and said gravely—"Oh, hó, what is the matter with my brother Jagat?"

Jagat lost his temper. Some people do not like such jokes. He glared fiercely at her and demanded, "Why did you push me?"

In reply Tanman laughed. Jagat got more angry and snarled at her. Tanman at once turned away, and going up

to the brick platform near the tree sat down there as if nothing had happened. Jagat cooled down. After a while he swallowed the insult, went up to the platform and stood beside her. Tanman stared straight up through the leaves of the tree utterly oblivious of his presence.

Then Jagat shouted—"Tanman!"

But no reply was vouchsafed by Tanman; so Jagat again cried, "Tanman!" and caught hold of her hand.

"Get away, I don't want any of your 'Tanman,'" muttered Tanman, mischievously pouting her lips and shaking her curls. Nature had not forgotten the grace and caprice of womanhood while creating that form.

"Now do say something, Tanman. Won't you speak to me?" said Jagat piteously.

"No," and settling herself comfortably once more, she began again to stare upwards through the leaves.

"Why?"

"Because I choose," came the second imperious reply.

Jagat was experiencing the charming capriciousness of woman for the first time in his life. His tender heart was wounded, so he walked away and stood at a distance. After the morning's happiness this pain was well nigh unbearable. He forgot the pain of his fall and was angry with her refusing to talk with him. Near by was a small empty wooden box. He went up to it in order to sit down upon it—but the box suddenly disappeared from beneath him and Jagat once again measured his length on the gravel walk. Behind him was Tanman standing with a face full of grave solicitude and eyes brimming over with mischief.

She bent over him at once: "Oh, what is the matter with my Jagat again? What has happened to my darling? Are you hurt, my child?"—the voice of Tanman was grave like that of an old dame of a hundred years.

Jagat found there was greater pain if Tanman got angry, so he swallowed his rising anger. He and Tanman became

friends again, everything else was forgotten in the regained happiness. "Look here, Tanman, why did you do this? See my leg is all bruised and bleeding."

"Why not? You wanted me to be your Goddess. Well here is your Devi, as I think she should be. How do you like her?"

"Splendid, spendid, Devi mine!" cried Jagat, as catching hold of Tanman's shoulders he got up.

(*To be continued*)

K. M. MUNSHI



The Late Prof. J. N. Das Gupta

ON SOME MATTER CONCERNING THE ANDHAU INSCRIPTIONS

About the end of the first century A.D., there arose a Kṣatrapa dynasty, founded by Caṣṭana, which ruled over Gujarāt, Kāṭhiāwār and Mālwā. The name of Caṣṭana's father was taken by Professor Rapson to be Ghsamotika. The most important component of this name is the letter *gh* and *sa* which was read differently by different scholars. In 1899, (*JRAS.*, p. 371) Professor Rapson, on the strength of a certain Kṣatrapa coins, asserted like some of his predecessors, that this compound consonant consisted of the two letters *gh* and *sa*. It must be borne in mind that this reading was based entirely upon the legends of coins which, scholars know, are not always a safe guide for the correct reading of names. In 1906, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, then Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of the Western Circle, visited Bhuj in Cutch, and happened to see certain Kṣatrapa inscription stones of Andhau lying utterly neglected in the stores of the Engineering Department (*PR.-WC.*, 1906, p. 35). He had then no time to decipher the inscriptions from the originals. The letters, in his opinion, were so weather-worn that they did not yield even passable estampages; and although he prepared estampages in Bhuj, took them to Poona and prepared transcripts, he was, by no means, sure that those transcripts were reliable, as he was not able to read from the originals themselves (*PR.-WC.*, 1915, p. 8). This happened in 1906. Professor Bhandarkar contemplated visiting Bhuj again, but could not do so for a good many years. He, therefore, sent his estampages of the Andhau inscriptions to Professor Lüders in 1912-13,—the estampages, which were prepared by him, in 1906. With the help of those estampages,

the German Professor wrote an article entitled *Die Śakas und die Nordarische Sprache* in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy.

In this paper, Professor Lüders contends that the compound letter in the name of Caṣṭana's father is *y* and *sa* and not *gh* and *sa* and that "2000 years ago our ancestors transliterated the letter 'Z' by यष." About the beginning of 1915, Professor Bhandarkar visited Bhuj a second time. This time he was able to inspect the Andhau stones properly and decipher the inscriptions from the originals quite to his satisfaction. The result of it was that he gave an account of the contents of these records in his Progress Report for the year ending 31st March, 1915. In this account he also, like Professor Lüders, says that the conjunct consonant in the name of Caṣṭana's father was *ysa* and not *ghsa*, and that it was an attempt to represent some foreign sound which the Greek Z was intended to express. In the June number of the *Modern Review*, has appeared an editorial note publishing photographic facsimiles of Professor Lüders' and Professor Bhandarkar's remarks on the subject. And the note cunningly says, "there the two discoveries made and published previously in 1913 by Professor Lüders are described by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar under the caption original research without any credit being given to the Berlin Professor," and adds: "We are unable to unravel the mystery: whose original research is described in the page reproduced, Professor Lüders' or Professor Bhandarkar's?" The *Modern Review* does not pretend to be an antiquarian Journal, and nobody, I think, considers it to be of any importance from that point of view. The editorial note in the June number to which I have just referred, does not thus deserve to be considered seriously. Unfortunately, however, the note is believed to have been inspired by an antiquarian scholar. It is therefore necessary to give it a reply in order that real justice might be administered. A few months ago, it was rumoured in Calcutta that a particular

scholar was rather over-anxious to see that credit was given to Professor Lüders for his discoveries by publishing the matter in the *Modern Review*. A note for doing justice to Professor Lüders, which was long expected, has at last appeared in the June number of that monthly. There was, however, one link missing, because the same discoveries may occur to two different scholars at two different times and it would have been possible to contend that the present discoveries occurred to Professors Lüders and Bhandarkar differently without one knowing of the other's discoveries. And an attempt is therefore made to show that this was not so in the present case. The apparently well-informed Editor remarks: "We understand that the Berlin Professor wrote a letter from Charlottenburg, dated the 21st February, 1913, to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to make those discoveries known to him." I asked Professor Bhandarkar whether he was aware of any such letter. And he informed me that, although he could not vouch for the correctness of this date, he distinctly remembered that some such letter had been received from Professor Lüders and placed by him on the office files of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle. How the Editor of the *Modern Review* comes to know about the contents of a letter that was in the office of the Western Circle is a mystery which it is for the Government of Bombay to unravel.

Soon after Professor Bhandarkar came to Calcutta to fill the Chair of the Carmichael Professor, I drew his attention to a footnote added by Dr. F. W. Thomas to Mr. R. D. Banerji's paper on Nahapāna and the Śaka Era published in *JRAS.*, 1917, p. 275. In the footnote, Dr. Thomas alludes to the reading *Ysamotika* and refers to the paper of Professor Lüders in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, to which I have adverted above. And I then seized the opportunity of asking Professor Bhandarkar whose discovery it really was in regard to the initial compound letter in Caṣṭana's father's name and its equivalent to the Greek Z to represent some Scythian sound. that is to

say, whether the credit for it was due to Professor Lüders for announcing it in the *Sitzungsberichte* in 1913 or to Professor Bhandarkar himself for giving it out in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* in 1915, exactly two years after Professor Lüders' paper appeared. And to my extreme surprise Professor Bhandarkar at once replied that the discovery was neither his nor Professor Lüders', and that it was announced more than twenty years ago by no less an illustrious scholar than Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. He took out from his Library his copy of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, which contains *The Early History of Gujarat* from the materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and which was published in 1896. On page 31 of this book, there is a foot-note which he then read out to me and which runs thus: "This letter ग्स in both is curiously formed and never used in Sanskrit. But it is clear and can be read without any doubt as ग्स. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji thought that it was probably meant to stand as a new coined letter to represent the Greek Z which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit. The same curiously formed letter appears in the third syllable in the coin of the fourth Kshatrapa King Damajadasri." Now what does this note tell us? It tells us distinctly that the initial conjunct letter in Caṣṭana's father's name is *Ysa* and that it was coined to represent the Greek Z. These are the views of the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji published in 1896, long long before the paper of Professor Lüders or the Report of Professor Bhandarkar appeared. Unfortunately since Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji expressed this view other Indologists have rejected it considering the conjunct letter to be *ghsa* and not *ysa*. I have already told you that Professor Bhandarkar had taken estampages of the Andhau inscriptions in 1906, and he informed me that when he read the estampages themselves he was forced to read *Ysāmoṭika* as the name of Caṣṭana's father. But as he thought that the weather-worn condition

of the inscriptions did not allow him to place full faith in the estampages and as he was not able to inspect the stones themselves properly he felt he was not justified to give out this new reading, and therefore stuck to the current reading *Ghsamotika* when he transcribed the initial portion of the Andhau inscriptions in his Epigraphic Note on *Sātakarṇi of the Girnar Inscription*, published in *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, p. 68. It was not till 1915 when he paid a second visit to Bhuj and was able to examine carefully the stone inscriptions in the original that he was convinced that the reading *Ysāmotika* which he had read on the strength of his estampages taken in 1906 was correctly read. When Professor Bhandarkar assured me that the discovery was really Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's he also told me in justice to Professor Lüders that the latter also did not in his paper claim any credit for being the first to read the compound letter *ysa* and showing it as equivalent to the Greek Z. To suggest therefore that Professor Bhandarkar appropriated or rather misappropriated the discovery of Professor Lüders without giving any credit to the Berlin Professor is something which cannot but excite our laughter. Professor Lüders may be the first to announce on the strength of *mere* estampages that the correct spelling of the name is *Ysāmotika* and Professor Bhandarkar may be really the second to announce the correctness of the reading, but as his reading has been based on a careful examination of the *original stones* themselves no scholar will, I think, dispute that Professor Bhandarkar is really the first to have established the reading *Ysāmotika* beyond all doubt.

Now just one word regarding the tone of the editorial article which has appeared in the *Modern Review*. It produces the impression on the mind of the reader that Professor Bhandarkar has pilfered the discovery of Professor Lüders and is thus a plagiarist. Even if the discovery had really been Professor Lüders' the proper and natural interpretation would have been that Professor Bhandarkar forgot to

mention his name. In *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 458 and ff., the late Dr. J. F. Fleet wrote a note in which he says that the name Gujarat was derived not from *Gurjara-rāṣṭra* but from *Gurjaratrā*. This view together with the arguments supporting it is exactly that propounded by Professor Bhandarkar himself in 1902, that is, four years before Dr. Fleet wrote. Professor Bhandarkar's paper on the subject was published in *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI, p. 413 and ff and was noticed in detail by the late Dr. Hoernle in *JRAS.*, 1904. Nobody will therefore ever seriously think that Professor Bhandarkar's paper had not been read by Dr. Fleet in 1906. And yet in his note on the name Gujarat Dr. Fleet mentions the view and arguments of Professor Bhandarkar without however mentioning the latter's name. No scholar, not even Professor Bhandarkar, has ever charged Dr. Fleet with plagiarism in this respect. The natural way of looking at it would be to say that Dr. Fleet forgot to mention the name of Professor Bhandarkar.

But why go to an English scholar? An instance nearer at home will perhaps illustrate my point better. Scholars are aware that a Prākrit poem called *Gauḍa-vaho* speaks of a Gauḍādhipa, or a king of Gauḍa, as being defeated by Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Who was this king of Gauḍa? In 1912 Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda expressed the view in his *Gauḍarāja-mālā* (p. 15) that this king was probably Jivitagupta II, the last king of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. In his *Pālas of Bengal* (p. 43) Mr. R. D. Banerji proposes exactly the same identification, but this Memoir was written in 1914, that is, two years after Mr. Chanda's book appeared. Mr. Banerji, however, has not mentioned Mr. Chanda's name in connection with this identification, and in this Memoir, at any rate. But can he be charged with plagiarism on this ground? I leave it to the Editor of the *Modern Review* to decide.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

P.S.—This article was read out by me before the members of the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 6th of July last. The arguments used by me have become now known all over Calcutta, and it is rumoured that a reply to some of the insignificant points dealt with in this article is in preparation and will appear in the September number of the *Modern Review*. But I do not think it desirable to go down to the level of replying to any further attacks in this Monthly. If the writer of the article in the *Modern Review* is possessed of any sound scholarship and honest courage he is requested to publish his replies in his name. It will then only be our worthwhile to take them into consideration.

N. G. M.

13th August, 1921.



"CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REFORM"—A REVIEW

An article headed the "Calcutta University Reform," appears in the July number of the *Modern Review*. The writer of the article is Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S., now of the Indian Educational Service. As it comes from a scholar of Prof. Sarkar's reputation on a subject in which we are interested, we have read it with attention. Prof. Sarkar starts with the statement of the essential requisites of a modern University and then mainly in their light makes some poignant observations on the present constitution and management of the Calcutta University. He concludes with a few suggestions for a new University Act. Leaving aside all personal matters which cover a considerable portion of the article, we propose to examine some of the principles enunciated by Prof. Sarkar. We take up to-day his views regarding the importance of money in a modern University. Prof. Sarkar tells us that money is of secondary importance in a modern University provided that the teachers and leaders of the University have the right spirit. He refers us to the beginning of the famous University of Berlin in his support. He incidentally points out that the University cannot shoot up in a moment like the mango tree of the Indian magicians and advises the University authorities to live within means and follow common-sense business methods. Then he passes on to support Mr. Sharp who refused to grant necessary money to the Calcutta University. We quote below some of his observations.

"A University does not add to its reputation if it constantly sits by the roadside, exposing its sores and whining for public charity or snarling at Mr. Sharp when he passes by without considering to add to this year's national deficit of 19 crores."

He next draws a corollary, very important one indeed, from his main proposition. As money is of secondary importance in a modern University and as secondary education is more important than University education he points out that more money should be spent on secondary education than on University education and asks the members of the Legislative Council of Bengal to bear this important fact in mind while the question of apportionment of taxpayer's money arises. He bases his valuable conclusion, he himself says, on the dictum of the present Education Minister of the British Cabinet.

In the first place, we observe that if his main contention—that money is of secondary importance in a modern University fails then all his other conclusions fail of themselves. If money is of essential importance in a modern University, then the State is bound to provide necessary funds for its well-being and equipment. If the University is not really a detachable superstructure, but "the brain and the intelligence which permeates the whole system" of education, as Lord Haldane holds, there cannot be valid reason for spending more upon secondary education than upon University education as urged by Prof. Sarkar. We learn from the same high authority on education that "What has made the German system possible is the assistance which the State has given in founding higher education."[1] The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher, in the passage cited by Prof. Sarkar which will be discussed later on, simply urges the necessity of making an adequate provision for efficient secondary schools, but he nowhere says that secondary education is more important than University education. As far as we are aware no educationist of repute has ever made such a statement not to speak of the present Education Minister of the British Cabinet who is undoubtedly a scholar of continental celebrity. Only the other day the said Right Hon'ble gentleman made

[1] Haldane, Education and Empire, p. 46.

provision of eight millions sterling for the *university education* to ex-service men, and by this means he hoped, in some measure, to repair the educational loss occasioned by the suspension of academic activity for five years. He will, we doubt not, really be sorry when he learns that such interpretation has been put upon his words by a member of the Indian Educational Service.

Now to follow up. Prof. Sarkar refers us to the beginning of the famous University of Berlin as described in the Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, in support of his main proposition. But we are sorry to notice that the authority cited by him hardly helps him in any way. On consulting the volume we find that sufficient money was given by the State for the University from the very beginning during a time of the greatest oppression and under the greatest financial difficulties and that the right spirit of the teachers and leaders of the University did not alone suffice as will be evident from the following extract:

"Humboldt's report, conceived in this spirit, was published in May, 1809, and three months later appeared an Order of the Cabinet assigning to the proposed University *the palace of Prince Henry of Prussia at Berlin and a state subvention of 150,000 thales* (£27,500) *per annum*. Fichte expressed the general feeling in his statement that this action was the highest example of a practical respect for science and thought ever afforded by a State; for it was given during a time of the direst oppression, and the greatest financial difficulties. It was not an occasion of display or elegance that was sought for, but an instrument for giving new health and vigour to the nation."[1] The readers will please remember in this connection that Prussia had two big Universities, Königsberg and Frankfort on the Oder, besides two smaller ones at the time, and as the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit robbed her of Halle, two of the Halle professors begged the King to establish a new

[1] The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, p. 327.

University in Berlin and this proposal was given effect to after mature consideration. We further learn from the same volume that in the opening year 1810-11 as many as 458 students matriculated and that such patriotic spirit was kindled by the new seat of learning within a very short time as enabled both professors and students to rush to arms in 1813. Having in view all these facts we cannot regard the grant as inadequate. We further observe in passing, that the beginning of the famous University of Berlin clearly shows that a University can grow up shortly provided that we have an adequate provision for its maintenance. We fail to understand why Prof. Sarkar suppresses these facts and places others before his readers evidently to mislead them. This is not worthy of a scholar of his reputation.

The education of the people is as important as the life and property of the persons. It has been pointed out by the best thinkers of the world that money is an essential requisite of every stage of education,—elementary, secondary or higher—and that it is the clear duty of the State to make adequate provision for the education of the people. Secondary education is important no doubt, but all the modern authorities on education lay special stress on university education. Lord Haldane—a high authority on university education—points out that if the State desires that its citizens and servants should be men of the best type, it must provide money for its well-being and equipment. Here are the words of that great educationist:

"And so we arrive at the truth, which is becoming more and more clearly perceived, not here alone, but in other lands, that *the state must see to the well-being and equipment of its Universities if it is to be furnished with the best quality in its citizens and its servants.*"[1]

We read in the *Times Educational Supplement* (July 9, 1921) that on Monday the 4th July, the Government

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 93.

entertained at luncheon, at the Savoy Hotel, the delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. Mr. Balfour presided. Lord Haldane, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Gregory Foster and other illustrious educationists of the Empire were present on the occasion. Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, responding to the toast proposed by the Chairman said that "they came from overseas, where the same experience prevailed of overcrowded Universities and diminished exchequer as in this country. They were prepared, however, to face the difficulties, for their people would not tolerate any retrogression. The people of the United States realised what education meant and were spending money on their Universities with a lavishness which would have been regarded as fabulous a few years ago, for in their judgment the future lay with an educated democracy and there was safety alone in such a democracy." The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher whose opinion Prof. Sarkar rightly prizes so much proclaims in no uncertain terms the essential necessity of money in a modern University. We cite below an extract from his latest reported speech in connection with the Anglo-American Conference :

"Our Universities are full of students but much embarrassed for money. Books are at famine prices. We shall have spent before we are done eight millions upon providing opportunities of University education to ex-service men, and by this expedient we hope, in some measure, to repair the grave educational loss occasioned by the suspension of academic activity for five years. * * * *Nevertheless, the grim goddess of finance exercises, as she always must in the last resort, an inexorable power.*"[1] Mr. Fisher tells us that finance must in the last resort, exercise an inexorable power over Universities, but Prof. Sarkar holds that it is of secondary importance provided we have the right spirit. Whom are we to follow—the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher or Prof. Sarkar of

[1] *Times Educational Supplement*, July 16, 1921

the Indian Education Service? Everywhere in Europe or America money has been considered as an essential factor of a modern University. In France the State spends a good deal of money for University education. In Germany the Universities are practically maintained by the State. In the words of Lord Haldane, "In Germany it is considered to be a good investment for the State to contribute seventy or eighty per cent. of the cost of the Universities." In America both the State and the rich are spending lavishly for their Universities. In the United Kingdom too, the State spends a considerable amount of money for their Universities. But here in India we hear that money is of secondary importance in a modern University and that it will add to the State deficit of 19 crores. We have enough of money for the military organisation, we have enough of money for the maintenance of the police, we have enough for the increment of the pay of the Civil and Imperial Services and sundry other matters, but when the question of education comes up we are told that we have no money. It is possible to make any such statement here in India only and not in any other civilised country of the world.

Next we want to convey to our readers some idea of money that is indispensably necessary in connection with the maintenance of an up-to-date University. There are four Universities in Scotland. In addition to the magnificent donation of £2,000,000 from Mr. Carnagie and other sources of income, a sum of £72,000 is annually granted by the Parliament for these Universities and is administered by their Courts. The following extract will show how the sum granted by the Parliament is actually expended by them :—

"The Parliamentary grant made annually to the four Scottish Universities is £42,000. The expenditure out of this grant is not accounted for in detail to the Treasury, nor are unexpended balances surrendered at the close of the financial year. The grant is made under section 25 of the Universities

(Scotland) Act 1889. In addition the Universities receive £30,000 annually from the Local Taxation Account under section 2, subsection (*ii*) of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act 1892." Thus a sum of £72,000 per annum is received by the Universities from Parliament, and is administered by the University Courts in accordance with the ordinances of the Commissioners under the Universities Act, 1889. The Scotch Education Department does not control these moneys in any way, but under Section 16 (I) (*b*) of the Education Act, 1908, the Secretary for Scotland (the representative head of the Education Department) administers grants to the Universities from the Education (Scotland) Fund.

"The following table shows for 1908-9 the number of students and the allocation of the Parliamentary Grant of £72,000:—

	Grants.	Number of student
Edinburgh ...	£25,920	3,286
Glasgow ...	£20,880	2,699
Aberdeen ...	£14,400	970
St. Andrews ...	£10,800	585
TOTAL ...	£72,000	7,540" [1]

Prof. Sarkar refers to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher's latest reported speech at Plymouth but does not give us his views regarding the money problem of a modern University. But we learn from the report of Mr. W. L. Munday,—the Chairman of the Plymouth Education Committee, evidently formed on the lines of suggestions made by Mr. Fisher "the University Grants Committee had it a condition that minimum income of a University granting degrees in arts and pure science was £45,000, and that Exeter College needed £20,000 to bring it up to that level. For a multi-faculty University, which was the ultimate aim, the income needed was £100,000." Thus

[1] The Teachers' Encyclopædia, Vol. VI, pp. 01-02.

according to the latest estimate, a University granting degrees in arts and pure science requires annually—the minimum sum of Rs. 6,75,000 and a multi-faculty teaching University requires Rs. 15,00,000. It cannot be said that the teachers and leaders of the Exeter College are wanting in right spirit. In spite of their right spirit they require the minimum income of Rs. 6,75,000 for establishing a University which will simply confer degrees in arts and pure science. Only the other day, the Bengal Legislative Council granted Rs. 9,00,000 a year for the establishment and maintenance of the teaching University of Dacca which undertakes to teach only 1,500 students. Its Vice-Chancellor—Mr. P. J. Hartog—the former Academic Registrar of the University of London, asked for more money but his requisition was not agreed to. It can hardly be held that Mr. Hartog is wanting in right spirit. But what is the annual government grant to the multi-faculty Teaching University of Calcutta which undertakes to teach at least twice as many students? Leaving out of account the sum which the Government allows for mess and inspection work of the University which amounts to Rs. 43,128 (Rs. 13,128+Rs. 30,000), it spends only Rs. 98,000 for the teaching work of the University. The following table shows the allocation of the total government grant of Rs. 1,41,128 inclusive of mess grant and inspection work :—

	Per year. Rs.
Hardinge Professor	12,000
George V. Professor	12,000
Minto Professor	13,000
Two Readers	4,000
Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts	15,000
Science College Laboratory	12,000
University Law College	30,000
Inspector's Pay and Travelling	30,000
Mess Grant	13,128
TOTAL ...	1,41,128

Thus we see that the multi-faculty University of Calcutta gets Rs. 98,000 for post-graduate teaching in arts, science, and law. This sad state of things was pointed out in a letter by the present Registrar of the Calcutta University which has been characterised by Professor Sarkar as " snarling at Mr. Sharp." He further advises the university authorities to practise economy especially in a time when the budget shows a deficit of 19 crores of rupees. We require Rs. 10 for our maintenance and you give us Re. 1 instead with the direction " practise economy. " It is very easy to give such advice but impossible to practise it in life. What will Professor Sarkar think of one who proposes to cut down Professor Sarkar's pay to Rs. 100 because the budget shows a deficit of 19 crores of rupees ? Professor Sarkar will do well to communicate this valuable piece of advice to Mr. Hartog—the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University—and thus to save a good deal of useless and unnecessary expenditure. To tell the truth such a pernicious doctrine has never been preached by any educationist of repute.

Professor Sarkar, as noted above, puts a wrong interpretation on the words of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher regarding secondary education. Here are the words of that eminent educationist :

" A University cannot exist without a supply of pupils desirous of the higher learning and qualified to benefit from it. This implies an adequate provision of efficient secondary schools, capable of bringing their pupils up to the point at which they can profit from University education. "

In the passage quoted above Mr. Fisher simply urges the necessity of making an adequate provision for *efficient* secondary schools but he nowhere tells us that secondary education is more important than University education. From Arnold downwards many educationists have pressed for the improvement of secondary educational system in Great Britain. We learn from Lord Haldane that in England there is a first-rate

elementary system, but the secondary system does not exist as a systematised whole and is in need of being co-ordinated and put upon a proper and regulated basis.[1] Only the other day some regulations were passed in England for improving the efficiency of secondary education. As secondary system is in need of efficiency, Mr. Fisher has simply pointed that out. He purposely uses the word " efficient " before " secondary schools, " for in his opinion, a secondary system cannot advance without " highly trained teachers," who are undoubtedly products of the University. In Germany, America, and France, the universities or establishments in close connection with the universities are the training places of teachers. All the modern authorities on education altogether repudiate the idea of having such separate establishments as " normal schools," or " training colleges " for the training of teachers. We know as a matter of fact that secondary systems have worked better where the influence of the University has been brought to bear upon them. There cannot be two opinions about the fact that by improving the University system we indirectly improve the secondary and elementary school system as well. It is a well-known fact that everywhere in America and Europe educational authorities have spent much upon their Universities. Why so ? Because they are decidedly of opinion that by advancing higher education they simply advance the whole educational machinery. We have noted above what has made the German educational system possible is the assistance the State has rendered in founding higher education. It is known to all that America is going ahead very fast. Why is it ? It is due, " partly at least, to the development of higher teaching, that has taken place in America. "[2] The progressive Universities of Great Britain such as that of London, are spending a good deal of money. But a belated member of the Indian Educational Service tells

[1] Haldane, Education and Empire, p. 60.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 61.

us that such should not be the case in India at the greatest crisis in her history.

Most Indians do not quite realise the importance of university education. That was exactly the case with the Americans even in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In that period many older men were heard saying, "What is the difference between a college and a university?" It is now-a-days generally admitted in Europe and America that college training is one thing and university training is another; "that college instruction is disciplinary, requires definite, but not uniform methods, and a certain deference to the authority of the master; while university instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a commander."[1] According to Lord Haldane—a high authority on education, University "is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their spiritual baptism."[2] The elementary school may help us in getting a number of men with rudiments of knowledge and a number of skilled labourers at best. The secondary schools develop a much smaller and still larger class of well-trained men. But it is the ideal work of the University to produce such exceptionally trained type of citizens whose calling requires high talent, and who are fit to lead as well as to organise. Thus conceived the universities are "the very intellectual centres of the nation, the centres from which emanate light and leading in almost every walk of life, and most of all in our intellectual life." By starving these fountain-heads of culture and enlightenment you really starve the very intellectual life of the nation.

[1] *Vide* the article on "Universities" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

[2] Haldane, Universities and aNtional Life, p. 105.

In order to achieve its ends a University requires a number of scholars who have concentrated their whole attention upon different subjects of study and research and are prepared to accomplish them with all their strength. A scholar who would accomplish anything of value must limit himself. The first duty of a university teacher is "to seek to comprehend clearly what his strength will let him accomplish, and then to do it with his might." He looks neither to the right nor to the left, but goes onward for the attainment of his purpose. Singleness of aim always dominates his life. When a well-equipped University succeeds in securing a number of such dedicated lives, it need not despair. Its success is not to be measured by its apparent failure to reach some end, but by the quality of its striving. Judging by this standard, we must say that the Calcutta University is a great success. Only the other day Mr. Stark said in the Legislative Council of Bengal that "since the Calcutta University was established its achievements had been remarkable in the history of educational progress in any country in the world."

Mr. Sharp calls the University of Calcutta an *imperium in imperio*. Prof. Sarkar repeats the same tale. Let us see whether the University of Calcutta is really one government within another under the present Indian Universities Act of 1904. The Body Corporate of the Calcutta University called its Senate consists of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, *Ex-officio* Fellows, and Ordinary Fellows. In the First Schedule of the Act we come across the names of the persons who are the *Ex-officio* Fellows of the University. With the exception of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, they are all high Government officials. Section 6 of the Act provides that the number of the Ordinary Fellows shall not be less than fifty nor exceed one hundred and of such number 10 shall be elected by Registered Graduates, ten by the Faculties, and the remainder shall be nominated by the Chancellor. The Executive Government of the University is vested in the Syndicate which consists of

the Vice-Chancellor, Director of Public Instruction, and 15 *Ex-officio* or Ordinary Fellows of the University elected for a year, four of whom to be elected by the Senate, four by the Faculty of Arts, two by the Faculty of Science, two by the Faculty of Law, two by the Faculty of Medicine, and one by the Faculty of Engineering. Further, there is a Board of Accounts consisting of three Fellows other than members of the Syndicate which is appointed by the Senate at its Annual Meeting. This is in outline its present constitution. As constituted under the Act it is purely a Government Institution. The Calcutta University Commission having for its President, such an eminent educationist as Sir M. E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, holds the same view. It observes that "the relations between Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of responsibility of the University authorities." If so, we ask, where is the basis for the so-called stigma that it is an *imperium in imperio*?

It has been pointed out by eminent educationists that a "University cannot live and thrive under the domination either of the Government or the Church.[1] Freedom and development are the breath of its nostrils, and it can recognise no authority except that which rests on the right of the Truth to command obedience."[1] If so, every University is in fact an *imperium in imperio*. Anyone studying the constitution of the Universities of the world will notice that best Universities enjoy full autonomy as regards their management which is a matter of vital importance to all teaching bodies. Take, for instance, the constitution of the University of Cambridge.

"The senate in congregation is the legislative body. Those who vote in it are the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, doctors of divinity, law, medicine, science, letters and music, and masters of art, law, surgery and music. The council of the

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 105.

senate, consisting of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, four heads of colleges, four professors and eight other members of the senate chosen by the electoral roll, brings all proposals (called Graces) before the senate. *The revenues of the University are derived chiefly from fees at Matriculation, for certain examinations, and degrees, from a tax upon all the members of the University, and from contributions by the colleges, together with the profits of the University Press.* A financial board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, *ex-officio* and certain elected members, administers the finances of the University. There are boards for each of the various faculties, and a General Board of Studies, with the Vice-Chancellor at the head. There are University professors, readers and lecturers in a large number of subjects."[1]

Thus we see that the Senate in congregation does everything for the University and does not allow either the Parliament or any other corporate body to interfere with its management. To express the same fact in the language of Mr. Sharp, it is an *imperium in imperio.* Not only the University of Cambridge but every University of Great Britain and America worth the name enjoys full autonomy. But in Bengal the Senate in congregation is ridiculed even for exercising its legitimate authority. It has been contemptuously characterised as an *imperium in imperio.* We believe Mr. Sharp is an Englishman and undoubtedly knows something of the Universities of his mother-land. He should not have so soon forgotten all his British training.

We observe in passing that the fees for Matriculation and on certain other examinations and degrees are used by the Cambridge University for the furtherance of higher studies. It has never been objected to in England, but to do so has been considered as sacrilegious in Bengal. We further note that the Vice-Chancellor of the Universities of Cambridge, Harvard, Leeds, and other Universities is the President of all their

[1] *Vide* the article "Cambridge" in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition.

faculties. But Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been vehemently attacked by Prof. Sarkar for doing the same thing in Calcutta. Under its present constitution with more than 80 per cent. Government nominees, if Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has succeeded in becoming the ruler of the Calcutta University, he is undoubtedly a power—a power of no mean order—and it further appears that his colleagues most of whom are not dependent on him in any way follow his light and leading because they feel that his administration is for the good of the majority. One-man rule is not necessarily an evil. Many States have advanced under one-man rule. It is a well-known fact that Great Britain prospered under the administration of Pitt and Germany under that of Bismarck. In India at present Mahatma Gandhi is the *de facto* ruler of the Indian National Congress. It is not the lot of all to lead; few are born to lead, the rest are led. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee inspite of his faults, for as a man he must have faults of his own, is undoubtedly the fittest man to manage the present affairs of the Calcutta University. To tell the truth we can name none else in India who is fitter for the task. If you consider him incompetent on good grounds—on grounds other than personal animosities and jealousies, replace him by all means, replace him by a person who is abler than he to tide over the present difficulties of the Calcutta University. We have no objection—none in the least. But do not try to ruin a University of 65 years' standing with unparalleled records of success by refusing to make an adequate provision for its upkeep. You must not adopt any such suicidal policy. It will seriously jeopardise the progress of your mother-land. When Germany was under the heels of Napoleon who saved her? Men like Fichte and Von Humboldt who urged the people to educate themselves and to found Universities. America is becoming so very great and powerful partly because she is spending lavishly upon her Universities. Only the other day Sir Robert Falconer—the President of the University of Toronto—

said in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire that his countrymen were prepared to face the difficulties, for they would not tolerate any retrogression. Will Indians alone with all their past glories and civilisation allow themselves to retrograde? It is unbecoming of the past tradition of India. In the name of civilisation and education, we ask you again not to do so. Furnish the multi-faculty University of Calcutta with necessary funds and see what it achieves in the course of a generation. Young India will do well to remember the noble words of an eminent educationist that "to maintain the Universities of the country at a high level is thus an act of high patriotism on the part of the citizens."[1]

ABHAYKUMAR GUHA

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 9.

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"SOME PROPOSALS OF REFORM"

The first instalment of a Private Report has been received from a Private Secretary attached to the Legislative Department—an excessively private Report from a strictly Private Secretary—dealing with grave matters of current moment and forecasting the course which public affairs are expected to follow now that the amount of ink requisitioned for drafting the Crown evidence in the Karnani trial has been placed at the disposal of our new ministers. The Report is prefaced by a dignified explanation issued upon high authority regarding the precise meaning of the word "Legislative" when used in conjunction with the word "Department." This action has been rendered necessary in view of a rumour which, as a result of the trial (to the public) above referred to has been spreading in the bazaars adjacent to Harrison Road. It is categorically denied that the word "Legislative" means anything but "law-making." The assertion that it suggests "law-breaking" has no foundation.

The Report then proceeds to deal with the policy of the action taken by the Government in the matter of the Karnani trial.

The public, says the Report, are regrettably ignorant of the penetrating insight which lies behind high diplomacy. The esoteric functioning of high finance is as nothing compared to the subtle intricacies of the motives which dictate that rare class of measure about which the Viceroy has from time to time to be consulted—five days afterwards. Now, it is the first task of the new Government to kill the Non-Co-Operation Movement. Till the protagonists of that misguided creed are provided with Manchester cushions in the new councils, the nasal breathing of members on the front benches when ministers are reading their speeches will always have a depressing note. For one cannot snore musically so long as

one's dreams are disturbed by revolting visions of barristers refusing briefs amidst the incoherent roaring of vibrant voices vociferating "See our Das!" and "I be Sen!" The thing is not decent. Moreover, there are other considerations. In the matter of controlling "Exchange" or even of binding it down to keep the peace, the Government had to admit defeat. One valuable member of the Indian Civil Service died of ulcers on the brain, another took to,—that is, embraced ways of which the well-known American citizen, Mr. P. Johnson, has spoken rather disparagingly, and a third retired from the Service in order to take a course in "How to Avoid Self-Contradiction," at the School of Pelmanism. The matter would have assumed the proportions of a riot had not the well-known Economist, Mr. Hailey, made the novel and astounding discovery that the movement of Exchange like Einstein's Theory of Light is the result of natural laws to control which human legislation is powerless.

(A confidential note was thereupon forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India suggesting that wherever other considerations permit, the positions of Finance Members are in future to be filled by such members of the Service as possess a research degree in Economics. This was noted.) The Government was rescued from embarrassment and confidence was just about to be restored in its policy of "Laissez Faire," when the "Non-Co-operation" party violated all the laws of decorum by appearing on the scene armed with "Charkhas." The country suddenly manifested a vulpine appetite for the obnoxious product of these machines, the law-abiding Marwari community were forced for want of a market to curtail and cancel their dealings in Manchester textiles, imports fell off and exchange promptly executed several unseemly leaps upwards. Mr. Hailey and his brother scientists could suggest no remedy. What was to be done? Against "Charkhas" even machine-guns were powerless—besides the non-co-operators had already "cannonised"

their leader, Mr. Gandhi, who was being referred to as a saint. It was necessary to discredit these people in the eyes of the country. Now, mark the ways of ingenious, subtle and triumphant diplomacy. The Karnani trial establishes a precedent which no court of criminal jurisdiction can dare to ignore. Henceforward, it will be a sufficient defence to an indictment for murder that the accused was concerned in a business for the manufacture of hatchets from Indian iron, to a charge of cheating that he was Director of a company for the production of diamonds from Indian glass, to a prosecution for uttering false cheques that he was the founder of an Indian bank, to an accusation of forgery that he was a shareholder in a concern for manufacturing milk from Indian chalk. The consequences are appalling. The Gandhi cap will become the badge of sin and the "Charkha" the loom of Satan. The Non-Co-Operation camp will become the refuge of the criminal classes. God-fearing citizens will clamour for admission to the councils. At the call of respectability Mr Das may allow himself to be appointed Advocate-General and Mr. Gandhi may even become Commissioner of Police! As a political and economic movement Non-Co-Operation will be as dead as a drowned kitten. Its adherents from being a reprehensible rabble of cynical obstructionists will become a constitutionally conducted opposition of precise "progressives"!!

* * * * *

The Report then proceeds to foreshadow some of the questions which will call for immediate attention after the Non-Co-Operation Party has been demobilised and its members accommodated inside the Reformed Councils. These questions are marshalled in order of importance.

I. *Structural Alterations to Council Halls.*—It will be necessary at the public expense to construct a water-duct leading from the roof into the interior of each Council Chamber

in order to provide the Opposition with rain-water, which, according to report, is the only beverage they are accustomed to drink. No inlet will be provided for thunder or lightning. Of these enough is expected to be generated indoors.

Each Chamber will be provided with a refrigerating and a heating apparatus, the former to be placed amongst the Opposition benches and the latter behind the Ministerial. It is anticipated that the atmosphere surrounding the Opposition will at times become unduly heated, whereas our new Ministers are likely to suffer from that chilly feeling which displays itself in a sudden and unpleasant clamminess of the brow.

II. *Ink Supplies.*—Facilities for a free flow of ink in Secretariat Offices are to be provided in accordance with specifications to be taken from Tala. The tap system will prevent an undue mortality amongst *chaprasis* who fall victims to a malignant form of lumbago when requested to carry heavy buckets up and down stairs.

III. *Office Appliances.*—To ensure the proper tying up and docketing of heavy documents, such as Memorials, Applications, Petitions and Complaints, a constant supply of tape is to be arranged for, the colour of which must be red.

IV. *Inter-Departmental Communications.*—When a Minister or Member of the Executive Council has occasion to address an enquiry or other communication to any Minister or Member in charge of another Department, he will be expected to forward such enquiry or other communication through the Secretary of State. This method is expected to be more expeditious than the system of sending notes by *chaprasis*.

V. *Amendments to the Constitution.*—The distinction between Transferred and Reserved Subjects is to be replaced by a division of Executive functions into Transferred Reserved and Relegated Subjects—*i.e.*, "Relegated" to oblivion. It is not yet quite clear what subjects this last-mentioned group

will embrace, but it is certain that University Education will be one of them. This, however, will be subject to a qualification in favour of New Universities, *e.g.*, Dacca, which are to have in addition to Colleges, Lecture Halls, Hostels, Professional Vice-Chancellors, Libraries and Laboratories, a Billiard Saloon, a Swimming-Bath, a Night Club, and a Barber's shop. In fact, the principle is to be established that the older the University the less the attention it is to receive. The reward of old age is senile decay. In the case of the Calcutta University, provision will, however, be made for the salaries of at least three menials as it will be necessary in view of the Rash Behary Ghosh bequest to keep the ceiling of the Science College free from cobwebs.

* * * * *

The first instalment of the Private Report ends rather abruptly here. The Private Secretary at this stage went away to consult a well-known Ex-Member for Education as to the precise meaning of the word "University," and the Ex-Member, discovering that the Private Secretary was thinking of Calcutta, had that excellent gentleman locked up and since then no more has been heard of him.

N. A. K.

LITERARY, LINGUISTIC, AND OTHER SKETCHES

POLISH SKETCHES

I.—The Literature of Poland

1. General

The oldest literary documents date from about 966 A.D., the date of Christianisation of Poland; they are written in Latin, the oldest historical production consisting of annals and chronicles. Some literary monuments written in the Polish language date from the thirteenth century. A great intellectual impetus was given by the foundation of the University of Krakow in 1364, which is the second-oldest University of Central Europe, the oldest being that of Prague. Thanks to the initiative of Queen Jadwigoe, the University of Krakow, from the year 1400, became one of the famous Universities of Europe, the subjects chiefly cultivated being scholastic philosophy, mathematics and astroncmy. The great Kopernikus was the pupil of the mathematician Brudzew. The fifteenth century produced a rich harvest of Latin poems; indeed, Latin remained a spoken language among the educated people of Poland long after it had ceased to be spoken by the educated classes in Italy.

The first printed book in the Polish language was published in 1521.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the rapid development of indigenous literature; that was the "Golden Era of the Sigismunds," the "Okres Zygmuntowski."

The epoch of the two Augusts of Saxony was a time of political, intellectual and moral decay; but notwithstanding that some valuable literary work was done. Even ladies began to engage themselves in literature, the most notable one being Elzbieta Druzbacka (died in 1765), who wrote phantastic tales, satires and idyllic poems of considerable merit.

On the initiative of King Stanislaus August, the Polish parliament appointed a commission, which developed into the first ministry of education in Europe; this commission reformed the Universities of Krakow and Wilna, established a great number of middle and elementary schools and founded a society for the publication of elementary school books.

The first public Polish theatre was established in Warszawa (Warsaw) in 1765 and gave a great impetus to dramatic activities. An influential author of this period was the satirist Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801). Several other writers of considerable merit made their appearance at this period. One of the notable products of the time immediately succeeding the Third Partition of Poland was the lyric poem "The Polish Bard" by the famous statesman Adam Czartoryski, in which the poet pours out his grief over the fall of his motherland and his belief in a brighter future.

The University of Warszawa (Warsaw) was founded in 1818, and the capital became a centre of great intellectual activity. The University of Wilna counted among its distinguished teachers the great biologist and humorist Andreas Sniadecki.

After a period of activity of imitators of the French Pseudoclassicists, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), one of the most popular and most influential of Poland's authors, became the real founder of the Polish romantic school. Mickiewicz, born in a small town in Lituania, educated in the University of Wilna, then at the height of its fame, was a man possessed of deep knowledge of human nature and the world around him. He was an exceedingly fertile writer and published in 1834 the great epos Pan Tadeusz, which is considered by critics to be the greatest national epic poem of the nineteenth century. Two other authors of that period, Slowacki and Krasinski form with Mickiewicz the constellation of Poland's three greatest romanticists, each one a complement to the other two. Mickiewicz depicts the real life of the people and is the

poet of love in its different aspects; Slowacki is distinguished by rich imagination, a deep melancholy and ironical tendencies rooted in his dissatisfaction with existing conditions; Krasinski is a philosopher and a thinker who bases higher morality on reason. "All three harbour a firm belief in high moral ideals and the progress of humanity; all three are great masters of the Polish language. Every Pole can feel with, and understand Mickiewicz; Slowacki's works appeal only to refined minds susceptible to everything that is beautiful; Krasinski can be fully appreciated alike by educated and thinking foreigners and his own people." Besides these literary giants, the period of 1831-1863 produced a galaxy of other distinguished and patriotic writers. Among them we find the fertile novelist Kraczewski, whose literary productions fill six hundred volumes. Nor must we forget the great historian Lelewel and the school founded by him.

The ill-fated revolution of 1863-64 produced a depreciation of romantic ideals and opened the door to the positivism of Auguste Comte. The attempted russification of Poland and a strict censorship was not, however, successful in killing Polish nationalism. Conditions were more favourable in Galicia which, under the Austrian Government, received a large measure of autonomy and the right to use the Polish language in administration, courts and schools. The attempts made by the Prussian Government to germanise the province of Posen, although not crowned with success, interfered with national-literary activity, but the system of compulsory primary education, introduced long ago in Prussia had the beneficent effect that long before the year 1919 there were no illiterates in the province of Posen, the ancient Great-Poland. Successful attempts were soon made by modern Polish authors to smooth over the gap between romanticism and sober positivism. Here we meet the great Lyric compose Adam Asnyk and the famous poetess Marja Konopnicka, whose poetry breathes deep sympathy with peasants and workmen, with the lowly

and depressed. She published also valuable studies of great Polish writers and translated numerous works of foreign authors. Equally distinguished are two other authoresses—Eliza Orzeszkowa and Marja Rodzieviczówna. It would lead us too far to refer to the numerous authors whom modern times have produced. Poland's literature is one of the richest, as rich as the language in which it has found its expression.

2. Two great modern Polish authors

As representatives of two different tendencies in modern Polish literature we may choose Henryk Sienkiewicz and Stefan Zeromski, one the author of some of the most powerful historical romances ever written in any country, and the other a pronounced pessimist. Sienkiewicz was born in 1846 and died during the Great War. His short stories belong to the great masterpieces of that type of literature; such are "Carbon Sketches" and "Janko the Musician." Longer stories are: "Bartek the Victor," describing the adventures of a Posen peasant who took part in the Franco-German War of 1870; "The Search after Bread," a picture of the sufferings of a Polish farmer and his daughter, emigrants to the United States, "Out of the memoirs of a Polish Teacher," describing the sad conditions of a Polish scholar in a Russian school. After Sienkiewicz had paid a visit to the United States he wrote "Latarnik" the "Light-house Keeper," depicting the power which the love of the motherland has over a Polish emigrant. The genius of Sienkiewicz as a great writer manifests itself especially in his great trilogy "By Fire and Sword," "The Flood" and "Pan Wolodyjowski." The author declares it as his object to console his compatriots by reminding them of the tragic events of former days and of the awakening of the spirit of patriotism in recent time, a sign of the dawn of a brighter future. Still more famous is "Quo vadis?" which has been translated into nearly every European language; the most successful of these translations

being undoubtedly the Italian one by Federigo Verdinois, the Italian language being beautifully adapted to the author's vivid and accurate description of the conditions obtaining in Rome during the rule of Nero, a monster in human form. "The Knight of the Cross" draws a vivid picture of the Order of the German Knights and of the Polish nobility on the eve of the momentous battle of Tannenberg. His later novel, "The Whirl-pool" is based on the revolutionary movements which took place in the years 1905 and 1906. As Sienkiewicz's "Quo vadis?" is so well known—even the cinematograph has contributed to spreading its fame,— we shall not present our readers with specimens of the great author's productions.

Stefan Zeromski was born in 1864 in Strawczyn near the town of Kielce; he completed the courses of the "Gymnasium" at Kielce, studied in the University of Warszawa, was private tutor in several Polish families, resided in Switzerland during the years 1892-1896, travelled in Italy, France and Germany and finally took his abode in Warszawa. Of the modern Polish authors he is one of the most famous. As already stated, Zeromski is a pessimist, who combines the craving after what is best with the fatalistic belief in the unavoidable existence of evil. Of his stories of modern life may be mentioned: "We shall be torn by Ravens and Crows" (here in India we should probably say: "We shall be devoured by jackals and vultures"); "Labours of Sisyphus," "People without a Roof over their Head," a picture of Polish labourers in industrial centres, and "The Story of a Sin." Zeromski has also written a number of historical novels. The following are extracts from his novel "The Ray," a series of sketches of the life in a town in what was formerly Russian Poland.

A Railway Journey in Russian Poland.

"To Morysow, Tarcice, Polemisko, Lzawiec!" called out the conductor.

"And where is the carriage for non-smokers?" asked Raduski politely.

"For non-smokers? Eh? Farther in front. The first carriage."

This first carriage appeared to smoke itself, for smoke was pouring in volumes out of doors and windows, smoke from cigars and pipes smelling like burning heaps of half-dried potato-plants in the second week of September. On benches, boards and under the benches sat a whole colony of grown-up children of Israel, engaged in eager and noisy conversation. Raduski remained helplessly in front of one of the open doors trying to discover an empty seat, but none was to be seen. He looked into another carriage, equally crowded, the occupants being of Aryan descent. The smoke which filled the carriage was as dense as in that reserved for Jews and reminded Raduski as strongly as the other of autumnal potato-fields. Not only were all seats occupied, but there was hardly any standing room. Finally the wanderer spotted an empty seat in a third carriage and sat down on it. The conductor blew his whistle, when a fresh swarm of human beings streamed into the carriage, until there would have been no room even for a falling pin to reach the floor. The train started. Raduski's nose nearly came in contact with the projecting frontal parts of an immensely stout passenger on the opposite seat, whilst at his side sat two little girls accompanied by a matronly woman, who might have been their mother, aunt or grandmother. The girls sat stiffly upright in the endeavour not to be crushed by the fronts, backs or hands of passengers crowding round them and treating them as if they were life-less bundles or packages. Their anxious eyes were filled with wonder and apprehension. The elderly lady tried to save them from being crushed or buffeted by projecting elbows, but after she herself had had a knock in her ribs, she allowed matters to take their course. Behind the girls sat a man in a worn-out fur-coat, on his head one of those hats which in common parlance are called

"melons." In a loud voice which could be heard all over the carriage he related anecdotes as old as his fur-coat and of as little intrinsic value. Then the voice of a red-haired passenger was heard: "You mangy Jew, tie up your bundle as long as I am in good humour and do not wait until I lose my temper!" These words were addressed to a Jewish lad who sat quietly at the very end of one of the benches.

"Why do you meddle with other people's affairs? Are you the chucker-out of an inn?" retorted the lad. The man in the old-fashioned fur-coat murmured: "Away with you, Jew of the Old Testament; I tell you, you will take a flying leap out of the carriage, squeaking like a pig. Go into the carriage reserved for Jews!" "I have a right to be here," replied the youth; "I have a ticket entitling me to travel in this carriage." "Even if you have a ticket as you say, I counsel you, as if I was your own mother, not to sit near me, if you don't want to run the risk of changing this bench for a little white coffin." "Do you imagine I have not a pair of fists?" shouted the lad. This outburst was answered by a shower of knocks between his ribs, which induced the lad to take his place quietly among the throng of people who were standing in the passage.

In the centre of the carriage stood a stove in which burnt a bright coal-fire. The passengers, both those sitting and those standing went on smoking the vilest tobacco without intermission. The atmosphere was stifling. Raduski's little neighbours evidently suffered acutely. Opposite them sat two young men, talking loudly, whilst the younger of the two smoked one cigarette after the other and seemed to take a pleasure in blowing clouds of smoke into the face of the elder of the two girls, whose age was probably not more than seven years. Not satisfied with his own performance, he offered a cigarette to his companion. The poor girl grew paler and paler and finally got sick. Raduski pushed the two young fellows aside, and opened a window and politely requested

them to abstain from smoking. They looked at him astonished, as if he had addressed them in Malay, and continued their conversation. The girl recovered and Raduski had to close the window again, after a man, with a yellow face, broad nose, pointed chin and an expression of sour pessimism on his face had called out that he was in danger of contracting an inflammation of his right lung. As soon as the window had been closed, the young man opposite took out his box of cigarettes and a box of matches and offered a cigarette to his companion. "Sir," exclaimed Raduski, "please do not smoke. Do you not see that the girl is on the point of fainting?" The young man smiled in a sheepish way and did not remove the cigarette from his mouth. It happened at the moment that the conductor went along the carriage. Raduski requested him to show him and the two girls to a compartment for non-smokers. It turned out that such an asylum was not to be found in any of the third-class carriages. "The public will smoke. How can we help it?" said the conductor. "Then take me and the two girls to a second-class carriage!" requested Raduski. "The second-class carriages are worse," replied the conductor. "The only remedy is to make this carriage a carriage for non-smokers." With these words the conductor turned a label round so that the words "Smoking forbidden here!" became visible. The only result was that the Catholic who had had an altercation with the Jewish lad rose from his seat and lighted a cigar. This example was instantly followed by the two youths, and the man in the fur-coat took out a cigar, bit off the end, spat out the fragment and called out: "This *was* a carriage for smokers, *now* it is one for non-smokers. Whose nose is irritated by smoke, let him better pack himself off to a first-class carriage." Raduski got angry and replied: "The question is not about grown-up people, but about a child who feels sick." "Child! Feels sick! Such illness is good for the health! It won't do any harm to the little countess!" retorted the owner of the shabby fur-coat. All

the neighbours laughed, enjoying the encounter. Raduski was silenced; the man with the "melon" on his head looked about with a provocative smile; victory remained with Lady Nicotine.

The whistle sounded. "Morysow!" somebody whispered. The train stopped. A number of passengers alighted. Fresh air found its way through the open doors. Raduski with the permission of the elderly lady, took the two little girls out for a walk on the platform. The second bell rang. Hardly had Raduski and his two friends reconquered their seats, than there appeared in the doorway a huge bundle rolled up in a chequered piece of cloth and behind the bundle an old lady, her head so tightly covered by wrappers, that only portions of her wrinkled face, her protruding lips and sparse teeth were visible. Behind her walked a thin elderly lady similarly wrapped up. The first lady, after having managed to roll her bundle into the carriage, began to talk to nobody in particular. "Mrs. Pisarkiewicz," she related, "and myself went by train returning to our home, and we were talking about all sorts of things." "Palenisko," suddenly whispered Mrs. Pisarkiewicz, "Palenisko is our home. Up we jumped and rolled our bundle out of the carriage. But where was Palenisko? We saw a curious looking building and a cows' stable, and a big forest black like soot. We remained standing wondering where we were, we looked round, and there the train was gone. That happened yesterday, before midnight. Holy Domicella! We didn't seem to be in Palenisko. Two boxes, one belonging to my husband and one to Mrs. Pisarkiewicz had been put in the brake-van. Good people, please tell us what will happen to them?" Somebody, in some corner, remarked: "You should have been more alert. Your husband will tan your back with the fire-hook and that will be the end of the trouble." The old lady continued: "We ran to the station master, we talked to him, we questioned him, we entreated him—nothing! He

stretched out both his arms and said: 'You will have to wait till to-morrow afternoon, and your tickets will be of no use to you then, and the boxes will be all right.' But what was to happen to us? My husband was to meet us; he had borrowed a horse and cart from our neighbour Zielin'ski; for the distance from the station to our house is nine werst. Mrs. Pisarkiewicz and I stood stiff with fright. We had hardly any money left: we bought two cups of tea and a loaf of bread and were told by the porter to find a place to sleep on one of the wooden benches. So here we are." And the poor old lady suddenly broke out lamenting and in a voice, as if she confessed to be a murderess, she exclaimed: "And now we are travelling without a ticket, and we shall be thrown out of the carriage."

The close atmosphere of the carriage finally put the two old ladies to sleep. Raduski quietly put himself in communication with the elder of the two little girls. The girl looked at him, then at her lady companion, then at something she held in her right hand and finally slid down from her seat, approached the sleeping woman, slipped a three-ruble note between her folded hands, and returned to her seat, she and her sister curiously watching the sleeper. The latter finally awoke. "My dear people, what is the meaning of this? I had fallen asleep and I dreamt of a ram with two black horns who was going to charge at me. I awaken. I move my fingers and there, something rustles between my hands. I look. Holy Domicella of Polonki, what is the meaning of it?"

The train stopped. Lzawiec!—Raduski alighted.

(To be continued)

P. BRÜHL

OUR BENEFACTORS

(1)

Premchund Roychund

The first and one of the foremost names that stands in the list of our benefactors is that of Premchund Roychund, a name that is very well-known to the *alumni* of the Calcutta University in connection with the Premchund Roychund Studentships while Bombay owes to him her finest edifice, the magnificent "Rajabai Tower."

Like all great men, Premchund came of humble parentage. He was born at Surat in 1831. He belonged to the *Bania* caste well-known for its shrewd commercial and business instincts.

After a brief schooling in the three R's at Bombay, he acquired a smattering of English, and began life as a broker on the stock exchange, under Ratanchand Lala. In six years, his family had amassed a modest fortune of about a lakh of rupees, and that formed the nucleus of his business career. When the American Civil War broke out in 1860, the Lancashire market which was hitherto supplied with American cotton was cut off from its normal source of supply, and the Lancashire market was short of cotton. So there was an abnormal demand for Indian cotton by the English merchants. The price of the Indian cotton inevitably went up. There is a tradition in Bombay that even the street beggars refused to take money but were satisfied if they were given a handful of cotton. There was a huge cotton boom during the years of war, and it was in that speculation that Premchund made his magnificent fortune. During his palmy days, Premchund started a large number of banks, the best known of which was the Asiatic Banking Corporation. It is said of him, that so rich was he beyond the dreams of avarice that he did not

even take the trouble of recovering his debts, if his debtors happened to come when he was enjoying his mid-day siesta.

He has been called the Napolean of finance but he was something more: he was a "Data-Karna" and with him money was a "Divine trust." He gave the princely sum of four lakhs to the University of Bombay; one-half of this sum was to be utilised towards the erection of the University library and the other half for the erection of a tower containing a large clock and a set of joy-bells, and in commemoration of his mother the tower was named "Rajabai tower." Premchund was catholic in his charities. He gave an endowment of two lakhs of rupees in 1864 to the Calcutta University and very generously attached no conditions to his gift. While accepting this gift, the Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Maine, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University, remarked as follows:—

"I attach an importance to this gift beyond its actual money value as being possibly the first instalment of a series of benefactions on which this University will ultimately have to depend if ever it becomes a national institution."

A remarkable prophecy which has proved literally true; and it is our pleasant duty to enumerate all the benefactions which the University of Calcutta has received in the later issues of this "Review."

This munificent donation was invested by the University in 5% Government Securities, and six studentships of Rs. 1,400 each a year are now maintained from out of the depreciating interest of this endowment. These studentships are awarded every year for the promotion of research in some "literary or scientific subject."

In addition to these gifts to the two Universities, Premchund gave benefactions amounting to 60 lakhs of Rupees to various charitable and religious institutions. He founded a female school in his native town of Surat; he endowed the city of Broach with a library and he established

several "Hindu Dharmasalas" (rest-houses) and built many temples.

As was inevitable, the cotton bubble burst in 1865 when the American Civil war ended and the American Cotton Markets were re-opened to Lancashire. There was a sudden drop in the Indian cotton market, resulting in Premchund's financial ruin. Although Premchund had now become a comparatively poor man, he still kept a stout heart and after a remarkable career full of honour, glory and suffering, he passed away in 1906 at the ripe old age of 76, leaving behind him an ever-green memory in the hearts of his countrymen. We, of the Calcutta University, can never forget his great and munificent benefaction to the cause of the advancement of learning.

Gleanings

SALUTE TO THE ORIENT!

Salute to the Orient! Given at Port Said presumably, where the statue of M. de Lesseps points to the Suez Canal with one hand and waves in the other a heavy bunch of large stone sausages. "Me voici!" he gesticulates, adding "Le voilà" as an afterthought. Voilà Egypt and Africa to the right, Syria and Asia to the left, while in front of M. de Lesseps is the sausages' outcome, the narrow trough that he has contrived across the sands to the Red Sea. It leads rather too far, that trough, to the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, unmanageable streams. Nearer Port Said lie trouble and interest enough, skies that are not quite tropic, religions that are just comprehensible, people who grade into the unknown steeply, yet who sometimes recall European friends.

Prayers to be offered up after saluting the Orient. Numerous prayers.

May I never resemble M. de Lesseps in the first place; may no achievement upon an imposing scale be mine, no statistics, philanthropy, co-ordination or uplift. Good deeds, but scattered deeds, that shall be remembered for a few years only, like a wayside tomb. O deliver my soul from efficiency! When obstacles cease to occur in my plans, when I always get the utmost out of Orientals, it will be the surest proof that I have lost the East. A prayer against impropriety may follow—against hashish, almées, odalisques, the can-can; coupled with a prayer against propriety, which is more difficult to frame. Beware of impeccable introductions. Seek not that which is best in native society, for it leads to mutual log-rolling, not to the best. "Sons of the Desert, I too am a gentleman. All hail!" This will not do at all:—Then there is the prayer against cynicism which if a man forget he shall be damned, shall not even notice the sunlight in time, or that the sea is dark blue and the sky light blue, or that there are kites in Cairo and none in Alexandria. So when the old residents say to me, as they will, "There is no such country as the Orient, there is only Dagoland": I must reply to them: "You may be right, but I must gain my own disillusionment, not adopt yours; you

know much, I nothing, yet I cannot learn from you." O reject the bitter tradition of mistrust that is served to the newcomer with his first cocktail, reject the little hints that the Club provides, so helpful in detail, so harmful in bulk! In India the tradition has lasted too long, the bitterness is irremediable, the hints have usurped the whole of speech. But in this nearer East, there is still hope. Cynicism has not yet won, and I may help to defeat it. There's a nobler literature anyhow; Kinglake, Morier, Doughty, Blunt, Lucie Duff-Gordon discovered more than Dagoland; they found gravity and mirth here, also health, friendship, peace.....Prayer against timidity.

"The above prayers are all negative, dangers to avoid, fears to overcome. They are clinched by a prayer which is positive and which seems their contradiction: a prayer for dignity and impressiveness. The perfect traveller whom we are building up is a charming creature, with every advantage of heart and head, but he is diffident, and diffidence will not succeed in the East. Unless I have a touch of the regal about me, a glint of outward armour, my exquisite qualities will be wasted, my tact and insight ignored. The East is a bit of a snob in fact. It does require its sympathisers to seem great as well as to be good, and I must do my best to oblige it in this little matter; so may I be mistaken for a king!

Moreover, it is desirable to be young. But this, alas! cannot be phrased as a prayer. "God," says a cruel Egyptian proverb, "has given earrings to those who have no ears," and few elderly travellers have escaped this irony of Allah's. They have letters of introduction and facilities, but not ears in any useful sense, and the jewels that they bring back are "I am much struck with the alterations in Bethlehem—not to say improvement since my previous visit in 1885," or "representative institutions should be introduced into the Oasis of Siwa," or "after an interesting conversation with the Mufti, in which Henry acted as interpreter, Lucy and I proceeded to inspect the so-called tomb of Potiphar's wife." Elderly travellers do not write Eothen. It is hard to be generous and direct after thirty, even when the desire to be so remains, and even in England. And it is harder in the East. Prejudices or ideals (they amount to the same under a vertical sun) will arise in the mind and distort the horizon and slop pieces of sky into the sand. Only in youth or through memories of youth, only in the joyous light of the morning can the lines of the Oriental landscape be seen, and the salutation accomplished.

—*The London Mercury*

WHAT COLLEGE STUDENTS DON'T KNOW

Bernard Shaw once proposed for a school curriculum instruction in looking up trains in a railway guide. The practical value of that and other seemingly simple forms of instruction is proved by a recent inquiry into what college students know. The results as given in *The Atlantic Monthly* (*March*), by Prof. Paul V. West, of the University of Wisconsin, reveal mainly what they don't know, and if reproduced in the form of statements made by the students would doubtless constitute a choice collection of "howlers." But merely viewing the matter as an opportunity for laughter would be taking a serious subject too lightly. As Professor West apprizes us, "an information test recently given to a good-sized representative college group, chosen at random from among the different classes and sexes, revealed such interesting facts regarding the content of their minds as to stimulate some concern on the part of their instructors, and, in the case of a few at least, to suggest a problem as well as insinuate a doubt." Here is what was discovered in part:

"Simple biological facts that are supposed to be in common knowledge and parlance are outside the mental realm of many of the college students or are confused within it. Four per cent. of them would be willing to ask a dairyman if his cows are Leghorns. And when we discover that six per cent. do not know what an artichoke is, while six more assert it to be a fish, three a lizard, and one, no doubt thinking of the strangling powers (choke) of a boa-constrictor, claims it as denoting a snake, we cannot but wonder in what world these sixteen per cent. received their information—or lack of it. But we receive a real shock when we discover that a chameleon is voted a member of the bird, insect, and fish families by twenty-three per cent., four per cent., and four per cent. of the group, respectively; while another thirteen per cent. give up the problem of classification as a thing impossible; so that one can safely say that only a little over one-half of the number really know that a chameleon is a reptile that changes its colour but not its genus. Thirty per cent. do not know the fact.

"Geography does not make any better showing; in fact, even a lower grade of recognition is here exhibited. It need not affect the world's happiness greatly if a certain third of our student body would take a liner for China if their destination were Tokyo, for the name of this oriental city

does sound Chinese, and it is a personal matter, anyway; and, besides, this method of instruction would be effective and according to sound pedagogical principles. But it would be a decided affront to some of our time-honoured American institutions if they should learn that out of one hundred students who wish to attend Yale University, four would have to look in the atlas to know what part of the world they were bound for, while six would purchase railway fares for Ithaca and thirty-six would proceed blithely on their way to Cambridge. But once arrived in New England, two of them would be forced to the discovery that Boston is not a city of Maine, and one would find, not without surprise, that Massachusetts, instead of Connecticut, claims the honor of harboring 'the Hub.' Such are the educational possibilities of travel. Our Tokyo-bound friends would in the same manner perhaps encounter a bonafide Korean in the course of their oriental travels, and henceforth be led to classify him as a biped of the genus homo rather than a quadruped of some mysterious creation.

"Literature is a kind of grab-bag in the minds of our college students. Thirteen per cent. thought of Darwin as a literary master and not a scientist, and fifteen per cent. thought of John Wesley as in the same category. The right contents of the bag have their colours mixed.

"We ought not to blame too harshly that ten per cent. who give Poe the credit for writing 'The Scarlet Letter,' or the four who attribute it to Kipling; for, after all, the title is suggestive of the temper of either rather than of a mild man like Hawthorne. Fifty-eight out of a hundred students do not read periodicals and newspapers enough to know Arthur Brisbane as a journalist, some forty-three preferring to classify him as a comic artist, actor, or athlete.

"When college students do not recognize the names or places of production of commonly advertised commodities, such as shoes, automobiles, tobaccos, typewriters, movie actresses, and the like, it is of concern chiefly to the advertising manager whose business it is to get such information across; but as a matter of protection to the repute of the few great ones of our generation why not periodically lead the college students through art-galleries, chambers of state, and halls of fame, so that none of them would be unfamiliar, say, with the name and work of Rodin, rather than have fifty-eight per cent. classify him as a painter, composer, or poet?

"Why not diamonds born in the bosom of the oyster? Why not indeed? It would be a far more poetic genesis than in the depths of a dirty dugout at Kimberly, at least, in the thought of one."

The excuse of the student is: "Our college work keeps us so busy that we have no time to read the newspapers and magazines." The college professor believes, however, that the fault begins further back than college days. Perhaps the magazine in the schools may be one solution.

THE SPICE OF LIFE

Political Approval.

"What is your opinion of relativity?"

"I approve of it," replied Senator Sorghum.

"Then you understand it thoroughly?"

"Friend, if I had always been required to understand thoroughly everything I approved of I should have transacted considerable less political business."—*Washington Star.*

The Short Cut.

An ambitious young man went to a University Professor and said "Sir, I desire a course of training which will fit me to become the Superintendent of a great railway system. How much will such a course cost, and how long will it take?"

"Young man," replied the professor, "such a course would cost you $20,000 and require 20 years of your time. But on the other hand, by spending $300 of your money and 3 months of your time you may be elected to congress. Once there you will feel yourself competent to direct not one but all the great railroad systems of our country."—*New York Evening Post.*

Ready and Willing.

Magistrate—"Can't this case be settled out of court?"

Mr. Hooligan—"Sure, sure, that's what we were trying to do, your honour, when the police interfered."

Warning to Dilatory Subscribers.

An editor wrote a subscriber, named Bill Jeffrey, advising him that his subscription had expired. A few days later the editor received his own letter, across the bottom of which was scrawled, "So's Bill."

Student Philosophy.

"Sedentary work," said the college lecturer, "tends to lessen the endurance."

"In other words," butted in the smart student, "the more one sits, the less one can stand."

"Exactly," retorted the lecturer, "and if one lies a great deal one's standing is lost completely."

Distinction.

Irate Professor.—"What! forgotten of your pencil again, Jones! What would you think of a soldier without a gun?"

Jones (an ex-service man).—"I'd think, he was an officer."—*The Brown Tug.*

Dangerous Extreme.

Mr. Gordon Selfridge declares that a day is coming when the aristocracy will have to work. Our pessimism goes considerably further, we foresee a time when even the working classes will have to work.—*Punch.*

Mental Arithmetic.

"Now, then, Johnny," said his teacher, "if your father gave you seven cents and your mother gave you six and your uncle gave you four more, what would you have?"

Johnny wrinkled up his forehead and went into the silence for the space of several minutes.

"Come, come," said the teacher impatiently. "Surely, you can solve a simple little problem like that."

"It ain't a simple problem at all," replied the boy. "I can't make up my mind whether I'd have an ice-cream or go to the movies."—*New York Sun.*

Strong Argument.

"Father, didn't you ever get licked when you were a boy?"

"Indeed, I did."

"Well then, what's the use trying it on me?"

Almost as Good.

A Scotchwoman had had much trouble with her gardeners. She could not find one who was capable of keeping sober. She appealed to her brother, who promised to do his best to help her. At last he announced that he had found just the man she needed.

"I will only ask one question, James," said his sister. "Is he a tectotaler?"

"Well," said James deliberately. "He's no juist what ye'a ca'a tutotaler, but he's a mon ye canna fill"—*Los Angelos Times.*

The Hurry-up Kind.

At the post office a little girl deposited a pice in front of the clerk and said "Please, I forget the name of the stamp Mama told me to get, but it's the kind that makes the letter hurry up.

Gratitude.

"You did me a favour ten years ago," said the stranger, "and I have never forgotten it." "Ah," replied the good man with a grateful expression on his face, "and you have come back to repay me?" "Not exactly," replied the stranger, "I've just got into town and need another favour, and I thought of you right away."—*Detroit Free Press.*

Review

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE SILVER JUBILEE VOLUMES

This work, of which the first volume forms the subject of the present review, is intended to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's attaining the Degree of Doctor of Law of the University of Calcutta and is a fitting tribute of respect to that great man, as it bears evidence of patient scholarly research which it has been his avowed object to inaugurate and promote in the various departments of our Alma Mater.

The present volume, confined to Arts and Letters, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, contains 614 pages of Royal 8vo size, and furnishes a splendid instance of neat printing and excellent get-up. Two well-known sentences from Menander and Cicero, in praise of Learning very aptly form the motto of the work. The volume under notice traverses a wide field dealing with 27 subjects in all; the first of which is an article headed "*A Narrative of Bengal Transactions*" from the pen of Prof. J. N. Das Gupta, B.A., I.E.S. It is based on an English translation of a Persian Manuscript, compiled by Francis Gladwin in 1788, and contains among other things an account of some curious facts relating to the revolt of Shova Sing, a Zemindar of the District of Burdwan, against Aurangazeb. His death is a well-deserved tragedy, caused by the knife of a heroic and beautiful daughter of Kissen Ram, whose modesty the wicked rebel had attempted to outrage. She stabbed herself to death, and the writer of the article reflects in a few epitaph-like sentences on an event which showed "what brutality man is capable of and what strength resides in woman's weak breast." The paper contains much information in regard to the currency of newspapers during the period of Mogul administration. The next article from the pen of Dr. Sisirkumar Maitra bears the fascinating title of "*The Romantic Element in Mathematics.*" He tries to trace the æsthetic element in mathematics—"the strongest arsenal of rigid logic"—proving the attempts of the mathematicians at the reduction of numbers and also space to types of ordered series making the rhythm of symbols more complete than before. He also refers to the gradual elimination of all extraneous matter, such as the intuition of space or number. Mr. J. C. Coyajee, B.A., LL.B., I.E.S., contributes a paper on "*Characteristics of Ancient*

Indian Trade," and deals amongst other things with such questions as, the multiplicity of middle-men, efforts to open up direct trade, the monopolistic element in Indian trade, small size of the markets, "active" or "passive trade," abrupt and frequent fluctuations of trades-routes and State policy in the sphere of foreign trade. "*The Survival of old Hindu Institutions in Maharastra*" is a paper of unique value, as it shows from original sources how the administrative system of that country was reorganised by the founders of the Marhatta empire on the lines of ancient Hindu jurisprudence and what deviations were made to adapt the laws to the needs of the contemporary social and political life. It is a very important contribution as its writer Dr. Surendranath Sen has drawn his materials from old Marhatta documents and traversed a wide field of ancient Hindu laws for ascertaining their comparative value. In the paper of Mr. E. F. Oaten, LL.B., I.E.S., on "*Megiddo, a Study in Military History,*" the writer refers to the historical associations of the village Megiddo, where the earliest decisive battle on record in Syrian history was fought in 1479 B.C., and which, under its new name of El Lejjun, became the scene of a decisive operation between General Allenby and the Turks in October, 1918. Mr. Sasadhar Ray's article on the "*Origin of Language,*" is not only full of anthropological interest but incidentally strikes the keynote to Vaishnava Theology. It shows the important part which the sexual feeling has played on the origin of language. He has quoted the *Ratnakosh*, the *Namanidhan* and *Mukul* in support of the doctrine of the superiority of the *Adiraska*. The Vaishnavas look upon this *Rasa* from a spiritual plane and call it by three different names, the *Ujjala*, the *Madhura*, and the *Raganuga* as opposed to the *Baidhi* "*Some Features of Banking in India*" from the pen of Mr. Ramachandra Rau Basavarsu, M.A., L.T., will be of interest to a large number of educated men who are engaged in investigating into the economic conditions of India with a view to solving the problem of her poverty. "*Picogella Mirandola, an Italian Neo-platonist*" is the title of a paper by Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. He discusses the various standards of beauty according to the ancients in connection with the views of the Italian neo-platonist. The article requires a supplementation from the Vaishnava works on Poetics in Bengal, as the subject has been exhaustively treated in them. Mr. Jitendraprasad Niyogi's article on "*Customs and Transit Duties in the Madras Presidency during early British Rule*" is a very erudite contribution to the literature of modern Political Economy. "*Politics in Islam*" by Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, M.A., B.C.L., is wonderfully rich in its resources and

tries to trace the dominant spiritual forces at work in the growth and gradual development of the Ottoman power. The range of the article and the interesting features of its topics require a thorough and exhaustive study, and our space, is too short to attempt anything like a critical analysis of its contents. "*History of Indian Commerce*" by Mr. Jogischandra Sinha, M.A., deals with, amongst other things, such topics as trade between India and Java, carried on by the Dutch, chief imports of the trade between India and Holland, Danish trade with India, American and Portuguese trade, trade of the English East India Company, chief metals imported to India, prohibition of Indian silk manufactures and Charter Act of 1813. "*The Guild in Modern India*" by Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee, is a short paper; but its quality should not be judged by quantity. It is a suggestive article showing the constitution and expansion of trade-guild in India. "*Kant's Ethical Theory*" by Dr. Hiralal Haldar puts stress upon what he considers to be the sum and substance of the doctrine of the distinguished philosopher that in serving society one serves one's ownself, for "the life of society is one's own higher life." This theory is essentially *Karmic* in its character as it treats of one's duty to one's fellow men. But there is a higher plane than any ever reached by mere ethics—the plane of beatitude and emotional felicities, where man may stand face to face with his Maker and become the dweller of an eternal region of perfect bliss. I suppose Dr. Haldar in advocating the ethical theory of Kant does not ignore the existence of this heaven of the Rishis of our Upanishads, which is akin to the *Nirvana* of the Buddhists and the *Samadhi* of the Yogis. Judging from the ethical standpoint this mystic delight of the soul is not an untenable factor in the religious field, for the very sight of one who has reached this stage, is a fountain of ethical good, that purges the soul of all dross of sin. "*Land Transport in Medieval India*" by Mr. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar, A.B., is another important paper on economics and deals with carts and coaches, animal carriers, roads, bridges and rest-houses, nature and extent of land transport, internal security and many such important topics in respect of mediæval India. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, D.Phil., contributes a paper on "*Sankara and Prof. James Ward*," dealing with some curious and striking coincidences between the metaphysical doctrines of the great Indian and the theories of Dr. Ward in the domain of psychology. Capt. J. W. Petavel's article on "*Knowledge and Power*" is full of valuable suggestions as to how Indian children should be brought up and trained in industrial subjects. They are becoming book-worms, and he gives a programme for the development of

the more practical side of their intellect. Mr. Harimohan Bhattacharyya's "*Doctrine of Maya*" is curiously a defence of the old *Mayabad*, which declares that the whole of the empirical world is a huge illusion. The writer's advocacy of this philosophy, however cleverly-worded and supported by quotations from Herbert Spencer and even Socrates, will scarcely find any response from the sophists of this materialistic age. "*A Plea for an Individualisation of Punishment*" by Mr. Sitaram Banerjee, M.A., B.L., advocates rational modes of prevention of crimes on the lines of institutions like Dr. Barnardo's homes, temperance societies, drunkards' asylums and technical institutions. For repression he recommends not only reformatories as in Elmira, security for good behaviour, indemnity or reparation and fine, but even cruel measures like the death-penalty and the cellular system of imprisonment, not quite compatible perhaps with the sentiments of the cultured humanity of the modern times. Dr. N. N. Sengupta's paper "*On the Nature of Immediate Experience in the Light of Contemporary Epistemological Discussions*" gives a lucid exposition of the subject from various standpoints and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that the immediate experience is a non-relational manifold involving subject-object identities and is not subject to truth and error. "*The Chait Sing Tragedy*" by Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterji, M.A., B.L., deals with all sides of the historical problem involved, in regard to the dealings of Warren Hastings with the Raja, and comes to the conclusion that the former was actuated by personal resentment and that the plea of financial distress is untenable in the case. The writer in this article has made use of some of the documents recently brought to light. One of the most fascinating and thoughtful of the contributions of this volume is "*Coleridge as a Thinker*," by H. Stephen, M.A., D.D. In this article the writer shows Coleridge as a poet and thinker from the background of contemporary poetical, critical and philosophical literature. Coleridge was a man of great religious susceptibilities. With the advent of the school founded by the Lake Poets, the old rigid lines of poetry faded away, giving place to the freedom of thought and new platonism of Schelling and Kant. The "mechanical philosophy" of critics like Jeffrey could not conceive the grandeur of the romantic mysticism of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and Dr. Stephen has shown that though Coleridge was not a voluminous writer like Southey, his works are characterised by a new interpretation of life and poetry, which has given them an abiding interest. "*The New Yellow Peril*" by Mr. B. Mookerji, M.A., discusses the question of foreign capital from an Indian point of view and expresses apprehensions in regard to complications that may

arise by the policy of Japan and a Pan-Asiatic League said to have been formed in that country. The writer, however, concludes with a pious hope of an amicable settlement in future. Mr. P. Seshadri, M.A., in his article "*Contemporary English Poetry*" shows a broad mind in appreciating Rudyard Kipling's poetry inspite of his "boisterous imperialism." The poet was born in Bombay and in some of his well-known verses he is proud of being born in a city

"Between the palms and the Sea
Where the worlds end steamers wait."

In this article the writer gives critical analysis of the poems of some of our modern British poets and amongst them of Yeats, "whose discriminating and enthusiastic praise of the *Gitanjali*" was the earliest tribute that Rabindranath received from the West; but while dealing with Edmund Gosse, Mr. P. Seshadri, M.A. omitted to mention that Miss Taru Datta's poems found appreciation in England owing to the introduction of that poet. Mr. Wordsworth's paper on "*Education and Reconstruction in England*" takes a bird's eye view of the educational condition prevailing in England ever since the devastations made over her academic institutions by the war and of the great efforts that are now being made not only for repairing ravages but for placing education on an improved basis. Dr. Stephen's paper on "*The Philosophy of Anarchy*" is characterised by that Christian spirit which we naturally expect from a missionary of solid character and sound culture of his type. He has discussed the views of "half-crazy fanatic Nietzsche" and of James and Bergson and exposed their destructive theories to ridicule by the acumen of his logic, enlivened by occasional flashes of humour. "*The Data of Regional Economics*" by Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee is a solid article which shows his power to grasp the present international, inter-racial and inter-regional problems. The solution he suggests is true to his Indian culture and inculcates principles which essentially belong to a higher plane than ever reached by Marshall, Pigou, List and Roscher, in as much as the economical study of the Indian scholar claims the sound basis of a cosmopolitan sympathy and not preservation and advancement of racial interests. "*Imperial Federation*" by Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., I.E.S., is a long article in which the writer discusses the various positions held by colonial dependencies of England and that of India in particular. In the end we are recommended to rely on the political instincts of the British people who "have built up a flexible British constitution which has served their needs in fair times and foul." Let us say 'Amen!'

We have only given a bare idea of the contents of the present volume. To declare that it is rich in its topics is to say the least of its great merits. It shows that a new history of India is being built up with a complete change in the angle of our vision. Indian writers are now grasping Indian problems by dint of their own intellect, and will no longer like to be enlisted on the rolls of copyists, by merely endorsing the views of European scholars. Educated Indians are slowly rising to a consciousness of the part they are destined to play in the history of the world in future. And to the distinguished man, who has given the greatest stimulus to this intellectual awakening of his countrymen, nothing will, we believe, afford a greater satisfaction than the present work, which commemorates the Silver Jubilee of his attaining the degree of Doctor of Laws, for far greater than a personal memoir, far greater than any faithful account of his life-long pursuits, this work forcibly proves the result of his devoted labours in the interest of advancement of learning.

D. C. S.

The British Empire.—A Short History by J. P. Bulkeley, M.A. (Oxon.), with an introduction by Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921).

This is an introduction to the history of the British Empire. It owes its publication to a suggestion contained in the report of a Committee appointed by the Government of Burma in 1916 to make recommendations for teaching the "Imperial Idea." Speaking of the origin of the British Empire the author says that it "grew for the most part fortuitously and without conscious design" (p. 200). In other words he is a believer in the "fit of absence of mind" theory of the growth of the British Empire—a theory which although well suited to propagate the "Imperial Idea" can hardly bear the cold and critical scrutiny of the historian. But perhaps we are not fair to the author. A glance through the author's preface would explain why he ventured on a generalisation of this kind. "I have ventured," says Mr. Bulkeley, "on a number of historical generalisations *though I know they must be always more or less erroneous* (the italics are ours) because in my experience nothing is more stimulating and useful even to young students of history." Let "the young students of history" beware! Much of what has been written in the chapter on Modern Imperialism is vitiated by the biassed outlook which the author adopts. Just to take one instance. The German imperial system is said to have exercised

a baneful influence on others. "The Belgians imitated it in their Congo territories. Even in British South Africa it probably did a good deal to render the relations between black and white races more difficult." But the author forgets that Germany has enough misdeeds of her own to answer for and that it is hardly fair to call upon her to shoulder the responsibility for everything that goes wrong under the sun.

Without confining himself to the main object in hand which is to trace the history of the growth of the British Empire, the author rambles into the field of Economics and disposes of in onee short paragraph, the comparative merits of Free Trade and Protection as applied to India. Amongst other things we are told (p. 202) that Free Trade in India has injured English manufactures but benefited other manufacturing nations (especially Germany and Japan). But the statistics available to us tell quite a different tale. Taking the pre-war average figures for 1909-10 to 1913-14 we find that the share of the United Kingdom in the import trade of India was 63 per cent., that of other parts of the British Empire 7 per cent., of Japan only 2 per cent., of the United States 3 per cent., of England's other allies in the last war 6 per cent., of Java 6 per cent. All other countries (including Germany) shared between them only 13 per cent. of the total import trade. These figures hardly afford any indication of injury to British manufactures. The naive simplicity of the author is almost astounding.

It would be ungracious not to add that the author deals with the expansion of the British dominions in Canada, Australia and South Africa in a promising manner. The growth of representative and responsible government in these countries is well brought out. On the whole a considerable amount of historical matter has been rendered available in a useful form.

J. P. N.

Sher Shah.—*A critical study based on original sources*: by Kalikaranjan Qanungo, M.A. (Kar, Majumdar and Co., 1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5).

One curious fact which strikes the student of Indian History is the paucity of works dealing with Mediæval India. The pre-Muhammadan period has attracted the attention of a considerable number of our research students and very fair amount of work has been done in that field. But very few of our students have taken the trouble to study Islamic India—not that the materials are lacking. Perhaps it might be due to the fact

that very few of our graduates know sufficiently well Persian to venture on a critical study of that period. English translations of the Persian historians, however well-reputed, as Mr. Qanungo warns us, are not to be relied upon. So it is with considerable pleasure that we read this critical study of a little known Afghan ruler.

The author seems to have read and studied with care the various Persian authorities, both Afghan and non-Afghan, dealing with this period. He has also rummaged the Portuguese accounts to obtain interesting sidelights regarding Sher Shah's career in Bengal. It is rather surprising that Mr. Qanungo did not think it worth while to consult the Rajput chronicles about Sher Shah's campaign in Rajputana. The historical value of some of these chronicles may be disputed; but after all they are our only sources of information about the Rajputs. The omission is all the more striking, as he regards Tod's *Rajasthan*, "too legendary for historical purposes." To write an account of Sher Shah's war against Rao Maldev of Marwar from only the Persian authorities without supplementing the information from Rajput sources impairs to some extent the historical value of the author's work in these sections which are perhaps the best part of this book. It is rather curious that one of the Rajput chronicles accuses Sher Shah of destroying Hindu temples and building mosques in their place.

We may also point out another serious defect in Mr. Qanungo's work and that is the total absence of maps in his book. More than half of his work deals with the various campaigns of Sher Shah against Humayun, against Maldev and other turbulent chiefs. The author is always particular to describe in detail the many battles which the Afghan ruler fought and rightly devotes much attention to the strategy adopted by his hero. But it is extremely difficult for the reader to follow the campaigns, as there are no maps provided; the omission is all the more regrettable, as most of the places mentioned are not to be found in the ordinary maps of India Without maps, even the most brilliant campaign becomes a mere string of unfamiliar names. Half a dozen sketch maps would have increased appreciably the value of this work. We trust this defect will be remedied in subsequent editions.

But these omissions need not detract from the uniformly high standard of Mr. Qanungo's work. Like every good biographer, our author is a hero-worshipper; and there may be many who may not be willing to subscribe to everything that he says of Sher Shah. But we must admit that he makes out a very strong case for the Afghan. What

strikes us most in the career of this ruler is the prodigious and versatile energy displayed by him. He reigned for barely five years as the Emperor of Hindustan. Yet in this short period he had to contend against the probable return of Humayun to India; to fight with Maldev of Marwar, then at the zenith of his power; to conquer the outlying provinces of India; and to chastise disobedient governors. Sher Shah accomplished all these tasks successfully. This work was more than enough to fill the space of sixty months for even a ruler of more than average ability.

But he accomplished something infinitely more important. He found the country in anarchy, but left it endowed with a sound administrative system upon which the British system is founded. His revenue system has survived in all its essential features to the present day under the name of *rayatwari system*; while his system of currency is the basis of the modern British currency. He introduced a sound tariff-system, built magnificent roads with rest-houses provided with Brahmans for the convenience of Hindu travellers. He was far superior to an average conqueror; civilisation followed the track of his armies. As Mr. Qanungo aptly says, "the land survey, construction of roads and establishment of mint towns seems to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies." Our admiration increases all the more when we remember that unlike Akbar, the Afghan ruler had not the good fortune to have first rate ministers like Todar Mall and Abul-Fazal to plan and carry out brilliant schemes. All this magnificent work was planned and carried out by the one master mind at the top with only raw officials to help him. When we take into account the fact that this task was performed amidst the distraction of continuous warfare, we cannot but be struck with the pre eminent genius of Sher Shah. Well might he have exclaimed like Augustus, he found India bricks, and he left it marble!

We can very well say that at last the forgotten Afghan ruler has come into his own and this is entirely due to Mr. Qanungo's efforts. May we suggest to Mr. Qanungo that in his later editions he may see his way to continue his narrative right up to the fall of the Sur Dynasty; so as to complete one very interesting interlude in Indian History. At any rate, we hope to have not ere long the pleasure of reading further studies on Islamic India from Mr. Qanungo's pen.

Y. J. T.

The British Trade Review, July, 1921, London.—This is mainly an advertising organ for pushing the British export trade in foreign countries but it contains a few interesting, though rather scrappy,

articles on current economic and financial questions. The leading article of the July number is on the settlement of the last coal strike in England. The second article which discusses the question of the recent slump in the British shipping trade, shows how the revival of this trade is dependent on the reduction of the price of coal and on the resumption of its exports. An account of the Cotton Conference held in Liverpool and Manchester in June last forms the subject of the next article. The problems of German reparation and of the British indebtedness to America, the defects of the Government Export Credit and of the Ter Meulen schemes are discussed in two other articles. There is also an interesting account of the rapid " industrialisation " and " Europeanisation " of Japan during the last World War. Besides these, which are likely to prove interesting to the general reader, the Review contains up-to-date information on business conditions in the different parts of the United Kingdom and in the leading western countries. Our importing merchants will find in this Review accurate information about the present condition of British industries and trade which is not always easily available in India.

J. C. S.

Acknowledged with thanks—*Quarterly Review* (July), the *Hindustan Review* (August and September), the *Labour Leader* (weekly), and various Government publications.

Ourselves

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales & Honorary Degrees

Now that it has been definitely settled that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales will visit these shores next cold weather, it behoves every Indian subject of His Royal Highness to offer him a cordial welcome.

It is indeed gratifying to learn that the authorities of the Calcutta University have decided to honour themselves by conferring the Degree of Doctor of Law on the Prince of Wales. It may be in the recollection of our readers that the Degree of Doctor of Law was conferred on H. R. H. Albert Edward (afterwards King Edward VII) when he visited Calcutta in 1876. Similarly in 1906, His Imperial Majesty King George V (then Prince of Wales) was honoured with the Degree of Doctor of Law when he came to Calcutta. It is but meet therefore, that the University should hasten to offer its cordial welcome to the heir-apparent to the throne. The proud privilege enjoyed by the University of Calcutta as the Imperial University though no longer retained, she may yet justly be proud of holding a unique position as the first teaching and research University in India and therefore, it is in the fitness of things that the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate have decided to celebrate H. R. H. Prince of Wales's visit to the Calcutta University by conferring Honorary Degrees on other eminent scholars in India, who have either themselves extended, or have helped the extension of, the bounds of knowledge.

The following gentlemen are proposed to be honoured by the Degrees stated against their names :—

1.	H. R. H. the Prince of Wales ...	D.L.
2.	H. E. the Earl of Reading ...	D.L.
3.	H. E. Lord Ronaldshay ...	D.Litt.

4.	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ...	D.Litt.
5.	The Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali ...	D.L.
6.	Prof. Arthur Macdonell ...	D.O.L.
7.	Prof. William A. Craigie ...	D.Litt.
8.	Sir M. Visvesvaraya ...	D.Sc. (Eng.)
9.	Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya ...	D.L.
10.	Dr. Brajendranath Seal ...	D.Sc.
11.	The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye ...	D.Sc.
12.	Dr. Gilbert Thomas Walker ...	D.Sc.
13.	Sir John Hubert Marshall ...	Ph.D.
14.	Mr. R. Shama Sastri ...	Ph.D.
15.	Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar ...	Ph.D.
16.	Prof. Henry Stephen ..	Ph.D.
17.	Prof. C. E. Cullis ..	D.Sc.
18.	Rai Saheb Dineschandra Sen ...	D.Litt.
19.	Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar ...	Ph.D.
20.	Prof. C. V. Raman ...	D.Sc.
21.	Prof. Abanindranath Tagore ...	D.Litt.

The list looks all-comprehensive and none of the recipients requires an introduction to the educated public and the University men. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the University authorities have been able to muster sufficient courage to disregard political opinions and confer degrees on persons whose politics are not of the approved type. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir M. Visvesvaraya though the finest specimens of Indian intellect are persons who at some time or other have trodden forbidden ground. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has conclusively proved what a talented Indian woman can do and a Degree conferred on her will be a fitting epilogue to the three days' drama which was enacted on the stage of the Bengal Legislative Council over the question of women suffrage.

The Degrees proposed on the present Viceroy and our Chancellor are not mere royalties but warm tributes to the services of deeply erudite scholars in the domain of thought.

Prof. Macdonell and Craigie are coming out to India, the one as the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer and the other as a Reader to the University, and the University has wisely decided to mark its appreciation of their scholarship by conferring Honorary Degrees on them. The Degree of D.O.L. proposed to be conferred on Prof. Macdonnell is the first degree of its kind in Calcutta; though Calcutta does not move within narrow grooves and the University conferred the degree of D.Litt. on some eminent scholars before. The fact is that under the Act the University is quite competent to confer *any* Honorary Degree although Degrees on Examinations are strictly bound by the Regulations.

The self-sacrifice of Mr. Paranjpye is closely associated with his brilliant academic record as the Senior Wrangler of his year—Mr. Paranjpye who served the Fergusson College, Poona, on a pittance of Rs. 75 per month. A Minister under the Reforms Act now, Mr. Paranjpye "still lives rich on forty pounds a year" and devotes the major part of his income to the cause of the Servant of India Society.

The names of Dr. Gilbert Walker and Sir John Marshall are so well known in the domain of scholarship that they do not require any commendation. Sir John Marshall with his enthusiasm for everything Indian and with a special fondness for Indian scholarship, has all along been a true friend of ours and he has always striven to advance the cause of research in this University.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. Henry Stephen, Dr. C. E. Cullis, Mr. Dineschandra Sen, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. C. V. Raman and Prof. Abanindranath Tagore are all our own men and no word of praise is required from us. Dr. Seal is the first Professor Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University in one of the most advanced Native States in India and it was with great pang that the University of Calcutta agreed to part

with him. Dr. Henry Stephen has imparted education to almost three generations of Indians and his whole life is one long tale of self-sacrifice and selfless devotion to duty. He is held in affectionate remembrance by his numerous pupils and is held in high esteem by the true academic workers as one of the sincerest and the truest teachers of men in the world.

Dr. C. E. Cullis, an eminent Mathematician, has kept up his great reputation from the close of his college days as a Smith Prizeman and by his researches has writ himself and our University large on 20th century Mathematical research. It is with mingled feeling of joy and pride that we see Mr. Dineschandra Sen coming up for the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature. Literary men who follow the peaceful avocation of their lives quietly are not appreciated in our country, specially if they happen to be "School masters" and we confidently trust Mr. Sen will survive the attacks of his detractors. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar had already carved for himself a secure position in Indology by his numerous contributions, whether as editor of the Indian Antiquary or as one of the most successful Archæological officers in India, before he joined us. His great service to the University and one of which all Bengal should be proud, is the definite establishment of a school of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta. He has sacrificed higher prospects in the department of Archæological Survey to the call of higher academic work and has trodden in the footsteps of his distinguished father, as the inheritor of his genius and of his renown. Prof. C. V. Raman's researches are widely known to eminent physicists and his life has been full of self-sacrifice. Prof. Raman gave up the alluring prospects of the Indian Finance Department to devote his life to study and research in that region which knows no distinction between the living and the dead, between the known and the unknown, and his researches on Acoustics and Light have already won

for him recognition as one of the greatest physicists of the day. Prof. Abanindranath Tagore's Degree is worthy of note, not only because it reminds us that very recently for the first time a Chair in Indian Fine Arts has been established in an Indian University but also because it is a definite academic recognition of the rejuvenation of art in Bengal. Prof. Tagore's artistic powers are well known and as the father of a national school of Painting he has become a page of history. We hope the foundation of the Chair and the conferment of the Degree should help to rouse even the stolid imagination of our countrymen who have long forgotten the artistic glories of ancient and mediæval India.

We have reserved the name of Mr. R. Shama Sastri last. He is one of those persons in the world whose work is exploited by all, but whose worth is very slow to be recognised by his countrymen. The discovery of the manuscript of Arthasastra after a slumber of centuries and its translation by this indigenous scholar, are achievements of which any other nation in the world would have been proud and it is but a bare recognition of the supreme importance of his work and the stupendous nature of his task that our Vice-Chancellor has decided to confer on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

* * *

We set out below the brief statements of the careers of the recipients of the Honorary Degrees which were laid before the Syndicate and the Senate:—

The Right Hon'ble Sir Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Earl of Reading, P.C., K.C., G.C.B., K.C.V.O., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Solicitor-General, 1910; Attorney-General, 1910-1913; Lord Chief Justice of England, 1913-1921; President, Anglo-French Loan Mission to U. S. A., 1915; Special Envoy to U. S. A., 1917; High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to U. S. A., 1918.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LAWRENCE JOHN LUMLEY DUNDAS, EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E., GOVERNOR OF BENGAL AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Author of "Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky," "On the Outskirts of the Empire in Asia," "A Wandering Student in the Far East," "An Eastern Miscellany."

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

Poetess, Authoress of "The Golden Threshold" with a preface by Arthur Symons; "the Bird of Time" with a preface by Edmund Gosse; "The Broken Wing"; numerous stories and articles in Indian journals. Her poems have been translated into the chief Indian Vernaculars and into several other European languages and also set to music.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI.

C.I.E., M.A., B.L. (Calcutta), LL.D. (Cantab.); Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council since 1909; Tagore Law Professor, 1884; President of the Faculty of Law, 1891-93; Judge, High Court, Calcutta, 1890-1904; Author of "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohamad," "Spirit of Islam," "Ethics of Islam," "History of the Saracens," "Personal Law of the Muhammadans," "Muhammadan Law."

PROFESSOR ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL.

M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford; Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer on Comparative Religion; Keeper of the Indian Institute; Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy; Fellow of the Royal Danish Academy; Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society; Campbell Memorial Gold Medallist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay; Author or Editor of *Sarvanukramani* of the Rigveda by Katyayana (Anecdota Oxoniensia); A Sanskrit Grammar; A Sanskrit-English Dictionary; Vedic Mythology; History of Sanskrit Literature; New Sanskrit Grammar; The *Brihad-devata* (Harvard Oriental Series); Vedic Grammar; Vedic Index of Names and Subjects; Vedic Grammar for Students; Vedic Reader.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE.

M.A. (St. Andrews and Oxon.), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford; Joint-Editor of the Oxford English Dictionary; Author of various articles

on Scottish, Gaelic and Scandinavian subjects in the Scottish Review, Anglia and Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi; Author or Editor of Primer of Burns; Works of Burns; Bellenden's Scottish Translation of Livy; Religion of Ancient Scandinavia; Icelandic Ballads on the Gowrie Conspiracy; Icelandic Sagas; the Pronunciation of English; and the Maitland Folio Manuscripts.

SIR MOKSHAGUNDUM VISVESVARAYA.

K.C.I.E., B.A., L.C.E., M.I.C.E.; Bombay Public Works Department, 1884-1908, when he retired as Superintending Engineer; designed and constructed a system of automatic gates, patented by him at Lake Fife near Poona between 1901 and 1903; prepared in 1903 proposals for a new scheme of Irrigation in the Deccan called the Block System; Special Consulting Engineer to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in connection with Flood Prevention and Drainage of Hyderabad City, 1909; Chief Engineer and Secretary, Public Works and Railway Departments, Government of Mysore, 1909; Dewan of Mysore, 1912-19; planned and constructed the dam on the river Musi at Hyderabad and also on the river Kaveri, at Kanumbari, Mysore.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

B.A. (Calcutta), LL.B. (Allahabad); Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University; eminent for his services in the cause of the foundation and development of the first non-official University in British India.

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL.

M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University; Principal of the Berhampore College (1887-1896); Principal of the Victoria College, Cooch-Behar (1896-1914); King George V Professor of Philosophy (1914-20); Author of "Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus"; "Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity"; "The Historic Comparative Method"; "The Mechanical, Physical and Chemical theories of the ancient Hindus": "The Hindus as Founders of the Science of Mythology" and "Test of Truth" (read before the Oriental Congress at Rome); "Race-Origins, or fundamental considerations touching the physical basis of race"; "Opening Address before the Universal Races Congress"; "Theory of Numbers"; "Equation of Digits"; "The Neo-Romantic movement in Literature"; "Keats: Mind and Art."

THE HON'BLE MR. RAGHUNATH PURUSHOTTAM PARANJPYE.

B.A. (Bombay), M.A. (Cantab.), Senior Wrangler, 1899; Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics, and later Principal, Fergusson College, Poona, 1902-20; Fellow of the Cambay University and Vice-Chancellor of the Indian Women's University.

DR. GILBERT THOMAS WALKER.

C.S.I., M.A. (Cantab.), Sc.D. (Cantab.), F.R.S., Senior Wrangler, 1889; Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge; Adams Prize, 1899, for Essay on Aberration and Problems connected with the Electromagnetic field; Readership Lectures on "The Theory of Electro-Magnetism" (Calcutta University, 1908); Director General of Indian Observatories, since 1904.

SIR JOHN HUBERT MARSHALL.

Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt. (Cantab)., F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A., Director-General of Archæology since 1902; Porson Prize, 1898; Prendergast Greek student, 1900; made journeys of exploration in Greek lands; has devoted himself to the systematic conservation and preservation of ancient Indian monuments, especially those at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Mandu, and to the scientific exploration and excavation of sites of Ancient Indian Civilization, such as, Saranath, Bhita, Sanchi and Taxila.; Editor of the Reports (Imperial Series), Annual Reports, Memoirs and other publications of the Archæological Survey of India, many of which contain his own contributions to the advancement of knowledge of Indian Archæology.

MR. R. SHAMA SHASTRI.

B.A., Principal, Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore; Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore; he deciphered the manuscript and published the *editio princeps* of the "Artha Shastra" of Kautilya (1908-19) and made the first English version thereof. Author of "Indian Polity during the Vedic and Buddhistic Periods" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures); Author of original contributions to Indian History and Antiquities published in the "Indian Antiquary" and other Journals.

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGER.

M.A. (Madras); Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras; sometime Professor of the Mysore University; Author of "Ancient India," "Beginnings of South Indian History,"

South India and Her Mohammadan Invaders," "Sources of Vijaynagar History," "The contribution of Southern India to Culture and Civilization in Ancient and Mediæval Times" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures), "History of the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar."

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

M.A. (Classics and Philosophy), Aberdeen, 1870; Hutton Prize; D. D. (Aberdeen) 1914; University Professor of English since 1911; University Assistant in Greek, Aberdeen. Professor of English, Philosophy and Botany in the Free Church Institution, Calcutta (later on called the F. C. of Scotland Institution and Duff College) 1882-1914; Author of "Elements of Analytical Psychology," "Problem of Metaphysics," "Ethics" and "Logic" and papers on "Coleridge" and "Bergson's Philosophy."

PROFESSOR CUTHBERT EDMOND CULLIS.

M.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D. (Jena), Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics since 1917; late Professor of Mathematics in the Presidency College, Calcutta; formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge; Calcutta University Reader on "Determinoids," 1910; Author of "Matrices and Determinoids," two volumes of which have been published; "Chapters on Algebra."

RAI SAHEB DINESHCHANDRA SEN.

B.A., Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow since 1913; awarded, in 1899, Literary Pension by the Secretary of State in recognition of his original researches in the History of Language and Literature of Bengal; Author of "*Banga-bhasa-o-Shahitya*" (1896); "History of the Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times down to the middle of the nineteenth century" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1909); "Vaisnab Literature in Mediæval Bengal" (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1913); "Typical Selections from Bengali Literature," 1913; "Chaitanya and his Companions"; "The Bengali Ramayana"; "Folk Literature of Bengal"; "Chaitanya and His Age"; "Forces that developed our Early Literature"; "Miscellanies"; "Bengali Prose Style, 1800-57"; "*Ramayani Kathá*"; "*Grihasri*" and numerous other works in Bengali.

PROFESSOR DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR.

M.A. (Bombay); Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture since 1917; Bhagwanlal Indraji Lecturer on Indian Epigraphy, Antiquities and Archæology in the Bombay University, 1903 and 1917;

awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, 1911; Joint Editor of the Indian Antiquary; Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1911-17; Officer-in-Charge of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, 1917-20; Author of "Ancient Indian Numismatics" and "Ancient History of India, 650-325 B. C." (Carmichael Lectures). Author of mumerous original papers on Ancient Indian History and Antiquities published in the Indian Antiquary, the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Epigraphica Indica; the Archæological Annual; the Hyderabad Archæological Series.

PROFESSOR CHANDRASEKHARA VENKATA RAMAN.

M.A. (Madras); Sir Taraknath Palit Professor of Physics in the University College of Science since 1917; was an officer in the Indian Finance Department; was awarded in 1913 the Maharaja of Trivandrum Curzon prize for Research by the University of Madras; his investigations on the Theory of Vibrations and Optics have attracted considerable notice among European physicists; Author of numerous original papers published in the Philosophical Magazine, the Physical Review, the Nature, the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, the Bulletin and the Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Proceedings of the Royal Society and the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.

PROFESSOR ABANINDRANATH TAGORE.

C.I.E.; Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts; Vice-Principal and sometime Officiating Principal, Government School of Art, 1905-1920; Leader of the movement of revival of the School of Indian Art; Author of "*Alpona*" (ritual decoration of Bengal); "Art Anatomy"; "Six Limbs of Indian Painting"; has illustrated in colour "*Omar Khayyam*," Rabindranath Tagore's "Crescent Moon" and Sister Nivedita's "Myths and Legends of India"; painted numerous pictures exhibited at Delhi, Simla, Bombay, Calcutta, London, Paris, Tokyo, Boston and New York.

Our readers will no doubt be interested to read the following observations of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor when he put the proposals for Honorary Degrees before the Senate, on the 24th September:—

This Special meeting has been convened for the consideration of two recommendations made by the Syndicate. The first recommendation is that

the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law be conferred upon His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The second recommendation is that in commemoration of the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Honorary Degrees be conferred upon twenty eminent individuals, who have distinguished themselves by their services to the cause of the advancement of learning.

I take it, you will not expect me on this occasion to address you at length in justification of these recommendations. It would be improper to assume that the Senate of this University requires to be convinced by arguments that we should accord a most enthusiastic welcome to the Heir Apparent to the British Throne. It was on the 3rd January 1876 that in this very Hall the Senate assembled to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law upon His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, son of our late beloved sovereign of revered memory, Queen Victoria. Thirty years later, on the 5th January 1906, the Senate assembled again in this very Hall to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law upon His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales, son of our late beloved sovereign, His Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII. If, consequently, precedent were needed for our proposed action on the occasion, I could fortify myself by the example of Sir Arthur Hobhouse and Sir Alexander Pedlar and furnish a fresh illustration that custom rules in the East. We have, as it were, established what may not inappropriately be called a hereditary connection with the Royal House and our right to inscribe the names of successive Princes of Wales on our roll of Honorary Graduates may be said to have been perfected and made indefeasible by prescription. To me personally, the proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on His Royal Highness appeals in a special manner. On the occasion when the Honorary Degree was conferred on the Prince of Wales in 1876, the distinguished graduates of the University were invited to witness the ceremony. One of the earliest of these graduates, a favourite pupil of the then Registrar, Principal Sutcliffe, was permitted as an act of special favour to bring his little boy into the Senate House to have a glimpse of the Prince of Wales. The tumultuous acclamation which greeted the Prince as he entered the Hall made an everlasting impression on the mind of the boy. Thirty years later, the boy had developed into a member of the Provisional Syndicate and recorded his concurrence in a proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on the second Prince of Wales. Six years later, this very Syndic as Vice-Chancellor of this University and as the spokesman of the Senate

had the high privilege to present a loyal and dutiful address to His Most Gracious Sovereign. By a singular turn of events, he now stands before you to invite you to accept a proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on the third Prince of Wales.

The second recommendation of the Syndicate is to the effect that we should commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by conferring Honorary Degrees on persons distinguished for eminent position and attainments. It may be stated at the outset, that these Degrees will not be conferred at the same Convocation at which the Degree will be conferred on His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. As on previous occasions, so in the present instance, there will be a Special Convocation for His Royal Highness. Indeed, if we go back to 1876, we shall find that Honorary Degrees were conferred upon Professor Monier Williams, Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee and Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra at a separate Convocation.

I do not propose to dwell individually on the qualifications of the distinguished persons whose names have been approved by the Syndicate and, I may add, informally approved by His Excellency the Chancellor, to whom your recommendations will be submitted officially, in due course, for confirmation, in accordance with the provisions of section 17 of the Indian Universities Act. But I may be permitted to state generally that, as on previous occasions, we have taken as the guiding principle the value of the service rendered by the recipient to the cause of the advancement of learning and culture in the most comprehensive sense. The brief statements amply indicate that we have faithfully adhered to this determining factor. You will find in the list, names of individuals, who have helped in a striking manner to expound and develop those eternal principles of justice, which are common to the East and West. You will find the names of a galaxy of scholars of world-wide fame, who have devoted their lives to the investigation and exposition of Indian civilization and culture. The field is boundless and our list includes workers who have been fascinated by the problems of Indian Religion, Indian Philosophy, Indian Science, Indian Polity, Indian Philology, Indian Architecture, Indian Numismatics, Indian Race Problems, Indian Folk-Lore, and last but not least, the history of our mother-tongue. You will find in the list, the names of distinguished exponents of Literature and Philosophy, of Fine Arts and Poetry, whose eminence in their respective spheres will be ungrudgingly acknowledged in all seats of learning. You will find, again, in the list the names of distinguished scholars who occupy the foremost

rank amongst original investigators by reason of their successful exploration of the mysteries of the physical world. We shall show our appreciation of the work of the profound scholar, who has devoted himself to the solution of the most abstruse problems in the highest regions of Mathematics. We are equally ready to recognize the unsurpassed skill of the Engineer, who has erected stupendous works to control and utilise the agencies of nature for purposes of irrigation and improvement of agriculture. You will find also the names of illustrious persons who have toiled in the field of education with magnificent sacrifice and devotion; they have helped in the creation and development of educational institutions of the highest type and their careers have ennobled the entire Indian people.

I confidently maintain that we have not departed from the high ideal that "Search after Truth is the noblest occupation of Man," and we have not allowed our judgment to be affected by considerations of office, race, colour, creed, or of dogmas, social, religious or political.

Universities Congress at Oxford.

The International Congress of Universities within the British Empire, held its sittings at Oxford on four successive days beginning from 5th July, 1921, under the presidentship of Lord Curzon, the Chancellor of the Oxford University. Our University sent up nine representatives in all to the Conference including Sir Nilratan Sarkar, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, Mr. J. N. Dasgupta, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Mr. C. V. Raman and Dr. W. S. Urquhart. The list was representative and included all possible educational interests, private enterprise and missionary zeal, Government institutions and the Central organisation in the University itself.

Lord Curzon traced the development of the interests in education even at a time when the scars of war had not yet been healed up and dovelike peace had only just returned to England's shore. "A new voice is calling aloud," said his Lordship, "in every land and a passionate desire is being expressed by countries, provinces, communities, cities, races, creeds, to

possess Universities of their own, appealing to civic, or national, or sometimes religious patriotism, and satisfying local or professional or sectional needs."

"The world-mind," continued his Lordship, "is no longer content to be iron-bound by traditions, it seeks fiercely new outlets and fresh expression and it is finding them in the pursuit of knowledge and in the eager training of the intellectual faculties of man." Now that Honorary degrees are being conferred on eminent men and women, our Vice-Chancellor and the Senate would be well-advised to confer an Honorary degree on our erstwhile Chancellor whose purple robes still adorn the walls of the Senate House, if only His Lordship would come back to the scene of his glory and renown, if only His Lordship would give up for a short while his "trepidation and anxiety to find political solutions for largely insoluble problems which he sees on the international chess-board from day to day." A grateful India will then exclaim, *Nunc Dimittas!*

* * *

Kaviraj J. B. Ray and the Faculty of Medicine.

So our friend Kaviraj Jaminibhusan Ray has won his non-conformist fight against the orthodoxy of the Faculty of Medicine. The Faculty of Medicine during the regime of the most renowned of our Bengali Physicians, declined to associate themselves with Kaviraj Jaminibhusan Ray in their deliberations. The resolution passed by the Faculty ran thus:—

(1) That, in consequence of the addition of Kaviraj Jaminibhushan Ray's name to the Faculty of Medicine by the Senate at their annual meeting held on the 29th January, 1921, the Faculty regret exceedingly that they are compelled to point out to the Syndicate that they are unable to associate themselves as a Faculty of Medicine with a Member who professes and practises Ayurvedic system of Medicine, an inability of which probably the Senate did not fully appreciate when the election was made.

(2) That a copy of the above resolution with the following note be sent to the various Medical Governing Bodies in Great Britain and Ireland for a ruling as to how the election, stated above, affects the Members of the Faculty—

The Faculty are bound, in justice to Kaviraj Jaminibhushan Ray, to state that he is a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Medicine of this University, but they are also bound to inform the various Medical Governing Bodies that Mr. Ray declares himself as a Kaviraj practising the Ayurvedic system of Medicine.

It may not be in the recollection of the present generation that on the 15th May, 1878, the Faculty of Medicine unanimously passed a similar resolution—

"In consequence of the addition of Dr. Mahendralal Sarcar's name to the Faculty of Medicine by a resolution of the Senate passed at their meeting on the 27th April, the Faculty regret exceedingly that they are compelled to point out to the Syndicate that they are unable to associate themselves as a Faculty of Medicine with a Member who professes and practises Homœopathy, an inability of which probably the Senate were not aware when the nomination was made; they trust, therefore, that the Syndicate may be able to remove the present difficulty by the transfer of Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar's name to another Faculty, or in some other manner."

Imitation, they say, is the sincerest form of flattery; the prologues resembled, the epilogues were somewhat different—the difference is between Sir William Markby and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; the latter made a reference to the General Medical Council in London which elicited a reply by no means unfavourable to the Kaviraj, with the result that the Faculty, as befitted a body of honourable gentlemen, summoned courage to rescind their previous resolution. All's well that ends well. Kaviraj Jaminibhushan's only consolation is that he feels with the 'mighty dead.'

तदेव युक्तं भेषज्यं यदारोग्याय कल्पते।
स चैव भिषजां श्रेष्ठो रोगेभ्यो यः प्रमोचयेत्॥

चरकसंहिता।

"That alone is the right medicine which can remove disease;
He alone is the true physician who can restore health."—
Charak Samhita.

Thanks to Sanat Kumar Mookerjee.

The sincerest thanks of every well-wisher of the University are due to Mr. S. K. Mookerjee of the Executive Service for his gift of the valuable collection of manuscripts in Bengali, Sanskrit and Oriya to us. Some of these manuscripts are very old; the dates generally vary from the 10th Century B.E. to within 50 years of the present time. The major portion of these MSS. was collected from the Bishnupur Subdivision of Bankura District, where deep buried lie the past glories of mediæval Bengal.

Our Post-Graduate Lecturers.

A hero is never recognised by his valet; indigenous scholarship is not generally appreciated by people with slavish instincts, and our work and worth are measured by the praise the scholars receive from the free citizens of the West. Let us then quote the appreciation of the work of some of our scholars in the Post-Graduate Department "lest we forget."

So says the "Nature" of July, 1921:

"The University of Calcutta has published, as the first of its series of anthropological papers, an essay by Mr. Panchanan Mitra on the prehistoric arts and crafts of India. Beginning with stone implements, Mr. Mitra traces their development in the Palæolithic and Neolithic types. Then follows a chapter on cave paintings and carvings, containing much information which will be novel to English readers. These are held to indicate an Indo-Australian culture-contact from the late Palæolithic up to Neolithic times. On the general question of prehistoric arts and crafts, the author accepts the view of Dr. Coomarswamy that "to this Mykenean facies belong all the implements of wood-work, weaving, metal-work, pottery, etc., together with a group of designs, including many of a remarkably Mediterranean aspect, others more likely originating in western Asia. The

wide extension and consistency of this culture throughout Asia in the second millennium B. C. throw important light on ancient trade intercourse at a time when the eastern Mediterranean formed the western boundary of the civilised world." Thus, the veil which has hitherto concealed the origins of ancient Indian culture is being gradually lifted, and the University of Calcutta is to be congratulated on its efforts to extend this knowledge by the aid of native scholars like Mr. Panchanan Mitra."

* * *

Such is the view of the "Science Progress," July, 1921 :

"The University of Calcutta has done English-speaking people a service by putting into their hands an English translation of what will always be the three classical papers in the literature of the Principle of Relativity, a principle which must be recognised to have come to stay and to be of the utmost significance for the future of physical science, since it makes possible the reconciliation of Newton's simple system of dynamics with what the philosophers have always held in regard to the relative nature of position and motion. We have here first the paper of 1905, in which Einstein first put the view that the recognition of the relative nature of a scale of time acts as a sufficient explanation of the difficulties of reconciling the electro-magnetic theory of light with the experiments of Michelson and Morley. In this paper he completes and rounds off the electron theory of Lorentz as a theory of the constitution of matter, replacing the hypothesis of the contracting electron by the more general and at the same time more satisfying hypothesis now known as the Special Principle of Relativity (Annalen der Physik, 1905).

The second paper is that in which the late H. Minkowski showed that the work of Einstein brought the two concepts of space and time into such a close unity that he was able to say in a lecture at Cologne (Sept. 21, 1908), "Henceforth, the old conceptions of space for itself and time for itself are reduced to mere shadows, and only some sort of unity of the two will be found consistent with the facts." This lecture, delivered under the title of "Raum-und Zeit," is here produced.

Finally we have the paper (Annalen der Physik, 4, 49, 1916, in which Einstein gave the first complete account of his generalised theory of relativity, showing how it made a natural place for the gravitational phenomena which had always eluded the electro-magnetic theory, and how the new theory of gravitation automatically removed the only outstanding discrepancy between theory and observation.

Zeitschsiftder Deutsche Morgenlöndische Gesellschaft—the Z. D. M. G.—*the leading Oriental Journal in the World*, reviews Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee's work, as follows:

(*Translated from the German.*)

The author deals with his subject in an introduction which is of a general character and then divides the subject into 14 individual chapters. He has read much and in contrast with most of the Indian *Savants*, he understands besides English, even German, French and Dutch, which enables him to make good use of the various ramifications of literature connected with the subject. His judgment is based upon a careful consideration of the pros and cons, is free from bias and therefore it makes for conclusions to which one could not but give a whole-hearted support. In each chapter, he quotes the chief representatives of each view in their own language mostly in chronological order and after stating his own reasons, he pronounces his verdict. There is no space here to go into details, still a short summary of the contents and the results arrived at by the author might be given. In the first four chapters he discusses the influences of Hellenism on Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Coinage of the Indians, which began with the invasion of Alexander and spread during the Kushana Empire, ceasing after its downfall. Moreover, the art of Coining which the Indians had learnt from the Hellenistic artists, there existed already an art which was merely revived or renewed. The Indians have indeed received an impulse to Sculpture from the Greeks, but it is curious that the buildings of Asoka do not betray in their style Grecian influence in the smallest degree. The Gandhara art is confined to North-Western India; Mathura is the most easterly point up to which its influence extended. It never penetrated into the actual interior of India, and even in its head-quarters of the Peshwar-Valley it came to an end about 400 A.D. The next part deals with Astronomy, Mathematics and Medicine. The Scientific Astronomy, as has been shown by Thibaut, is Alexandrine; but on the other hand, the Arithmetic is Indian, and in Geometry wherever there has been borrowing, the borrowing has been mainly from the Greeks. The many points of contact which the Greek and Indian medicines indicate must be investigated still further. The author accepts the conclusions of Professor Jolly (Medicin, S. 18). About 700 A.D., the Khalifs of Bagdad caused the works of the Indian doctors to be translated into Arabic and in consequence of this circumstance, European medicine remained under Indian influence up to the 17th

century. In the following chapter the author leaves undecided the question of the origin of the Indian Alphabet. The following two chapters treat of Literature and Drama. Neither the Greek Romance nor the Greek Epic has influenced the production of the Indians nor do these follow the Indian models. Even the Dramas of the two peoples are in the main independent of each other. At the most there is a possibility to consider that the Indians have borrowed this or that particular point from the Greek Drama. In the following chapters, it has been contended that the Religion, Philosophy and Mythology also of the two peoples are independent of each other. The resemblance in mythological ideas and stories of the individual Indo-European peoples may be explained as the outcome of further developments of the original common store. The last chapter deals with Fables and Folk-Tales. If India has to be thanked for a great number of them, the contrary has also to be conceded. It is remarkable that the author ascribes political fables only to the Greeks although, these are richly represented not only in the Mahabharata but also in the Kautilya Sastra as shown by certain expressions. They. migrated into Greece probably from India. The author sees in the Jataka the chief type of the animal-story, whose date about 600 B.C. is we hope only a printer's mistake. For it must be said that this good book so well-arranged and so well-written, is disfigured by a large number of mis-prints, chiefly in the proper names and in quotations specially from the French. In this particular, the expected new edition should certainly be seen carefully. It is also to be desired that in the Bibliography the place of printing and the year should be added.

The Calcutta University and the Bengal Legislative Council.

Government by the legislature has been, throughout the long course of the political development of the world, deprecated by eminent thinkers and practical statesmen and yet when the dyarchy was thrust upon us, some of us felt rightly that dyarchy could not lead to democracy because, the democracy in Bengal, under the new conditions, was neither based upon a well organised party system nor did it insist on the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. The result has been that the legislature, instead of being led by the ministry in power, has actually attempted to lead it. The peculiar

composition of the Bengal Legislative Council of this session and the negation of the principles of democracy, can alone explain the hostility of some of the councillors to the spread of higher education in Bengal.

* * *

The Government of India Act of 1920 made education a transferred subject and transferred the control of the Universities to the Ministries of Education in the different provinces with one notable exception, *viz.*, the University of Calcutta. The Sadler Commission had just finished its labours and all questions relating to the re-organisation of the University of Calcutta were left in the hands of the central legislature. The indecision of Lord Chelmsford and the unfriendly attitude of Mr. Sharp delayed the fruition of the scheme of reform, and Mr. Sharp—in an anxious desire to improve upon the recommendations of the seven educational experts—issued a resolution proposing a re-construction of the Calcutta University without one single sentence about the financial guarantees. Disquieting rumours, we are told, were wafted across the sea and a caustic despatch from the Secretary of State put a curb upon the reforming zeal of an unreformed bureaucrat.

Meanwhile the patience of the members of the Calcutta University was well nigh exhausted; Non-co-operation had invaded the University and attempted to paralyse its activities and on the 24th of January, 1921, the Senate passed the following resolution:—

"That when legislation is undertaken for reconstruction of the Calcutta University, such legislation should be undertaken by the Bengal Legislative Council and not by the Indian Legislative Assembly or the Council of State. That to give effect to this view, the Government of India should be invited to take the necessary steps to authorise the Bengal Legislative Council to deal with the matter.

Provided that, as previously decided by the Senate, no legislation for the reconstruction of the University should be undertaken, unless and until

a full enquiry has been made as to the probable cost of carrying out any proposed scheme of reconstruction, and it has been ascertained that the funds requisite can be made available."

Lord Chelmsford on the eve of his retirement came down to Calcutta and was persuaded to give his assent to a short Act, transferring the University of Calcutta to the jurisdiction of the Bengal Government. Subsequent events have shown, however, that the University has not yet been benefited *visibly* by the change of masters.

On the 5th of February, 1921, the Registrar of the Calcutta University wrote two letters to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, asking for financial assistance in accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission for (*i*) a sum of eleven lacs of rupees for the ensuing financial year for the erection of suitable buildings on the fish-market site. The University had 4½ lacs in deposit in the fish-market fund and proposed building operations with that sum of money with a supplementary grant of the 11 lacs to be paid in 1922-23. (*ii*) In accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission the University further asked for a grant of Rs. 1,25,000 for the maintenance of the Post-Graduate department. "It has been brought to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate," so ran the letter of the Registrar, "that appointments in the Dacca University have been offered to members of the Calcutta University Staff on much higher salary than the Calcutta University has found it hitherto possible to pay them. To take one illustration, a member of the Post-Graduate Staff in Philosophy who is in receipt of a salary of Rs. 300 has been offered an appointment in the Dacca University on a minimum salary of Rs. 500 with periodical increments. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate are not able to appreciate the justification for placing public funds at the disposal of the Dacca University authorities with the inevitable result that they are enabled to take away

the members of the Post-Graduate Staff by offer of higher salaries. If public funds are available for the development of higher teaching in Bengal, the Calcutta University is manifestly entitled to a fair share thereof."

The Calcutta University further appealed to the Government of Bengal for the grant of an additional sum of 10 lacs of rupees as a capital grant for the extension of *technological studies* in Calcutta and strongly urged upon the Government the just claims of the College of Science and Technology founded by the munificent gifts of the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit, supplemented by about 11 lacs of rupees paid by the University from its own fee income.

"The College of Science owes its existence," so wrote the Registrar, "in the main to the munificence of the late Sir Taraknath Palit and the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose. The gift made by the former (money and land) is worth 15 lakhs of rupees: the endowment created by the latter exceeds 20 lakhs of rupees. The income of the two endowments has to be applied principally in the maintenance of eight Chairs and sixteen Research students. The Chairs are now held by Scholars of the highest academic distinction:

Palit Professor of Chemistry	...	Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., Ph.D., D.Sc., C.I.E., F.C.S.
Palit Professor of Physics	...	Mr. C. V. Raman, M.A.
Ghose Professor of Applied Mathematics		Dr. S. K. Banerjee, D.Sc.
Ghose Professor of Chemistry	...	Dr. P. C. Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Physics	...	Dr. D. M. Bose, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Agricultural Botany	...	Dr. S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin).
Ghose Professor of Applied Physics	...	Dr. P. N. Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D.
Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry	...	Dr. H. K. Sen, M.A., D.Sc. (London).

The balance of the income of these endowments which is left after payment of the salaries of these Professors and of Scholarships to the Research students, is quite inadequate for equipment of the respective Laboratories. The University has, consequently, found it necessary to devote a large portion of its current income from year to year to the construction of the

Laboratory Buildings, and the equipment of the Laboratories. Some idea of the sums which have been spent by the University will be gained from the following statement :—

Cost of erection of Palit Laboratary Building at 92, Upper Circular Road	Rs.	3,89,427
Equipment for the Laboratory (Physical, Chemical and Biological)	„	3,34,382
Total ...	Rs.	7,23,809

Besides this, the University maintains two Chairs, one for Botany and the other, for Zoology. The former is held by Dr. P. Brühl, D.Sc., who is on the grade of Rs. 800-50-1000, and the latter, by Mr. S. Maulik, M.A. (Cantab.), who is on the grade of Rs. 600-50-800. To carry on the work in each Department, the University has found it necessary to employ a number of Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Demonstrators, whose aggregate salary amounts to Rs. 3,525 per month Notwithstanding all these arrangements, the University has found it impossible to undertake instruction in Technology and applied Science on anything approaching an adequate scale. This is a matter of deep regret, especially in view of the fact that the last gift of the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose was made expressly for development of technological teaching, and the Chair of Botany first created by him was expressly intended for the improvement of agricultural instruction. The authorities of the Science College have had ready for some time past, a carefully prepared programme of work for the development of technological instruction, and its outline may be set forth here for information of Government :—

(A) Applied Chemistry	Rs.	4,65,000
(B) Applied Physics	„	2,10,000
(C) Applied Botany (including Agriculture) ...	„	2,00,000
(D) Library of the Science College	„	1,25,000
Total ...	Rs.	10,00,000

In Chemistry (A), the most essential need is an adequate workshop: this, it is estimated, will cost Rs. 2,25,000, namely, Rs. 75,000 for building and Rs. 1,50,000 for appliances. It is proposed to undertake instruction in *Chemistry of Leather and Chemistry of Dyes*. Besides this, it is proposed

to have arrangements for practical instruction in the manufacture of *some* of the following:

Sulphuric Acid, Glass, Paper and Pulp, Lime, Mortar and Cement, Sugar, Soap, Candle and Glycerine, Paints and Pigments, Oils. Apart from these, factory appliances, like disintegrators, centrifugals, filter presses, hydraulic presses, vacuum pans, etc., would be indispensable. These would require a grant of 2 lakhs of rupees to enable the College authorities to make a good beginning. Finally, at least Rs. 40,000 would be needed for even a small laboratory for technical analysis. This brings up the figure for the Department of Chemistry to Rs. 4,65,000.

In the Department of Applied Physics (B), it is intended to undertake work in Applied Electricity, in the testing and standardisation of instruments, in Applied Optics (including Illumination Engineering), in Pyrometry and in Applied Thermo-Dynamics (including a study of the efficiency of different types of Heat Engines). An estimate of Rs. 21,000 is manifestly a very modest demand for so important a work.

In the Department of Botany (C), it is intended to undertake instruction in Agriculture. The most urgent need is an Experimental Farm, which need not be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. A site in some place easily accessible by rail will meet the needs of our students. The acquisition of land and the construction and equipment of a farm will cost at least a lakh of rupees. Another lakh will enable the University Professors to complete the arrangements which have already been begun in the Palit House at 35, Balligunj Circular Road.

The remaining item (D) is the Library of the University College of Science. For purposes of instruction on the most modern lines in such subjects as Chemistry, Physics and Botany, it is absolutely essential to acquire the chief journals and standard works of reference. A sum of Rupees One Lakh and Twenty-five Thousand will enable the University to procure not all, but many, of the most pressing requisites.

It is obvious that a recurring grant would be needed for the purpose of carrying out efficiently the work of technological and agricultural instruction from year to year. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate do not, however, press for a recurring grant during the ensuing session, and they will be content to utilise the capital grant which may be placed at their disposal with the assistance of their present staff."

Meanwhile the Reformed Council met and opened fire on the University of Dacca. The two letters of the Registrar

remained unanswered, and, on the contrary, the appointment of some lecturers of the Calcutta University to the Dacca University at a much higher rate of pay and without the knowledge or consent of the authorities of the Calcutta University was sought to be justified on grounds which were obviously untenable, as the following letter addressed by the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated the 2nd April, 1921 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, clearly shows:—

"I am directed to refer to the answers given by the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Education to starred question No. XVIII at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 1st April, 1921, and to point out that some of the statements contained in the answers are contrary to fact.

The answer under clause (*d*) "*was at one time* on the staff of the Calcutta University Science College." The fact is that Dr. Ghosh is even now a member of the staff. His name appears in the list of lecturers, and he is in receipt of Rupees one hundred a month as leave allowance. No application has so far been received by this University from Dr. Ghosh, or from any one else on his behalf, for leave to resign his appointment here, or to accept an appointment elsewhere. It may be added that Dr. Ghosh is under an obligation to the Calcutta University to serve here for three years after his return from England, or to refund with interest the sums advanced to him. The fact mentioned in the answer that his appointment to the Dacca University was recommended by an Advisory Selection Committee, of which the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was a member, does not affect the position. The Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, who was placed on the Committee by the Governor of Bengal, was not given to understand that he was there to safeguard the interests of the Calcutta University as against the Dacca University or that he was required to do anything more than approve of the qualifications of the gentlemen whose names were placed before the Committee, irrespective of the question of the salaries they would receive, or whether the institutions in which they were employed would be willing to part with their services.

The answer, further, states under clauses (*e*), (*f*), (*g*) and (*h*) on information furnished by the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, that "in certain cases the teachers, who were *mostly part-time* teachers in the

University of Calcutta, applied (for appointment in the Dacca University) through the President of the Post-Graduate Councils and with a recommendation on his part." The fact is that only two members of the Post-Graduate staff, *viz.*, Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar and Mr. Nalinimohan Bose, applied through the President and *both of them are whole-time officers* of this University. The two others, *viz.*, Mr. Satyendranath Bose and Mr. Haridas Bhattacharyya, who have been approved for appointment in the Dacca University, did not apply through the President, and both of them are whole-time officers of the University. Consequently, none of these four gentlemen was a part-time teacher in the University, and the suggestion contained in another part of the answer that higher pay has been offered for increased work at Dacca, in so far as it is based on the assumption that these gentlemen were part-time officers here and would be whole-time officers there, is without foundation. Whether their work at Dacca will be more responsible than their work here is a matter on which opinions may differ; but the fact should not be overlooked that whereas in Calcutta these professors had to devote their whole time to Post-Graduate teaching and research, it is understood that in Dacca they are likely to be burdened also with under-graduate work.

I am to request that in fairness to this University the true facts as stated above may be placed before the Council."

Such was the state of affairs when the Bengal Legislative Council was already in an attitude of attention and preparedness. We live in an age of universal unrest and it is impossible to foresee the action and reaction of events without any apparent mutual connection. In an ill-fated moment, the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta rejected the representation of the Vakils to alter certain rules framed by them including the rules relating to the preparation of paper books by the Vakils themselves. There was wild talk of a wholesale strike of the Vakils, there were thick rumours relating to interference by the Executive with the Judiciary, and amidst the bustle and din, the Governing Body of the Law College declined to reappoint two of its professors one of whom happened to be a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Events followed with startling rapidity, the memory of which is still fresh in all its bitterness and does not bear

any recapitulation. The Bengal Council was about to begin its labour, and questions and resolutions were at once hurled at the University.

Meanwhile a Conference of the Head Masters of Schools and representatives of the Managing Committees thereof met and decided to urge upon an unprepared Government the insistent claims of vocational education in schools recognised by the University. On the 23rd of February, 1921, Rai Bahadur Mahendrachandra Mitra had recommended to the Bengal Government.—

That (1) immediate steps be taken for preparing a scheme for the furtherance of vocational education and that practical effect be given to the same by opening special classes in all Government and aided schools in Bengal with the help and in co-ordination with the Agricultural and Public Works Departments, and authorities of workshops and mills, where possible; (2) that financial provision be made to carry out the scheme as early as possible and that the services of the Director of Industries, Bengal, be utilised for the purpose as Commissioner for the proposed special test Examinations.

There were eloquent speeches over the motion and it was carried without a division. Another Rai Bahadur, not to be defeated in his oratorical capacity or his educational ingenuity, brought forward a motion followed by another neighbouring M. L. C.,—a veteran educationist himself—urging upon the Government the impending necessity of creating a Secondary Board of Education to take charge of schools with vocational education as its chief plank. The composition of that Secondary Board of Education was not left to be determined by the experienced educationist or the needs of education itself, nor were the outlines of the scheme laid down by the Calcutta University Commission accepted, but a novel proposal was made to introduce what is called a popular element in education by the popular representatives in which the representation of educational interests had no place. The resolutions have been carried by

the Bengal Legislative Council and in due course they will merely add to the pages of that famous book of "Pious Wishes." Some of the M. L. C.'s next attempted to throw mud at the Vice-Chancellor of the University by asking questions regarding the qualifications, status and salaries, or other remunerations of four of his relatives serving in the University. Mr. Hemchandra Nashkar's academic interests had suddenly been fired by an ardent desire to clear the impure atmosphere of the Calcutta University. University men have never been uncharitable enough to attribute *motives* to Mr. Nashkar but some young lecturers in the Post-Graduate Department in Anthropology, merely in their Conventional style, attempted a measurement between him and College Square. "Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise"; and it was not brought to the notice of Mr. Nashkar that three of the gentlemen whom he had chosen to attack under a mask possessed the highest academic qualifications in the University, and two of them were besides, elected Members of the Senate. Therefore they were as much entitled to the use of the magic expression—"popular representatives" as he himself or the other "democratic-representative critics" of the University, for does not Vol. No. 61 of the Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings betray the following facts:

Name and nature of the constituency.	Number of candidates nominated.	Number of electors who recorded their votes.
(1) Calcutta North Non-Mahomedan Urban (Mr. Jatindranath Bose).	1	...
(2) Bankura Dist. Non-Mahomedan Rural (Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar).	6	4,052
(3) 24-Parganas Rural Central Non-Mahomedan (Mr. Hemchandra Nashkar).	4	2,042
(4) Calcutta South (Mr. Surendranath Mallik).	2	1,063

The wonder is that the President of the Bengal Legislative Council permitted personal questions to be shot at the University by some of the representatives, who—the non-co-operators say—represent nobody but themselves and maintain, that their election after all, is an 'accident of accidents.' But we must remember that all this took place before the admonition of Mr. Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly to his noble Councillors.

We may here recall the eloquent words which the Hon'ble the Education Minister had used in reply to Dr. Suhrawardy's question regarding the Dacca University on the *1st of April, 1921.* "The University of Dacca is not a department of the Government of Bengal. It is a body quite distinct from Government, incorporated by an Act of the legislature and invested not only with certain functions but with a statutory obligation to perform them..... It is not the business of the Local Government to make such enquiries, the member suggests, in this connection."

The troubles of the University did not end here. Patriotic M. L. C.'s whose expert financial knowledge was discovered by Columbuses of high education—denied the privilege of confidence or trust by trustors or trustees in their life-time—came forward as *novus* to scrutinise the action of the custodians of the trust funds in the University. Details regarding audit report were called for without a definite knowledge of the functions of the auditors; statements made by a particular member of the Senate regarding the misappropriation of trust funds attached to the University were eagerly swallowed. The member in question no doubt with a view to state the truth and nothing but the truth, omitted to mention the nature of the trust fund and to give details relating to the precise nature and scope of the alleged misappropriation.

On the top of this all, came a resolution for the appointment of a Committee of enquiry on the administration

of the Post-Graduate Department by a veteran champion of the rights of the people of "the poorest and the most backward district in Bengal" (to quote his own words). Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar's knowledge of affairs of men and things was no doubt derived from his intimate contact with high education in Bengal. An anonymous writer in the press advised a careful investigation into his academic distinctions but do we not know that Mr. Sarkar was one of our examiners in the Preliminary Examination in Law held in January, 1921? He held the Examinership, not as a consolation prize but on account of his depth of learning and his successful career in the profession. We have no desire to present the bitterly personal tone of the debate in the Council nor are we prepared at this stage to soothe the vanities or smooth the susceptibilities of self-constituted educational experts. We merely quote what a truth-loving Irishman felt, thought and wrote about the episode:

The masterly performance of 'The Merchant of Venice' by the Waring Company at The Empire has, mayhap, induced some people in Calcutta to read Shakespeare instead of being content, as heretofore, to hear pundits speak of him and attempt to interpret his message. I would advise such self-helpers, who are also interested in the affairs of the Calcutta University, to turn to the tragedy of 'Julius Cæsar' for a dramatic and historical parallel to the conspiracy against Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor, which was revealed in all its shabby littleness in a two-days' debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the following motion of Babu Rishindranath Sarkar:

"This Council recommends to the Government that, with a view to determine what financial assistance, if any, should be given to the Calcutta University, a Committee consisting of two financial experts, and two members of the Senate, to be nominated by the Government, and three non-official members of this Council not holding any office in the University, to be elected by the Council, be appointed at an early date to inquire into and report on the general working of the University, in particular its financial administration, and to recommend such urgent measures or reforms as may be necessary."

This motion was a clumsy camouflage of a personal attack on a man whose service to the Calcutta University is invaluable, whose ability is so transcendent as to provoke the superstitious repugnance of the half educated and the bitter enemity of the distempered. In the Senate of the Calcutta University and in the Bar Library of the Calcutta High Court there are many men like Cassius "with a lean and hungry look" who are plotting to down the greatest scholar in Bengal and the most masterful mind because

> "He doth bestride the narrow world
> Like a Colossus; and they petty men
> Walk under his huge legs and peep about
> To find themselves dishonourable graves."

* * *

In Shakespeare's play the eponymous hero has little or nothing to do with the plot, beyond making, as Hazlitt puts it, "several vapouring and rather pedantic speeches." In the drama in the Bengal Council the real hero did not appear at all, but it was evident from the speeches of those who spoke for or against the motion that they were obsessed by fear of his "spirit ranging for revenge." Of Sir Asutosh it may truly be said, as Cæsar said of himself.

> 'I do know but one
> That unassailable holds on his rank
> Unshak'd of motion.'

And because his enemies and critics know this, they are as tricky as Cassius who bade the visionary and impracticable Brutus not to be over-critical of "every nice offence."

* * *

If Lord Ronaldshay bows to the factional clamour and appoints a Committee to discredit the Vice-Chancellor—that is the only object of the motion which was carried by 55 votes against 41—he will deal a staggering blow to University education in Bengal. It is to be hoped he won't, even at the risk that his denial will drive some pseudo-Moderates, who wear the cloak of Co-operation to cover a multitude of sins, to throw it from their shoulders and stalk forth in the naked barbarity of non-Co-operation. Better an avowed foe than a candid friend. Mr. P. C. Mitter, Minister for Education, in vain reminded the conspirators that it was incumbent on the Government to give the University authorities an opportunity of explaining and defending the administration of their

finances; but it is a consideration which must weigh with the Government. I believe with Mr. Mitter that Sir Asutosh has a full and sufficient answer to silence his uncharitable critics, and until he makes it let us hear no more of a Committee of spiteful "Nosey Poke's and Uriah Heep's."

"Give unto them made lowly wise
The spirit of self-sacrifice
The confidence of reason give
And in the truth let thy bond men live."

Mr. Biss's Report on the Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education in Bengal.

Mr. Biss's Report begins with a callous confession. "I was instructed," he writes, "to make proposals regarding the expenditure of one lakh of rupees that had been set aside in the budget for primary education outside Calcutta for the year 1920-21. Unfortunately Rs. 50,000 out of this had to be utilised for other purposes, while Rs. 25,000 was allotted to the Municipality of Darjeeling for a part of its educational programme. Out of the balance had to be found the cost of the enquiry, so that little remained with which to experiment in this matter of primary education in which so much experiment and research is required before we can feel secure in advancing along any particular line of policy." We are not told for what other purposes Rs. 50,000 out of the paltry sum allotted to the improvement of primary education was spent. The Government have not yet shown their willingness to spend more than an infinitesimal fraction of the public revenues for educating the people whose trustees they profess to be. Supplementary grants are demanded and obtained for the Police and the Army, and what little is publicly allotted to Education imperceptibly disappears in the bottomless abyss of "other needs and other purposes." It is no wonder therefore, that not more than 20·5 per cent. of the children of school-going age should find their way to a school, good, bad or indifferent. And what rapid progress we have made

in this direction! "In 1835-39 Mr. Adam estimated that 7½ per cent. of the children of school-going age were at school. A rough estimate now places it at 20·5 per cent." A splendid record for a century! and we have no doubt it will compare extra-ordinarily well with the rapid strides made by European Countries during the same period. In the year 1918-19, out of a total population of 45,483,077 only 16,60,467 of our children went to school and it will be no exaggeration to say that scarcely 2 per cent. of our women are literate. Bengal is hopelessly behind Madras and Bombay and the Bengal Government bear only 34·5 per cent. of the expenditure of Primary Education while Madras and Bombay get 52·5 and 61·4 per cent. respectively of their total expenditure from their provincial revenues. We are confronted not only by a chronic lack of funds but by a policy of spending what little is available after Commissions of enquiry leaving nothing to carry out their recommendations. The Sadler Commission, met, toured and deliberated. Lakhs and Lakhs were spent and all that we have to-day are 14 bulky volumes of blue books with a mass of healthy criticism and suggestions; but alas, there is no fund! Some of our Universities would fain have those lakhs and gladly dispense with the 14 volumes that they now find as useless and forgotten as the celebrated 14 points of President Wilson. Similarly do many secondary and primary schools sigh for the use of the large funds annually spent on the inspecting staff—people who sometimes have no suggestion to make, no new light to throw, but who visit the school room, tape in hand, and do the work which an ordinary surveyor might do more efficiently and cheaply. We should however remember that Mr. Biss is by no means responsible for the policy of the Government he serves.

Mr. Biss says—"Of the number of schools there is nothing to complain. There is a school to every 1·7 square miles of Bengal, including its immense areas of jungle,

water, and cultivation." Mr. Biss however seems to be familiar with the story of the three scholars, who found themselves beyond their depth, in a small *nala* the average depth of which they had found after a careful calculation was not more than two feet and eleven inches. He rightly points out that the *pathshalas* and the *maktabs* are very unevenly distributed and a fair redistribution is urgently necessary to meet the needs of backward localities.

The two principles of Co-ordination and Concentration, which Mr. Biss strongly advocates are fundamentally sound and should commend themselves to those amateurs who find it convenient to masquerade their educational zeal in the spacious hall near the Eden Garden. He realises that the reorganisation of Primary, Secondary and University Education must go hand in hand and that piecemeal reform is impossible. The present class of teachers, after a couple of years' training will not be able, we are afraid, to take up the work in hand with any chance of success. Mr. Biss should remember that one of the most potent causes of the failure of Sir Alexander Pedlar's scheme was the lack of really qualified teachers. The idea of social-welfare centres is good, but none but really intelligent and well informed students will be able to take advantage of them. In the Lower Primary Schools at present there are 12,516 teachers. Of these only 7,747 underwent a special training in the Guru Training Schools and the great majority never went beyond the Middle Vernacular stage. They may go to the new training schools designed by Mr. Biss; the elements of Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and other Sciences may be explained to them; they may listen to learned discourses on child psychology and school management; they may be made to read some works on Botany and Zoology, but will they be able to assimilate them and impart them, in an intelligible form to their future pupils? Probably not. The present teachers opened their schools, in most cases to supplement

their ordinary income. They are literate no doubt but literacy and education cannot be regarded as the self-same thing. The present class of pundits therefore must be replaced and replaced by a class of men who are sufficiently educated to receive training almost in every subject.

We have to remember that these new types of schools are not designated to impart the knowledge of the three R's alone. Their primary object will be to train one class of students for the University and another class of students for the vocations of their life. The school master will therefore have to be, not only a close student of his surroundings, but he will have to learn something of the vocations of his neighbours. For example, a primary school in a *malo* village must teach the boys something about pisciculture. The *malo* boy will learn from his father, how to make his net, how to cast it, how to repair the boat but if his education is really intended to make him more fit for the struggles of his life, he must be taught something about his vocation that his father did not know and so a teacher competent to impart this knowledge must be found. But can we expect that a Lower Primary passed youth, after two years' training, will be competent to take so much advantage of the social-welfare centres as to be able to meet all these various needs? A primary school master must go at least up to the I.Sc. standard before he can be trained for this work, and we are afraid the scale of pay, proposed by Mr. Biss, is hardly good enough to attract the right sort of persons. The ultimate success of the whole scheme depends upon the training of the teachers, and this in its turn, depends on the re-organisation of the University on new lines. For the University will have to supply the staff of the training colleges, training schools, the inspection department and even social-welfare centres.

We are afraid Mr. Biss lays too much importance on the school buildings. In rural areas, the village boys have met from time immemorial in the *Chandimandap* of the most

influential of their co-villagers. This is an inexpensive way of finding a school building. These buildings are generally open, they have a courtyard where they can play, not football, and cricket, it is true, but those inexpensive national games which are no less healthy and no less conducive to discipline. The lower primary schools will hardly need a big library and given the right teacher, the neighbouring fields and ponds and bushes will serve their purpose better than any Natural History museum. The private buildings are invariably kept in a better state of repair than public buildings for here the prestige of the owner is directly concerned. And so far as our knowledge goes, wealthy villagers will willingly equip their *Chandimandaps* according to the demands of the Education Department, provided the *pathsala* continues to be located there. In backward localities, however, a neat and decent house will have to be provided at the public expense. But if in wealthier villages a *Chandimandap* in a central place is selected much unnecessary expense may be avoided and the money thus saved may be conveniently diverted to the improvement of the teachers' pay.

Nor do we think that a large inspecting staff is necessary. It can be conveniently reduced. After all, we cannot expect from them anything but systematisation. But in these new schools our aim will be not uniformity but diversity. Every school will be designed to meet the special needs of a particular village. Some schools will impart instruction in sericulture while others will avoid it as absolutely unnecessary and train their boys in weaving. An inspecting staff, under these circumstances, with a set of rigid departmental rules, may be not only unnecessary but positively harmful. The teacher must not be interfered with and he must be allowed to follow his own initiative. At present an unusually large proportion of the funds at the disposal of the Education Department go to the maintenance

of a highly paid inspecting staff. The reduction of this overgrown staff will place not an inconsiderable sum at the hands of the Minister and this may be profitably spent for the expansion and improvement of Primary education.

Another insuperable difficulty however has to be removed before we can induce really good men to undertake the work of education in this country. Whatever might have been their social status in the golden age of the past, teachers occupy but a low position in society to-day. They are, at the most, tolerated. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder, that intelligent youths should avoid the teaching profession as much as they can, and only those who cannot help it accept a teacher's appointment. No legislation, however, will be of any use here, though an improved salary may gradually raise the Primary School Pundit in the estimation of his neighbours.

Taxation, we are told, will be necessary, but Mr. Biss assures us it will not be burdensome. We are afraid he bases his conclusion on wrong information. His arguments may be incontestable on paper but if he cared to make a local enquiry in any of the rural areas he would find to his surprise that the majority of the boys really did not pay so high a fee as 4 *as.* per month. The Pundit has to meet the demands of the departmental regulations and so he fixes the lowest fee at 4 *as.* This fee again is not regularly paid and payment in kind is not unusual. But he has to keep up the show on paper and the Sub-Inspector, when he examines the Pathshala accounts, finds to his delight that the boys punctually pay their fees on the first of every month. In reality however, punctual payment is absolutely unknown and the Pundit deems himself very fortunate when a fee of two annas is paid while the lowest fee is fixed at 4 *as.* A cess will therefore be really irksome and unpopular and, as improved education may be reasonably expected to improve the morals of the people, Government may conveniently reduce the Police expenditure

to avoid the necessity for fresh taxation. But if that is not possible, a cess will have to be levied because we must have education at any cost.

There is one fundamental defect in the Report which is unpardonable. Though 98 per cent. of our women are illiterate, Mr. Biss has not a word to say about female education. He solemnly observes—"It is perhaps unnecessary in the twentieth century to enter upon a long argument concerning the responsibility of the State in education. It is now universally admitted that the aggregate value of the individuals composing a nation is ultimately the value of that State. It follows that the State should use its best endeavours to destroy ignorance and to create efficiency among its people, etc." We find to our despair that by "people" Mr. Biss only means its male portion and as he is out to combat the ignorance of the boys only, the girls have nothing to expect from him. But as our women also pay taxes, they can rightly demand that the State should be as attentive to their educational needs as to those of their brothers.

It will take some time to find the right class of Teachers to undertake the work. Here is a golden opportunity for Non-co-operating graduates and undergraduates. They possess the necessary public spirit; they have the enthusiasm and the patriotism by which real Teachers should be inspired. They have decided to serve their country even at the sacrifice of their future prospects. Here is their proper sphere; let them undertake the improvement and expansion of Primary education in Bengal.

Non-Co-operation and High Education.

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 24th September the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor made an explanatory statement with reference to the comparative tables of attendance of students in our Schools and Colleges. He emphatically

invited public attention to the disastrous results of non-co-operation on our educational institutions of all grades.

We shall place before our readers the tables and the explanatory statement.

"The comparative statements of the number of students in schools and colleges, which have been previously circulated to all members of the Senate and have now been formally laid on the table by the Registrar, embody information of special value and import at the present time, and I feel it my duty to invite your attention to their full significance. In January and February last when the non-co-operation movement was much in evidence amongst students in educational institutions in this Presidency, it was considered desirable to ascertain to what extent the various colleges had been affected thereby. College authorities were accordingly requested to forward a comparative statement, showing the number of students on the rolls on the 15th September, 1920 and the number of students attending on the 1st March, 1921. The information required was limited to the figures for the First year I.A., the First year I.Sc., the Third year B.A., and the Third year B.Sc. Classes, in as much as the Second-year and Fourth year students had already been sent up as candidates for the respective University Examinations. The returns received disclosed the magnitude of the disturbance which had already taken place and had not then completely subsided. The number of students in each of the four classes mentioned had fallen off in a remarkable manner and had been reduced from 11,270 to 6,580; in other words, about 42 per cent. of the students had ceased to attend the First-year and Third-year Classes of our affiliated colleges. This reduction was alarming; but the hope was confidently entertained by experienced educationists in general that the students would return to their colleges after the summer vacation. Meanwhile, there were indications that the non-co-operation movement had spread far and wide amongst boys in schools, and

at the Conferences of Head Masters and Managers held here in May and June, it was freely stated that many of the schools, specially those situated in Eastern Bengal, had been seriously affected. In these circumstances, the Syndicate decided to ask for further returns and included the schools within the scope of the enquiry. The returns were slow to come; but they have now been received from a very large proportion of the institutions, and have been analysed. With this preliminary explanation I shall proceed to draw your attention to the figures contained in the several statements laid before you.

One of these statements shows (*a*) the total number of students on the rolls of the recognised schools about the end of July, 1921; (*b*) the total number of students on the rolls about the end of July, 1920; (*c*) the number of students in the Matriculation Class in July, 1921; and (*d*) the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination. The total number of recognised schools on our list is 846; of these, 813 have furnished returns as to the number of students in July, 1920, and 815 as to the number of students in July, 1921. The number of schools which have furnished information as to the students in the Matriculation Class is, however, smaller, namely, 724, while 778 have furnished returns as to the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination. The statement shows that whereas in July, 1920, those schools had 2,10,936 pupils, they had in July, 1921, only 1,63,787 students; in other words, 47,149 students have disappeared from our recognised schools, that is, nearly 23 per cent. of the students have left off their studies. If, again, you compare the number of candidates likely to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination with the number actually sent up to the last examination, you find a similar divergence. The returns last year showed that 23,600 might be expected to be sent up, but as a matter of fact only 19,125 actually entered for the examination. In view of the returns

from 778 schools already mentioned, it is thus fairly certain that the actual number of candidates at the Matriculation Examination next year will not exceed 16,000. The position then is that so far as recognised schools are concerned, the total number of students has been reduced by 22 per cent. and the number of candidates to be presented at the Matriculation Examination next year may be reduced by nearly 20 per cent. The normal growth in the number of candidates, from year to year, has thus been arrested; on the other hand, there has been a marked retrogression which may probably continue for some time to come; for, not merely the topmost class but the classes lower down also have been affected, as is indicated by the reduction in the total strength of the schools taken as a whole.

Let us now turn to the Colleges. As I have stated already, the returns received some months ago showed that 42 per cent. of the students, whose names were on the rolls of the First year and Third year Classes on the 15th September, 1920, had ceased to attend classes on the 1st March, 1921. When the Colleges re-opened after the summer vacation, the First year and the Third year students may be assumed to have been promoted in the normal course of events, so as to form the new Second year and Fourth year Classes, which were further strengthened by the admission of what are called "failed students," that is, students, who had failed at the University Examinations held in March and April. If we leave out of account for the moment these failed students, we find that on the 10th August, 1921, the regular Second year students numbered 4,983,[1] while the regular Fourth year students numbered 2,602[1]; in other words, on the 10th August, 1921, the strength of the regular Second year and Fourth year Classes taken together was 7,585.[1] But as the number of students attending the First year and Third year Classes on the 1st March, 1921, was 6,121,[1] the

[1] This excludes the two Dacca Colleges.

difference between 7,585 and 6,121, that is, 1,464, represents the number of students who had returned from amongst those that had ceased to attend on the 1st March, 1921. To summarise, the number of students, which stood at 10,492 [1] on the 15th September, 1920, and was brought down to 6,121 [1] on the 1st March, 1921, rose to 7,585 on the 10th August, 1921. To put the matter briefly, 42 per cent. of the students disappeared in March, 1921; nearly 14 per cent. returned to the Colleges by the 10th August, 1921; so that out of 10,492 the net loss was 2,907, that is, more than 27 per cent. I shall leave it to you to imagine the magnitude of this defection in its effect upon the Colleges concerned, while I turn for a moment to consider its probable consequence on the University.

The number of Second year students, regular and failed, in all the Colleges, on the 10th August, 1921, comes up to 5,458. It is too much to assume that every one of these students will be able to pursue his studies regularly during the remainder of the session, will successfully pass the College Test and will enter for the University Intermediate Examination next year. But even if they should all do so, there must be a serious reduction in the number of Intermediate candidates at the next examination in comparison with the number at the last examination. In 1920, the number of Intermediate candidates stood at 7,180; in 1921, the number fell to 6,714; non-co-operation had already begun to make itself felt. In 1922, the number may be nearer 5,000 than 6,000. In the case of the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, the position is likely to be still more striking. On the 10th August, 1921, the number of Fourth year B.A. and B.Sc. students—regular as well as failed—stood at 2,667. Assume for a moment that all of them will be able to enter for the Degree Examinations early next year. When we remember that the number of B.A. and B.Sc. candidates was 4,462 in 1920 and was 4,539 in 1921, we can at once realise that there will be a very

[1] This includes the two Dacca Colleges.

serious reduction in 1922, when the number may be nearer 2,500 than 3,000. These figures amply justify the conclusion that, in all human probability, the number of candidates in 1922 at the Matriculation, at the I.A. and I.Sc., and at the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations will be appreciably smaller than the corresponding numbers in 1921 and 1920. I have hitherto said nothing as to the extent of possible reduction in the number of candidates at the other examinations, as the full data are not yet available; but this may be taken as more than probable that there will be a marked reduction in 1922 in the number of candidates at the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations as also the examinations in the Faculty of Law. The Law Classes as also some of the Post-Graduate Classes have been undoubtedly affected, though they withstood the attacks of the non-co-operators, when the movement was at its height, far more effectively than the undergraduate and school classes. It may be stated in this connection that the number of candidates at the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in 1920 was 765, which has been reduced in 1921 to 639. The contrast in the case of the Law Examinations is equally manifest; the number which stood at 4,780 in 1920 has fallen to 4,294 in 1921. There is good ground for the belief that the numbers in 1922 will be still smaller.

A further study of the figures in the comparative statements placed before you will tend to support the conclusion that the diminution in numbers is not likely to be temporary in duration. The new Third year Classes, as they stood on the 10th August, 1921, shortly after the commencement of the current session, contained 2,991 students as against 3,641 in the corresponding classes on the 15th September, 1920. Again, the number of students in the new First year Classes, as they stood on the 10th August, 1921, shortly after the commencement of the current session, was 6,463, as against 7,942 in the corresponding classes on the 15th September, 1920. This by itself is disquieting; but there

is one feature of the admissions into the new First year Classes, which makes the situation really graver than it looks at first sight. In 1920, the admissions into the First year I.A. and I.Sc. Classes were 5,369 and 2,573 respectively; in 1921, the figures are 3,497 and 2,966; in other words, there has been a revulsion of feeling amongst our students against literary and in favour of scientific study. It is impossible to say whether this is a merely passing mood: but the important fact cannot be overlooked that there is not sufficient accommodation in the Laboratories, attached to our Degree Colleges, for the instruction of the increasing number of students, who may pass the Intermediate in Science Examination. The Colleges never had the means to expand their Laboratories under post-war financial conditions; and meanwhile their resources have been crippled by the sudden fall in the number of students. It may thus happen that many students, who pass the I.Sc. Examination, will not be able to get admission into the B.Sc. Classes, nor will there be room enough for them in the Medical and Engineering Colleges. Thus debarred from further study on the scientific side, they may attempt to revert to the literary side: but the transference involves so much additional work as to be practically not open to the average student. All these circumstances combined may well tend to prevent an immediate rise in the number of B.A. and B.Sc. students to the average normal figure of recent years. These causes will undoubtedly operate to the serious pecuniary embarrassment of many of the individual schools and colleges concerned; but the resultant effect upon the University itself will be extraordinarily disastrous and far-reaching in character. On the most cautious calculation, it may well be maintained that the reduction in the Examination fees received by the University will be Rs. 45,000 for the Matriculation Examination, Rs. 48,000 for the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, Rs. 90,000 for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, Rs. 60,000 for the Law

Examinations and Rs. 20,000 for the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations, making an aggregate reduction of Rs. 2,63,000 during the current financial year; for although during the session which closed in June last, the fall was confined chiefly to the M.A. and M.Sc. and Law Examinations, in the session now current, the admissions to all the principal examinations will be affected.

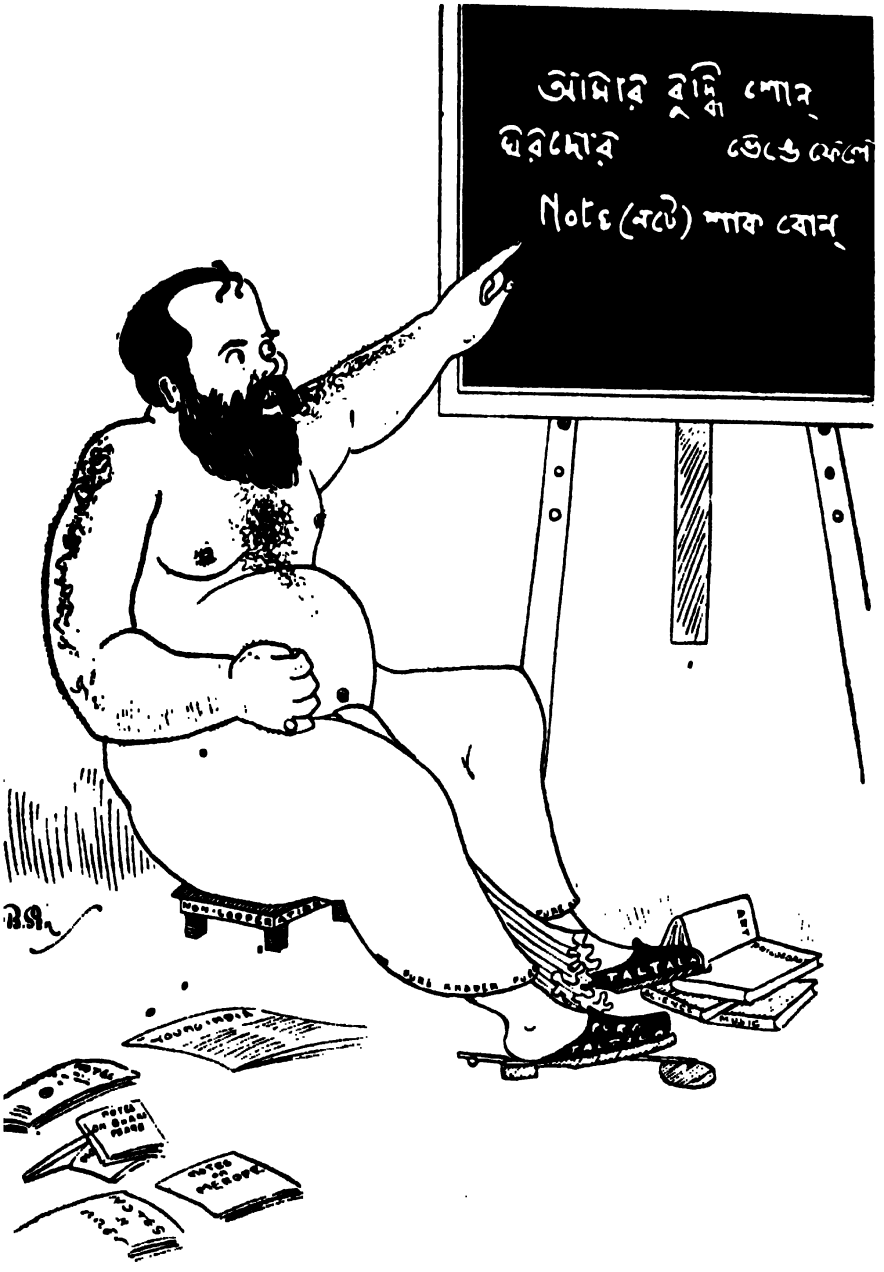
I have not hesitated to invite your attention at the earliest possible moment to the grave injury inflicted on educational institutions in general, and on the University in particular, by the non-co-operation movement, not so much with a view to create alarm, as to enable you to devise measures to cope with the peril. The magnitude and imminence of that peril have apparently not yet been fully realised by all who are interested in the maintenance and efficiency of the educational machinery, which has been seriously affected in all its parts. Nothing will be gained by pessimism, and though the position is undoubtedly very serious, there does seem to be a glimmering of hope here and there. The statement as to the schools shows that about 68 of them have not given estimates of the probable number of candidates to be sent up for the next Matriculation Examination; some of these schools may perhaps be non-co-operating, but it is permissible to assume that the others may send up some hundreds of candidates, even though they may not have replied to our enquiry. Then, as regards the colleges; nearly 15 per cent. of the First year and Third year students, who had ceased to attend in March last, have re-joined the Colleges. I have no wish to minimise in any way the gravity of the position, but these figures, which furnish indication of returning sanity, may tend to show that the more people see of the actual educational results of the non-co-operation movement, the less they like it. I trust you will not consider me too insistent, if I emphasise again the extent and the nature of the mischief to the cause of education for which the movement has been

responsible. It is clear that between forty thousand and fifty thousand young boys, that is, boys below college age, have left the schools, have been rendered idle, and have had their education interrupted, if not finally brought to an end, at an age at which the time lost can hardly, if ever, be made up. This wastage amongst the younger boys is nothing short of a national calamity; it is manifestly a matter of much greater gravity to the community than even the fact that three or four thousand college students should have prematurely cut short their educational career; for, these latter have qualified themselves at any rate up to the Matriculation, and in many instances up to the Intermediate standard.

Finally, I venture to express the hope that you will be unanimous as to the propriety of the publication of these figures at the earliest possible opportunity. No doubt, the non-co-operators may feel elated, they may even glory in the damage which they have caused to education in these provinces. But it is of paramount importance that the public should have information on a matter which so directly and vitally concerns them. In the light of these facts, let the public judge whether the achievement of the non-co-operators, so far as education is concerned, should be enthusiastically acclaimed or emphatically condemned. Let the public also realise the extent of the financial loss sustained by the University. It will then rest with the public to decide whether they wish to maintain a University or not, and the responsibility will be theirs, if the University is compelled to close the doors, for, obviously, a University cannot be maintained without funds."

Vocational Education

A Conference of Head Masters was summoned by the Registrar on the 7th May, 1921, to consider what steps may be taken up by the University to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in our schools. Four


আমার বুদ্ধি শোর্
ঘিরদোর ভেঙে ফেলে
Note (নটে) শাক বোন্

hundred and six Head Masters were present at the Conference. A second Conference of the representatives of the Managing Committees of recognised schools held three sittings on the 9th, 11th and 12th June, 1921 to discuss the steps to be taken by their respective schools to carry out the resolutions passed by the Conference of the Head Masters. The conferences were notable, firstly because, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate definitely decided to abandon a purely literary form of education in order to enable boys to earn a livelihood by means other than what have been euphemistically called the "honourable professions." "If the object which the promoters of this Conference have in view," said the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, "is even partially recognised, we shall open a new chapter in the history of the educational activities of this University." He continued: "The opinion has been widely expressed that the education given to our boys is materially defective, that it does not befit them for the struggle of life. It has been described by some as prevailingly literary, by other as pre-eminently unpractical and the demand is insistent that immediate steps should be taken to introduce a scientific and vocational element into the system. This can be achieved, however, only by co-operation between the Schools and the University." Another notable feature of the Conference was that it was practically for the first time during the long series of eventful years, that the University has been closely associated with the schools, that the schools were invited to advise the University on this momentous question of vocational education. The Head Masters by a large majority decided upon the acceptance of the fundamental principle, *viz.*, that the schools should retain their association with the University for the purpose of imparting vocational education. The Head Masters thus ignored the claims of a separate organisation to control their activities. They cast their votes also against the idea of having separate technical schools, an idea which has never found favour with

the people of the country. The vernacular of the candidate was accepted as the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects other than English and each candidate would be required to be examined in the following subjects—

1. Vernacular.
2. English.
3. Elementary Mathematics.
4. Geography with special reference to India including the rudiments of Commercial Geography,
5. History of England and India.

Besides these compulsory subjects candidates would be required to pass in at least one of the following subjects :—

A. A third language (*e.g.*, Sanskrit, Pali Tibetan, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian, Latin, Greek, German, French, and an Indian Vernacular other than the vernacular already taken up as a compulsory subject.

B. Drawing and practical Geometry.

C. Mensuration and Surveying.

D. Experimental Mechanics.

E. Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry).

F. Hygiene.

G. Botany.

H. Manual Training.

In addition to a mixed course like the one sketched above, the Conference decided, that the candidates should be required to produce a certificate that they have received training for a specified period, according to a prescribed syllabus, and under an approved teacher in *at least one* of the following subjects :—

(*a*) Agriculture and Gardening.

(*b*) Carpentry.

(*c*) Smithy.

(*d*) Typewriting and Book-keeping.

(*e*) Spinning and Weaving.

(*f*) Shorthand.
(*g*) Music.
(*h*) Tailoring and Sewing.
(*i*) Domestic Economy.

(Other subjects may be added to this list from time to time.)

The Head Masters assembled further resolved to reduce the limit of the Matriculation from 16 to 14.

The Conference of the Managing Committees which followed in its wake, evinced a keen desire to adopt the scheme and showed robust optimism by definitely giving up the policy of perpetual begging of doles from Government. The written replies of the schools show that there is a universal concensus of opinion that a system of vocational education should be immediately adopted in all schools as is shown by the following abstract statement showing the number of schools desiring to take up different subjects.

Scientific Subjects.

	Subjects.	Number of School
(*b*)	Drawing and Practical Geometry ..	116
(*c*)	Mensuration and Surveying ...	97
(*d*)	Experimental Mechanics ...	39
(*e*)	Elementary Science (Physics and Chemistry) ...	73
(*f*)	Hygiene	96
(*g*)	Botany	25
(*h*)	Manual Training	25

Vocational Subjects.

(A)	Agriculture and Gardening	91
(B)	Carpentry	118
(C)	Smithy	31
(D)	Typewriting and Book-keeping	87
(E)	Short-hand	34
(F)	Spinning and Weaving	247
(G)	Tailoring and Sewing	95
(H)	Music	26
(I)	Domestic Economy	23

Subjects.		Number of Schools.
(J)	Telegraphy	10
(K)	Iron and Tin works	1
(L)	Physical Geography	1
(M)	Nature-study	1
(N)	Needle-work	1
(O)	Commercial Geography	1
(P)	Miscellaneous subjects	18

Some of our "popular" representatives who were present at these conferences lost no time to take the wind out of the sail of the University programme, and at once brought forward a motion for the transference of schools from the jurisdiction of the University to a far more benevolent Secondary Board of Education, to be created by legislative wisdom at some distant date, which by a touch of its magic wand would convert 'slave mentality' into an adventurous spirit of industrial captainship. They forgot the final admonition of the Vice-Chancellor. "try to adjust yourself to the changed circumstances; if you can do it you will live, if you cannot you will die." They forgot that Non-co-operation demanded an immediate solution of the problem of vocational education. They probably did not realise the financial stringency of the Government of Bengal which could not impel the Government to create immediately a Secondary Board of Education, apart from all questions of the passing of the Calcutta University Bill, with the necessary promise of a financial guarantee, the award of compensation and therefore, inevitable delay.

While our popular representatives have discussed the question and passed resolutions, large-hearted and public-spirited citizens have come forward to help the country in its hour of trial. Babu Prankrista Chatterjee, one of our coal princes, has made over his school at Ikhra with buildings and 100 bighas of land together with an annual grant of 1,800 rupees charged upon his estate for the purpose of starting a mining school for the benefit of the students

of the University in a letter which will amply repay perusal:

115A, Amherst Street, Calcutta,
The 1st September 1921.

To

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Sir,

For some time past I have entertained a strong desire to open up facilities for instruction in Mining in this Presidency. I feel much attracted by your successful efforts to promote scientific and technical training by the establishment of the University College of Science and Technology, and I venture to approach you in the hope that my humble offer of assistance in the direction indicated will receive favourable consideration at the hands of the University authorities.

I have maintained for many years at Ikhra (near Raneegunj) a school named Basanti-Bejoy H. E. School, which has been recognised by the University as qualified to impart instruction up to the Matriculation standard. The School is very largely residential and has, I venture to think, a record of successful work to its credit. The school grounds occupy an area of nearly thirty bighas on which stand the school building and the hostel for students and teachers. Ikhra is situated in the very heart of the coal district and is an obviously suitable place for the establishment of a Mining School.

It is my desire that the University may establish a University School of Mines at Ikhra; the beginning may be modest, but doubtless there will be considerable development before many years elapse. With this object in view, I am prepared to make over to the University in perpetuity the following properties:—

(1) One hundred bighas of land at Ikhra (Value—about Rs. 50,000).

(2) The Basanti-Bejoy H. E. School with its furniture and appurtenances to be managed and maintained by the University and to be developed into a University School of Mines.

(Value of buildings and furniture—about Rs. 75,000.)

Note.—I shall complete the buildings now in course of erection and put in order the existing buildings (Estimated cost—about Rs. 10,000).

(3) Rupees Ten thousand in cash for the equipment of a Laboratory suitable for mining students.

(4) An annual grant of Rs. 1,800 charged upon the estate left by my late father, Babu Bejay Gobinda Chatterjee under the terms of his will.
(Capitalised value Rs. 30,000.)

The Institution should be placed by the University under the management of a Committee composed as follows :—

1. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, President, *Ex-officio.*
2-3. Two Members of the Senate (elected annually).
4. One Member of the Faculty of Science (elected annually).
5. One Member of the Faculty of Engineering (elected annually).
6-7. One University teacher in Geology and one University teacher in Mining (elected annually by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science).
8. One Member to represent the Department of Industries (annually nominated by the Minister in Charge).
9. Director-General of Geological Survey of India, *Ex-officio.*
10. The Head of the Institution, *Ex-officio.*
11. One representative of the staff in the General Department of the Institution (annually elected by them).
12. One representative of the staff in the Mining Department of the Institution (annually elected by them).

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee shall always be a Member of the Committee, if he has not otherwise a seat thereon.

There shall in addition be an Advisory Board which shall also act as a Board of Visitors. The Board shall be constituted annually by the Senate and shall include one representative of the Department of Mines of the Government of India and one person possessing intimate knowledge of the working of mines.

As soon as this offer is accepted by the Senate, I shall take the necessary steps to execute the requisite deeds in favour of the University.

Yours sincerely,
PRANKRISTA CHATTERJEE.

All honour due to him. "For Greeks a blush, for Greece, a tear."

IN MEMORIAM

Sir Rashbehari Ghosh.—An extra-ordinary meeting of the Senate held on the 19th of March, 1921, mourned the death of

Sir Rashbehary Ghose on the 27th of February, 1921. A scholar of world-wide renown, a jurist without a compass and the Dean of philanthropists in India, Sir Rashbehary's life is the most glorious illustration of a purely indigenous product of the Calcutta University. A distinguished Indian told Mr. Montague that few, if any, of the best intellects of India have ever crossed the seas. Mr. Montague expressed his surprise and he probably never realised the full significance of the remark. We quote here the eloquent tribute which was offered to the departing soul by Sir Nilratan Sircar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

It is my melancholy duty to inform you that by the death of the Hon'ble Sir Rashbehary Ghose, the University has lost a most illustrious member and its greatest benefactor.

He was born in the year 1845. After an exceptionally brilliant college career he took his M.A. degree in 1866, and the degree of Doctor of Law in 1884, with the greatest credit, and was appointed Tagore Professor of Law in 1876. He had been a Fellow of this University since 1879, and was a representative of the Faculty of Law on the Syndicate from 1887 to 1889 and again from 1892 to 1894. He was President of the Faculty of Law from 1892 to 1894. He was a representative of the Calcutta University on the Bengal Legislative Council from 1888 to 1891 and was an additional Member of the Imperial Legislative Council from 1891 to 1894, and from 1906 to 1908. He was appointed an Honorary Fellow for life in 1917.

He is the author of the "Law of Mortgages in British India" which is a standard treatise on the subject.

His princely gifts to the University for the promotion of higher scientific education in general and for technological education in particular amount to nearly twenty-three and a half lacs of Rupees.

Sir Rashbehary Ghosh had a unique personality. He was a devoted scholar whose only pleasure in life, next to that of grinding his brain-cells for providing ways and means for the education of his countrymen, was derived from the company of the best authors of the world. He was our foremost lawyer whose strenuous work and high attainments made the position of the bar what it is to-day. As a leader, he was the most sympathetic, sacrificing and independent, holding the soundest views and

opinions on important questions of the day. He was one of the greatest of living philanthropists, as his munificent gifts not only to the Calcutta University but to some sister educational institutions amply testify. He was, certainly, the foremost figure in whatever sphere he moved.

Sir Rashbehary Ghose represented in himself the best conceivable results of the operation of western education, as imparted through our Universities, on the oriental mind. He was pre-eminently a man of the highest culture and, as I said on another occasion, it was his superior culture that made him the leader of educated India of the present day and set him up as the ideal for living plainly, thinking highly, acting nobly and sacrificing whole-heartedly in the interests of his fellow-countrymen.

> The great of old,
> The dead but sceptered sovrans
> Who shall rule from their urns.

* * * *

Col. Sarbadhikari.—Scarcely did the country recover from the rude shock it received at the death of Sir Rashbehary Ghose, it became much poorer in leadership and guidance by the untimely death of Lt.-Col. Suresprasad Sarbadhikari who was also a pure indigenous product of this University.

Col. Sarbadhikari's professional career extending from 1891 to 1921, was an interesting story of the steady rise to the chief pinnacle of fame by deep devotion to study and steady practical work. As the founder of the Carmichael Medical College, the first non-official Medical College in India—as the originator and the organiser of the Bengal Ambulance Corps which subsequently developed into the Calcutta University Corps, Col. Sarbadhikari's name will go down to posterity as a great friend of Bengal. Sir Nilratan Sircar, a great friend of his, thus analysed the traits of his character before the Senate.

He always lived in the self-consciousness of the responsibility for performing some great mission in life; and on one occasion about fifteen years ago when some prominent professional friend drew his attention to his physical infirmity, he retorted in his own characteristic language "I refuse to die, I have so much to do in this life." He lived in the strength of his hope. But his frail body, which in spite of several anatomical and

physiological defects carried out for fifty-five years the mandates of his masterful mind, began to waver at last. The candle had been burning at many ends. The inevitable came on the morning of the 10th of March. The memory that he left, though the saddest, is yet the most fragrant, the most invigorating and the most hope-inspiring. The gap left by him will not be filled up soon. The scar, caused by his severance from our midst, will draw many a sigh before it is healed up.

* * *

Chandrabhushan Maitra.—By the death of Chandrabhusan Maitra, the Assistant Registrar of the Calcutta University, the University lost the services of an extremely valuable and faithful servant. He came into the University at a time when the Syndicate found it impossible to exercise any restraint over the expenditure and during the 12 years that he was in our service he made a speciality in checking the expenses in every department of the University. He was in harness till the very last moment when he was carried off by a sudden attack of Influenza. The Senate granted to his helpless and bereaved family (*i*) a lump sum of Rs. 1,000 and an allowance of Rs. 50 a month to his widow for life. (*ii*) A further allowance of Rs. 25 for each of his minor sons till the attainment of majority was also granted.

* * *

Professor J. N. Dasgupta.—By the death of Professor J. N. Dasgupta the Senate has lost the services of an eminent educationist; the Post-Graduate Department, a deeply erudite scholar; the student community, a loving teacher; and the country a specimen of that old world courtesy which is becoming rarer and rarer every day amidst the ceaseless onrush of events and the assertion of arrogant claims by the undeserving. Born in 1869, young Dasgupta entered the Presidency College in 1882, passed the B.A. Examination with First Class Honours in English and History and after having obtained a State Scholarship joined the Balliol College, Oxford, in 1886. Mr. Dasgupta took Honours in History and Jurisprudence at

Oxford and was called to the Bar in 1890. Like his father, Mr. Dasgupta gave up the bright prospects of a career at the Bar in those days, and was condemned to the P. E. S. as a Professor of English Literature and History at the Dacca College from 1891 to 1894. In 1896 to 1908 Mr. Dasgupta served the Presidency College as a Professor. He officiated as Principal of the Hughly College from 1908 to 1910. His colour stood in the way of his confirmation, and Mr. Dasgupta preferred the quiet life of a Scholar at the Presidency College from 1910 onwards. Lord Curzon's Act of 1904, saw him a Fellow of the Calcutta University which he served in various capacities as a Lecturer, as a Head Examiner, as a Tabulator, as a Reader, and as a member of the Syndicate for seventeen eventful years. In 1919, a reforming Government gave him on the eve of his retirement, a consolation prize in the I. E. S. The University elected him as a delegate to the Empire Universities' Congress at Oxford this year, and Professor Dasgupta passed away in England after a short attack of influenza on the 2nd September, 1921, under circumstances which appear almost tragic,—like his great predecessor Raja Rammohan Roy in "a foreign strand."—We offer our respectful condolences to the bereaved family.

Benefactions to the Calcutta University

The second period of the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, has again been signalised by great benefactions to the University. Sir Rashbehary Ghosh, shortly before his death made a bequest of two and a half lakhs of rupees to the University for the purpose of establishing travelling fellowships. His confidence in the University remained unabated till his death as the following extract from his Will will clearly show :—

"3. That three Travelling Fellowships be founded, each tenable for one year, the Fellows to be remunerated from the income of the Fund.

4. That the Fellowships be open only to persons who have been at any time admitted to a Degree in the University of Calcutta.

5. That the Travelling Fellows be nominated by the Board of Management subject to confirmation by the Senate. The Board of Management shall have power to invite applications and shall satisfy themselves as to the general ability of a candidate for Fellowship to profit by a course of study abroad. Each candidate shall be required to submit a general scheme of the work he proposes to undertake during the tenure of his Fellowship.

6. It shall be the duty of each Travelling Fellow to investigate educational methods abroad (that is, outside India) in his special branch of study or to undertake research in any special branch of learning such branch and the seats of learning where the investigation is to be carried on to be determined by the Board of Management in consultation with the candidate. The Fellows shall submit periodical accounts of their work to the Board and supply such other evidence of the progress made by them as the Board may, from time to time, require.

7. Each Travelling Fellow shall, on his return to India, submit to the Board a full report embodying the results of his studies and travels which shall be published by and be the property of the University.

8. The emoluments attached to a Fellowship shall be paid ordinarily in advance in two half-yearly instalments. The Board shall have power however to withhold the payment of the second instalment if the work done by a Travelling Fellow during the first half-year of the tenure of his Fellowship be deemed unsatisfactory by them. A Travelling Fellow may be re-appointed or have his term extended at the discretion of the Board of Management.

9. Of the three Fellowships to be awarded each year, at least two shall be allotted to a Scientific subject.

10. The Senate shall have power, on the recommendation of the Board of Management, to frame supplementary rules for the efficient administration of the Fund. Such rules, however, shall in no wise, conflict with the principle laid down above, nor shall have the Senate power, under any circumstances, to spend any portion of the corpus of the Fund but if one or more Fellowships are not awarded in any particular year on account of lack of suitable candidates or for like reason, the sum unspent may be temporarily invested by the Board and applied in the award of additional Fellowships in any subsequent year."

For the full significance of the gift we shall do well to quote in full the speech of his distinguished pupil, the present Vice-Chancellor.

"I desire to associate myself whole-heartedly with the motion which it is now my duty to place before you for acceptance. I had on more than one ocasion the high privilege to express my personal gratitude and the gratitude of this University to the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose, for his unstinted liberality towards the achievement of our ideal to transform this Institution into one of the foremost Teaching and Research Universities of the civilised world. The present gift will enhance the obligation of every member of this University towards its great benefactor, but to me personally this posthumous gift has a peculiar attraction for more than one special reason. On the 26th December, 1913, at a time when our very existence as a Teaching University, then in its infancy, was seriously imperilled by the activities of friends within and without, I summoned courage to place before the Syndicate a scheme for the institution of Travelling Fellowships. That scheme, after careful scrutiny, met with the unanimous approval of the Syndicate on the 10th January, 1914 and was ultimately sanctioned by the Senate on the 30th January, 1914, for a term of five years. Before, however, the scheme could be carried into execution, Europe was in the throes of a devastating World War. Meanwhile, our financial difficulties increased to such an extent as to render it improbable that the Senate could initiate the scheme even after the cessation of the hostilities. In these circumstances, I approached Sir Rashbehary Ghose as a pupil approaches his master without hesitation; he not only expressed his approval of the scheme but, with unbounded generosity, promised to place at the disposal of the University, for this purpose, a sum of two and a half lacs of rupees by his testament. The scheme as set out in the Schedule to his Will was drafted by me and embodies in a modified form the substance of the scheme sanctioned by the Senate on the 30th January, 1914. This great gift is of immense value from two special stand-points. In the first place, it will enable the Senate to carry out the scheme of Travelling Fellowships, so as to establish that co-operation between the East and the West, which may rightly be regarded as essential for the steady progress of India on the path of civilisation. We cannot minimise, much less ignore, the value of the contributions of the West in every department of human activity It is thus of vital importance that the most gifted men amongst us should come into contact with the most eminent

scholars of the West and investigate educational methods in their special branches of study and research in the great centres of learning and culture beyond the limits of India. In the second place, this posthumous gift furnishes incontrovertible evidence that Sir Rashbehary Ghose retained to the last his confidence in this University. I make special reference to this aspect of the matter, because a persistent rumour has been current for some time past that a desperate attempt was made by more than one well-wisher of this University to create in the mind of our great benefactor an impression that the people, whom he had trusted with the earnings of a lifetime, had proved themselves unworthy of his confidence. *This story, if true, would only indicate the depth of possible depravity of human nature; on the other hand, the story, if false, indicates the existence of men, who are not slow to calumniate even the mighty dead.* For, do we not know that Sir Rashbehary Ghose would be the last man in the world to listen to idle tale-bearers, or be guided by them in his actions? Let us hold his memory in affectionate reverence for his princely benefactions and for the opportunity he has afforded us to work for the everlasting good of successive generations of our countrymen."

* * *

The timely bequest of Rs. 5,60,000 made by Kumar Guruprasad Sing of Khaira—the remnant of the capitalised value of the State which the Kumar wrested from the grasping hands of interested persons, has enabled the University to direct its activities in fresh channels. By the consent of his wife, Rani Bageswari, a mere *spes successionis* has been converted into a reality and the University has found it possible to establish five new chairs in the departments of Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and Fine Arts. Including these five chairs we shall have now in this University twenty-one chairs, all of which have been established—barring the Tagore Professorship of Law—during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his Convocation Speech of 1865 foresaw the gradual conversion of the University into a national seat of learning and said as follows:—"I attach an importance to that gift beyond its actual money value as being possibly the first instalment of a series of benefactions

on which the University will ultimately have to depend, if ever it becomes a national institution." The full significance of the Khaira gift has probably not been realised by our countrymen and the speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee before the Senate will be read with interest by all scholars who amidst the noise and bustle outside, amidst the economic strife in the country and amidst the seething discontent among all classes of men, are feeling downhearted and are dreaming of evil days to come.

"Before the Senate is called upon to accept the recommendation of the Syndicate with regard to the endowment created by the late Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira, I would like to recall for a moment the circumstances which have led up to the fruition of this great gift. On the 25th August, 1919, now nearly two years ago, the Kumar made an endowment in favour of the University in respect of valuable properties, subject to the life-interest of his wife. Kumar Guruprasad Singh was a highly gifted gentleman with liberal views about the imperative needs of the development of high education in this country, although he himself had not been the recipient in a large measure of what passes under the name of education for purposes of University Examinations and Degrees. When I first met him, I found that he possessed a keen appreciation of the value of the developments which had been accomplished in this University in recent years, both in the direction of the investigation of the past civilisation of India and of the future expansion of her material resources by means of original scientific research. I had discussions with him on many an occasion as to the lines on which the University could be developed in future; but though he had his own views, he preferred to leave the mode of utilisation of his gift absolutely at my discretion. The decree of the High Court whereby the gift was made to the University consequently stated in explicit terms, that the ultimate use of the Fund is to be carried out by the University under the direction of and according to a scheme to be framed by myself. The Senate accepted the gift on the condition mentioned in the decree, by a resolution dated 3rd January, 1920, which was modified on the 3rd June, 1921. After the death of the Kumar, negotiations took place, as you are aware, between the Rani and the University with the result that in settlement of all claims under the decree the University was placed in a position to receive forthwith five and a half lacs of rupees for immediate use. The arrangement between the Rani and the

University has been sanctioned by the High Court and we are at the present moment in possession of the War Bonds which constitute the major portion of the Fund. As soon as the settlement was effected, it became incumbent on me to frame the scheme. Let me assure you that I was fully sensible of the grave responsibility cast upon me by reason of the unbounded confidence reposed in me by our generous founder and the scheme, which is now to be reported to you, has been framed by me with the utmost care in the light of such judgment and experience as I possess. I can only express the hope that this great gift will enable us to open a new chapter in the history of the development of the University. The Senate will be in a position to make appointments forthwith to five new Professorships. I have placed in forefront the Chair of Indian Fine Arts, lest we should forget the past greatness of India in the history of the Art of the civilised peoples of the world. Time will convince those who are unbelievers, at the present moment, that no nation can be great without a soul, and that no University can be truly national unless it blends its activities with the best traditions and the noblest aspirations of the people. The genius of India has manifested itself in diverse directions, but nowhere are the characteristics of that genius more pre-eminent than in the field of Fine Arts, in the field of Indian Painting and Indian Sculpture. You will no doubt recognise that now, as on many previous occasions, we shall be the first amongst the Universities of India to take a new step and the time cannot be far distant when every Indian University will follow our example and establish a Chair of Indian Fine Arts.

The foundation of the second Chair which will be devoted to Phonetics is the first step in the creation of a new department, whose supreme practical importance at the present time was emphasised by the University Commission. But here, again, let me remind you that Phonetics is not a new science, and that in connection with *Vedic* studies, Indian sages, centuries ago, laid the foundation of a Science of Phonetics with remarkable accuracy. Workers in such an attractive field will consequently find ample opportunity to link up the present with the past. The third, fourth and fifth Chairs will be devoted to Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture. In the department of Physics, we have already three Professorships, one due to the generosity of Sir Taraknath Palit and two due to the munificence of Sir Rashbehary Ghose. In the department of Chemistry also, we have similarly three Chairs on the two foundations just mentioned. But we have not yet had a Chair devoted

specially to Agriculture, though one of the Chairs, founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose, is for Botany with special reference to Agriculture. No justification, however, is needed for new Chairs in Physics and Chemistry in view of the ever-widening boundaries of their respective domains, nor can there be a doubt as to the paramount need for a Chair of Agriculture in the University of a province, where agriculture plays so important a part in the daily life of the people.

I need not detain you by reference to the details of the scheme, which you could not but have observed, follows closely the scheme which was framed by me in 1912 and 1913 and was accepted by our two great benefactors—Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose. But a passing reference is needed to the modest emoluments attached to the Chairs, now established, which are precisely on the same scale as the emoluments of the Professorships founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose. I have solid ground for my firm conviction that notwithstanding the modest scale of salaries, the Senate will be able to secure the loyal co-operation of specialists of the highest intellectual attainments. Bengal is not yet wholly denuded of scholars, who may be willing to devote themselves to the advancement of the great cause symbolised by this University, who appreciate freedom of work and who love independence of thought and judgment. When the history of educational activities of the present times comes to be written by the unbiassed and unprejudiced observer of the future, the name of Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira will find an honoured place in the Temple of Fame, along with the names of the other great benefactors of this University and the contributions to the advancement of Letters and Science by the holders of the five Chairs now established will spread far and wide the name and reputation of this University."

The scheme framed by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in pursuance of the decree of the Hon'ble High Court is set out in full for the information of our readers.

The decree of the High Court in the suit of Rani Bageswari Debi against Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira provides that the ultimate use of the Fund vested in the University is to be carried out by the University " under the direction of and according to a scheme to be framed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee." This gift was accepted by the Senate by Resolutions dated 3rd January, 1920 and 3rd June, 1921. In

accordance with the provision of the decree, I now hereby frame the following scheme :

I. That the sum be constituted into a fund to be called the "KHAIRA FUND for the promotion of Post-Graduate Teaching and Research."

II. That the sum be invested in such securities as would produce an annual income, whenever practicable, of not less than Rs. 30,000.

Provided that if the Senate should deem it beneficial to the purposes of the endowment as hereinafter declared, they shall be at liberty to invest the proceeds or any part thereof in any form of investment authorised by law or in the purchase or mortgage of landed property within the municipal limits of Calcutta and its suburbs.

III. That five University Professorships or Chairs be established, one for each of the following subjects :

(*i*) Indian Fine Arts.
(*ii*) Phonetics.
(*iii*) Physics.
(*iv*) Chemistry.
(*v*) Agriculture.

IV. That the Chair of Indian Fine Arts be named Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts ; and that the other four Chairs be named Guruprasad Singh Professorship of Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture respectively.

V. That if the state of the fund at any time should so permit, additional Professorships or Readerships, to be named after Guruprasad Singh, be established in such subjects as may be determined by the Senate on the recommendation of the Board of Management to be constituted as stated hereinafter.

VI. That the salary of each Professor be, as nearly as possible, a sum of Rs. 6,000 annually, and the salary of each Reader be, as nearly as possible, a sum of Rs. 3,600 annually, to be paid out of the income of the Fund; but that it be open to the Senate to supplement such sums from the University or other funds at their disposal from time to time.

VII. That the Professorships and Readerships be always filled by Indians (that is, persons born of Indian parents as contradistinguished from persons who are called statutory natives of India).

VIII. That the appointments to the Professorships and Readerships be made by the Senate upon the nomination of the Board of Management

to be constituted as stated hereinafter, and the power of removal of Professors and Readers by the Senate, if occasion should ever arise, be exercised only after the matter has been considered by the said Board on full opportunity afforded to the person concerned to make his defence.

Provided that the first appointments to the five Chairs specified hereinbefore shall be made by the Senate on the recommendation of the Syndicate.

IX. That every person elected to one of these Chairs, whether he has been educated in this country or elsewhere may in the discretion of the Senate, be required, before he enters upon the execution of the duties of his office, to receive special training during a period of not less than one year and not more than two years, under specialists in Europe, America, Japan or such other place outside India as the Senate may, in each instance, upon the recommendation of the Board, determine ; and that during such period the Professor-elect be paid, from the income of the fund such allowance as the Senate may, upon the recommendation of the Board, determine, so as to enable him to receive a thorough theoretical and practical training in his special subject.

X. That it be the duty of each Professor

(*a*) to carry on original research in his special subject with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge ;

(*b*) to take steps to disseminate the knowledge of his special subject with a view to foster its study and application ;

(*c*) to stimulate and guide research by advanced students and generally to assist them in Post-Graduate work so as to secure the growth of real learning among our young men.

XI. That, subject to the general principles outlined above, the mode of appointment of Professors and Readers, the terms and conditions under which they are to hold office and the manner in which they are to discharge their duties, be determined by rules to be framed by the Senate in that behalf from time to time on the recommendation of the Board.

XII. That the Senate do, on the recommendation of the Board, make adequate provision for laboratories, museums, workshops, appliances and all other requisites essential for the due discharge of their duties by the Professors and Readers.

XIII. That the balance which may remain out of the annual income of the Fund, after payment of the salaries and allowances of the Professors and Readers as provided above, may, on the recommendation of the Board, be applied either in whole or in part, in the equipment and maintenance of laboratories and museums in so far as such equipment and maintenance may be necessary for the accomplishment of their work by the Professors and Readers.

XIV. That the Professorship, if any, in Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and such other like subjects shall be deemed attached to the University College of Science and Technology and the Professors in such subjects shall be *Ex-officio* Members of the Governing Body of that Institution.

XV. That notwithstanding the provisions hereinbefore made, the Senate shall be at liberty to pledge temporarily and for a period not exceeding two years, a sum not exceeding three lacs out of the securities of the Fund to borrow money to carry on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research.

Provided that no such pledge shall be effected without the previous written consent of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Provided further that this clause shall be in operation for a term of five years, but the period may be extended from time to time by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for such additional periods as he may consider necessary.

XVI. That the Board mentioned above do consist of the following persons, namely,

The Vice-Chancellor of the University as President, *Ex-officio*.

The Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

The Dean of the Faculty of Science.

The Professors appointed as above to the Chairs of Indian Fine Arts, Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and such other subjects as may be determined from time to time.

A University Teacher nominated by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

A University Teacher nominated by the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science.

Two members of the Senate nominated annually by the Senate.

One respresentative of the Founder nominated annually by the Senate.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, N.L., D.Litt.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.

The four members of the Board of Management last named are and each of them is authorised to nominate his or their successor or successors; and this power of nominating a successor or successors shall be inherent in every such original or derivative member.

XVII. That all matters whatsoever relating to or in any way arising out of this endowment shall, in the first instance, be considered and reported on by the Board of Management before they are considered and decided on by the Syndicate and the Senate.

The Proceedings of the Board shall be laid before the Syndicate, who shall transmit them for confirmation to the Senate (with such observations, if any, as may be considered necessary).

* * *

The University has been fortunate enough to secure further assistance from the general public as will be evident from the creation of the following endowments during the current year :—

(1) An offer of Rs. 2,000 was accepted from Srimati Annapurna Debi for the award of a gold medal to be called *Annapurna Debi Medal* to be made over to the candidate who stands first in the M.A. Examination in Bengali.

(2) An offer of Rs. 3,700 was accepted from Babu Binaykrishna Gupta on behalf of himself and his brother, the heirs and executors of the estate of Nandalal Gupta deceased, for founding one monthly scholarship of Rs. 10 to be known as the *Nandalal Gupta Scholarship* to be awarded to the student of the Carmichael Medical College who, after passing the First M.B. Examination in Pharmacology continues his studies in the same College for the final degree.

(3) The *Adharchandra Mukerji Prize* fund of Rs. 500 has been created out of collections made by the former students and friends of Prof. Adharchandra Mukerji, Emeritus Professor of History in the Scottish Churches College. The prize of books will go to the student who stands first in Honours History at the B.A. Examination.

(4) An offer of Rs. 3,000 was accepted from *Babu Syamacharan Ganguli* for the award of two annual prizes of Rs. 52-8 in lump sum—one to the student who takes the first place in the Honours Examination at the B.A. Examination in Economics and another to the student who takes the first place in the Honours Examination in Physics at the B.A. Examination.

(5) An offer of Rs. 1,800 was accepted from Babu Jatindranath Biswas for founding a scholarship in memory of his father, the late *Babu Rashbehari Biswas* of the value of Rs. 7 per month to be awarded to the best student in Matriculation from the schools in the district of Jessore.

(6) *The Jagattarini medal.*—A gold medal up to the value of Rs. 200, for which a sum of Rs. 3,000 has been offered by the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, will be bestowed once in two years on that individual, who not having been a recipient of the medal during the preceding 10 years, shall be deemed by the Syndicate, as most eminent for original contribution to letters or science written in the Bengali language. This endowment is worthy of note, because it has been associated with the name of one who has conferred upon the University the best gift it has ever received—*viz.*, her son, the present Vice-Chancellor. Its importance is further enhanced by the fact that it is practically for the first time that the University has departed from the orthodox method of making awards on the results of its examinations. Like the famous Universities of the West, the University of Calcutta has taken upon itself the privilege

of honouring men and women of letters and science who have made their mark in the domain of thought. Truly does the University stand by its motto, "Advancement of Learning" and is attempting to shake off the lethargy of hide-bound conservatism.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1921

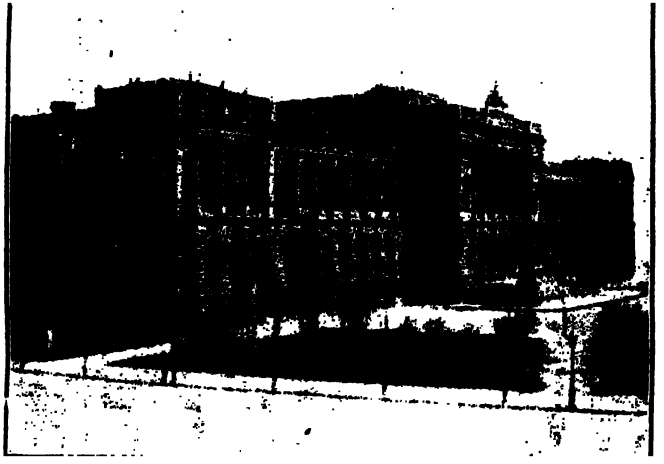
THE UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

From a certain point of view, the University of Strasbourg presents features that are unique among the modern universities of the world. It had been founded before 1870, when the Treaty of Paris, concluded at the termination of the Franco-Prussian war, transferred Alsace-Lorraine, and with it the University of Strasbourg, to the Germans. It was a very small and insignificant centre of learning, at that time. The Germans, however, with their accustomed zeal for university education based on a genuine appreciation of the benefits that accrue from it to the nation at large, proceeded to rebuild the University on a grand scale and made it a real centre of German *Kultur* (in the best sense in the newly ceded territories. When, therefore, Alsace-Lorraine came back to the French and with it the University of Strasbourg, the latter had literally a firm foundation to work upon, and I was naturally interested to see what results these remarkable and absolutely unique vicissitudes of fortune had had on the University. These results seemed to be well worthy of note and I have felt, accordingly, that a brief account may not be unsuitable to the pages of the "Calcutta Review."

Remembering that Strasbourg was only a provincial town of comparatively small importance in the German empire, one cannot help admiring the zeal and earnestness

with which the German people had proceeded to build up the University. To one accustomed to English ways, it is eminently striking for, on the whole, it may be stated in general terms—at any rate that was my first impression,—that nothing like it exists anywhere in the British Isles, as regards buildings and equipment.

The Central Building stands on a large open plane and was evidently built with an eye to massiveness and durability. But like most things that we have learned to associate with



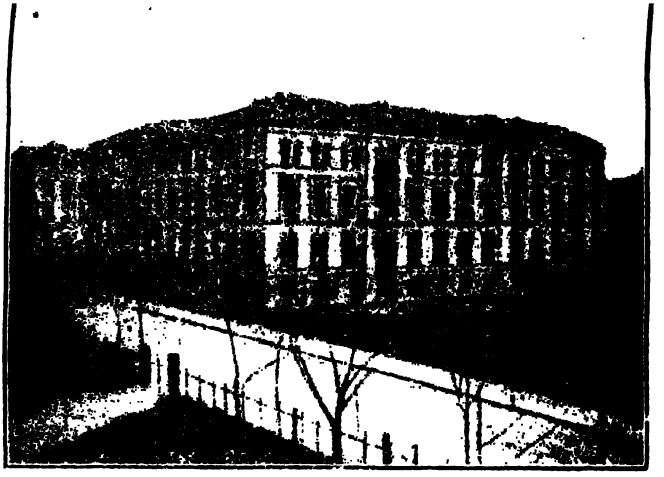
German thoroughness, there was a rift in the lute. There was apparently little heed paid to the question of light and air so that the edifice imposing as it is, is dark and gloomy and seemed to be hardly suitable for class rooms and seminars. There is a huge covered quadrangle in the middle for which, nobody could explain the use. It was probably meant to be used as a meeting place for the University as a whole, but if so, it now only serves to heighten the gloom of the entire structure and appeared almost haunted by the spirit of German Imperialism.

For it appears that in the government of the University, the Germans had made the mistake of importing this spirit

with their accustomed thoroughness. They had filled the University with only German Professors and teachers, native Alsatians and Frenchmen being practically relegated to a few subordinate posts. This was an academic wrong. This attempted, in fact, at intellectual subjugation of a people, whom they apparently wished to make one with themselves. It seemed to be ill-assorted with the expensive style in which the University had been laid out and betokened a defective power of that larger vision which can alone make human kinship a reality and is, moreover, of the essence of that true *Kultur* of which the German people claimed to be protagonists. The result in the University of Strasbourg has been almost catastrophic: the buildings, museums and equipments are there but the entire personnel has changed with the change of Government. The few Alsatians that were previously occupying only subordinate posts have been promoted, others of Professorial rank who had gone to other Universities—because there was no opening for them in their own—have been brought back, while the remaining posts have been filled by French Professors of note, so that there is nothing left of the German University of Strasbourg—except a lifeless appendage, brick and mortar and the like—for good and evil. It was indeed, disappointing in the extreme, to find this state of things, for one was expecting to find a German University, being taken over and being *gradually* transformed into one representing French ideals, so that the points of agreement and difference could be noted and good points of both conserved. Instead of this, we have a *French* University, modelled *anew* in respect of courses and personnel with nothing left of German ideals and traditions.

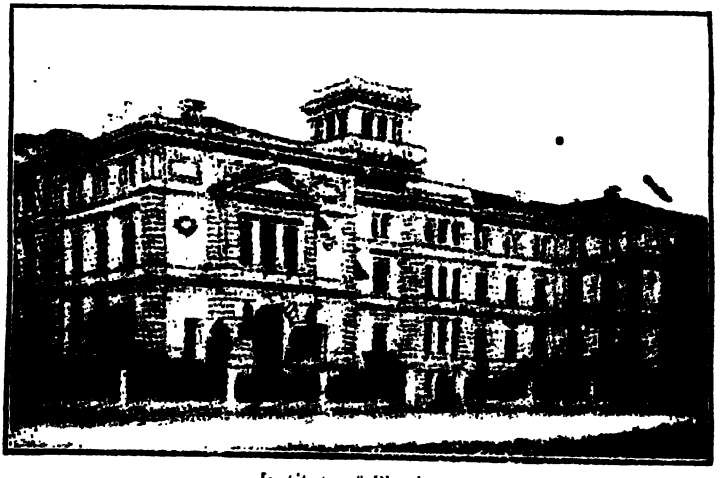
Although, however, from the point of view of one who wished to study and compare the German and French University methods *in situ*, the present state of things is unsatisfactory, the University is well worth a visit, inasmuch as the arrangements made are on a line with the ideal of German thoroughness, the French nation having evidently

made up its mind—inspite of the prevailing financial stringency, to utilise to the utmost the grand buildings of which they have come into possession. In some cases as in those of Zoology and Geology, the equipments are complete, the



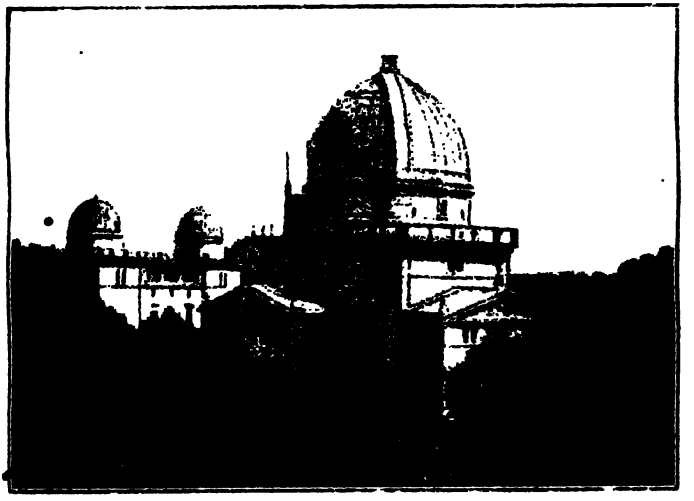
Institute of Zoology

museums being rich and up to date; while in the case of some others, one is surprised to find the equipments to be of a most meagre description. Especially is this the case in the case of Physics; an imposing building which is meant to be



Institute of Physics

devoted to Physics seems to have been left practically without any laboratory equipment whatever, while the lecture theatre, a massive structure which must have cost a great deal has nothing like the accommodation that its costs warranted. A considerable portion of the building, moreover, had been devoted to the previous (German) Director's private use. As contrasted with this, I was interested to notice that the present Director Prof. Weiss, an Alsatian who has been brought over from Zurich, in his eager desire to make his department worthy of the building in which it is located is engaged in constructing a most up-to-date laboratory and has even given up his own quarters in the building for this purpose. This incidentally shows what opportunities the Germans missed by not trying to utilise local talent in the working of the University.



The Observatory of Strasbourg.

On the whole, however, the equipments left by the Germans are of an expensive order. The equatorial in the observatory, for instance, is one of the most expensive instruments of its kind and the dome, a stupendous structure which has proved, on that account, difficult to work.

The most remarkable feature of the present university is the *low fees* that are being charged, inspite of depreciated currency. The 'entrance' fee is only 20 francs a year, the annual Library fee 10 francs, while the examination fees for the highest degree (doctor's) is only 100 francs (about £2).

One of the most interesting institutions of the University is the Committee appointed to look after foreign students (Comité de Patronage des Etudiants étrangers). This Committee supplies all necessary informations to foreign students desirous of joining the University, helps them in all their difficulties and finds lodgings, etc., for them, according to their means (introducing them to families which are ready to accommodate them). It also looks after them in their illness and by constant attention makes them feel at home in a strange land. It is obvious that every University which admits foreign students should possess such an organisation.

As to teaching facilities and courses, it is unnecessary to go into details. Suffice it to say that the programme of work attempted is more extensive and the professorial and the teaching staff employed is more numerous than anywhere in the United Kingdom.

D. N. Mallik

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

II

Each of us dreams the dream of life in his own way.
I dream that dream in my Library.

—*Anatole France.*

Look at the tulips—how lovely and sweet! Look at the roses—how fragrant and fair! Look at human life—how wondrous and varied! But, oh the pity of it—how brief the day of each and all!

*

Heaven is but a moment of self-contentment, and hell but an expression of foolish grief. Come, dearest, come; and with thee bring love and light.

*

To none will I open my bosom in simple trust; to none will I my secrets confide. I shall weep tears of tenderest longing; I shall offer to Love my sweetest songs.

*

Let us battle with Fate, and uproot this sad scheme of things, which giveth crowns to fools and fears to the wise.

*

For me, said the Sāqi, Yesterday hath no meaning; Tomorrow hath no existence I only live in the fulness of To-day.

*

Sing, O Sāqi! And with thy song carry off the gloom of facts; for is not grief the fixed star of man, and joy his fleeting dream?

*

Childhood! O, rapturous ramble in a timeless garden. Free from carking, whispering care—fetterless. Mother's radiant smile—its golden treasure. Her loving kiss—a deathless memory. Fear mars not its joys—naught of worldly commerce sullies its innocence. *Childhood!* Ah, how the heart looks back to thee, revels in thee, clings to thee—when sinks life's sun, and the shadows begin to fall!

*

On this azure vault, in golden letters, is inscribed "Naught but goodness lives; naught but virtue triumphs."

*

I loathe the Church, the Temple, and the Mosque—I loathe them all—for are they not unyielding barriers, dividing walls? Break them down, O beauteous Spirit of Truth, and in thy fold, unite us all!

*

Remote from the world's echoes; far from its strife; and heedless of the hours that come and go—I cherish thy love, I dream of thee!

*

I have stored up tears; I have garnered griefs. Custodian and treasurer! what wealth of sorrows my heart conceals!

*

One fond hope, one sweet illusion, I shall ever cherish, never forsake; that thou and I will some day be one undivided, indivisible whole.

*

What can cure the love-sick heart? Naught but the music of thy voice; naught but the magic of thy kiss. These alone may restore this heart.

*

Of the Temple of Liberty I dreamed; and a Temple worthy of man I saw. On its portal I found these words inscribed

in letters of gold: For me what streams of blood shed; what noble war waged; effort Herculean; endeavours superhuman; centuries of struggle, of pain, of anguish; of alternating hope and despair! What a toll have I exacted! What hecatombs of victims have been raised on my account! Crimson is the path that leads to my altar—perilous, sorely-trying the way along it. None but the brave have built my Temple; none but the free dare enter therein.

*

I have vowed a vow, a solemn vow—to abstain from wine: but the Spring stirreth joy, and awaketh many dreams. O Sāqi, pass me the cup, and lull my vow to sleep.

*

Can tears bring the Loved Ones back? Can prayers lure death away? No! Unheeding Fate moveth on with purpose fixed and strong.

*

Hand round the cup, for it chaseth away fear, drowneth grief, setteth the heart aglow with joy. Hand round the cup, for it fanneth the fire in Youth and softeneth the burden of Age.

*

Shall I lift the veil and show my bleeding heart? Shall I voice my silent sorrows—my soul-shattering griefs? No, sacred are they, too sacred, for display, or even for expression. Jealously shall I treasure them—that none may hear or know of them. Not even you, my love, life's dearest gift and only joy. Heart, oh heart! thou art their custodian. Night, oh night, *thou*, their confidante.

*

Mourn not the flight of things: keep pace with the march of Time. Enjoy, for Fate ever flingeth slings and arrows: Death ever knocketh at the door.

In the battle that ever rages; amid the mist that never lifts—'tis thy light that never fails; 'tis thy love that ever cheers the broken spirit of man.

*

Faultless in beauty; peerless alike in heaven and earth—for doth not even the moon fear comparison, and, in thy presence, veil herself in a mantle of clouds?

*

Illusions die, but anon they sprout again. Dear sweet illusions of life—shall I crush them? Shall I kill them? No! I shall love them; I shall cherish them though they last but a day.

*

There is one dream worth dreaming; one thought worth thinking; one Love worth loving with all the strength of Love. 'Tis the dream, the thought, the love of thee! Mightier than all that life offers, sweeter far than all that life gives—thy love elates, inflames, transmutes the son of man, as naught else can beneath Heaven's azure dome.

*

Thou, O wondrous Earth, how lightly dost thou bear the stress of Time! How serene, how imperturbable thou seemest! Dost thou watch the kaleidoscopic show of life? Dost thou pity the fate of man? Hast thou any gospel to proclaim, any axe to grind? Naught else have I to teach; naught else to preach: that thou shouldst ever cling to love, ever fight for light.

*

Hope—is there any hope to nurse? Joy—is there any joy to court? Soon—too soon, alas—dieth the one, and decayeth the other.

*

Hast thou for me no message of gladness, no tidings of joy, O morning breeze? For thee these wakeful eyes

count the stars by night; for thee this sorrowing heart longs and bleeds by day.

*

Ah! those days of youth, those passionate yearnings of love—those faded flowers and withered leaves! What sad memories and bitter pain they evoke and inflict. Heavy is life's burden, and tragic is life's end.

*

I seek that gift, O God, that will enkindle the spirit divine, and fill my heart with unfailing light. I seek thy all-embracing Love.

*

Cheer thy weary soul, for griefs will die and pain will end. Cheer thy weary soul; for a higher life awaits thee; a brighter world than eye can see, or heart can imagine!

*

That imaginary crown of laurel which youth weareth and loveth to display—How swiftly doth the Sun of Life scorch it all!

*

Let me make a world of my imaginings—a world free from hope, fear and strife. There I shall dream the dream of love! There I shall laugh at the farce of existence!

*

I have quaffed the mystic cup; I have joyed in the sacred feast; I have revelled in thy vision; I have naught else to seek. Break, O break, the fetters, and set me free.

*

Amidst the worldly tumult one clear voice I hear; amid the encircling gloom one clear light I see. The light is naught but *Thee*; the voice is none but *Thine*.

*

In the midst of joy I have often wondered why my heart beats with grief; in the presence of beauty, why I feel keen, intense regret? Is it grief for joys gone beyond recall? Is it sorrow for the impending fate which threatens all.

Once, and once only, I held happiness in my hand and felt it mine; but alas! it fled, and fled beyond my call. Pass me the soul-entrancing cup, and justify, O Sāqi, the ways of God to man.

*

Beyond the valley of the shadow lies the shimmering land of Beauty, where none but the discerning can enter, where none but they can enjoy. There is no light nor darkness, as in the twilights of time, but fulness of life, fulness of light, fulness of love divine. There is the sound of heavenly harmonies to charm the ears: visions of beauty, to gladden the eyes. Spirit of Beauty! Lead, oh lead us to thy land.

*

Thou art fairer than all that is fairest on Earth; more beautiful than all that is beautiful in Heaven. Thou art the vision of joy and loveliness; the paradise of poets and kings. Thou art love—the priestess of the soul—life's reigning Queen.

*

Sobbingly and sighingly said the Wind: I pass swiftly alas, too swiftly, away. No vestige, nothing, is left of me. Laugh not, O heedless traveller; thou, too, wilt share my fate, and thou too, like me, without a trace, wilt swiftly pass away.

*

Youth has flown! Even its memories are fast evanishing! Oblivion—lo, there, life's flower and fruit!

What bedews the eyes with tears and evokes unnumbered sighs? Naught but love's inexpressible anguish, life's unutterable griefs.

*

The stars have set, the day has dawned, the caravan stands ready to depart. Come, Beloved! Come, let us kiss ere we separate.

*

I have waked to the realities of life; I have shrunk from their touch; I have thirsted for things beautiful; I have dreamed of things divine: but still, alas, dark, dark is the night, and far, far the goal.

*

Name and fame, blame and shame. What are they but idle chatter, foolish talk? A cup, a lute, a fair and frolic maid —nothing sweeter, nothing lovelier can the fates bestow.

*

Why these sighs and these tears, O heart? Tell me why? Yesterday, sure was I of love; but mist and cloud and plaintive note of sighing adieux—these, O God, these are all I see and hear to-day.

*

Where are those Loved Ones whose ravishing smile lightened life's burden and irradiated life's path? Death hath taken them away; but their memory—Oh! who or what can rob us of that?

*

What are we, dearest, but marionettes strutting across the stage, dancing at another's bidding, playing to another's tune? Fate bringeth us together, and then it severeth—alas, for ever and for ever more.

Despite the mist and haze of years; despite the cloud and dust of life—thy memory is my priceless treasure; thy love, my fixed, unchanging star. In dream I greet thy face; in waking hours I mourn thy loss. Reft of those sun-lit days, I live in the realms of silence, in the dead, departed days of yore.

*

What are Temples and mosques but thy Love's abode? What are prayers and hymns but thy Love's litany? All seek *thee*—wise and fool alike; all strive to reach *thee*, though devious be their ways.

*

Thou, O moon, that enfoldest her in thy silvery robe! Thou, O breeze, that playest with her raven, fragrant locks? Thou, O dawn, that greetest her eye-lids, and awakenest her to youth's boundless joys! Will ye not carry my message of Love to her, and bring back to me some message of comfort and of hope?

*

Oft in my ear sounds the poet's plaintive tune: The sport of Fate, alas, is Life's little barque; in sunshine, swift it flies—in storm, deep drops its anchor. And lo! ever and anon it lengthens its cable, Care—while it cruelly shortens Joy.

*

What gift, Oh God, makest thou to us? A calvary to each—a calvary that he must needs climb, on bruised, bleeding knees.

*

I care not for earthly love: ne'er is it wholly free from base alloy. I care not for earthly joy: ne'er is it really free from pain. I care not for earthly ties: they are the merest phantoms, passing dreams. Give me love that outlives life; joy that leaves no pain behind; ties that never strain, never break.

Think of me when I am gone—a foolish thought, a childish claim. Some few sighs, some few tears, perhaps these are all that we can expect. The rest is shadow and gloom.

*

Why this intense yearning? This solemn melancholy, this dumb stupor, this inexpressible agony? What is it that so afflicts the soul? Is it the insufficiency of joy, or the nothingness of human existence, or the fathomless abyss of destiny, or is it the ceaseless, unwearying quest of the great *unknowable*—ever-receding, ever-eluding the grasp of man?

*

All human lives have one, and the same tale to tell: hope, longing, disappointment, death.

*

There is nothing here to live for, nothing to love; nothing worth worrying, nothing worth the chase. It is all vain striving, fruitless pursuit, merest illusion, sorriest farce.

*

Those ruby lips! What wild rapture they have evoked! What tumultuous passion they have aroused! What unbreakable chains they have forged! Joy, hope, longing, treason, betrayal—what earthly joys, what earthly pain those lips betoken!

*

'Tis the season of youth! 'Tis the time of spring! spring with its smiling sky, blossoming trees, flowering gardens and nuptial splendours of vegetation. How sweet and radiant nature looks, folded in her mantle of wondrous hues. Youth and spring! They make one supreme music! List to the merry carolling of the birds, and enjoy the banquet of life: for life rushes on and time flies. Spring! thou inspirest love in the young, and revivest fond memories in the old! Who can resist thy mighty, magical spell; thy all-powerful sway?

*

No second dawn doth youth know; no second birth doth death either. A chequered day of sunshine and of showers, and then eternal sleep in an eternal night. A wasteful jest of Love! What else is human life?

One moment of happiness without shadow, one moment of joy without fear. This only would I ask of the gods—if gods there be.

*

Wine, thou daughter of the grape, care-destroyer, soul-inspirer, life-reviver, thou charmer divine! Never can we do without thee—at least in the season of flower and song. Quaff the wine and ease the burden of thy fear, and let the world go its way.

*

Where and how art thou, dearest? Tell me, where and how? My heart is wrung with grief for thee; my eyes have shed unceasing tears; without thee my life hath been one cruel, aching void. Where thou art now, is it anything like the land we live in; is it something sweet, sublime; or is it all oblivion, one continual sleep? Would the drifting clouds, the wailing wind, the shining stars, the crescent moon,—would these confide to us the solemn secrets that encircle life and death?

*

What gift is too precious, what sacrifice too dear, what obstacles too great for love? It scaleth lofty walls, it breaketh iron bars; it defieth the world's judgment; it setteth the human soul aflame. What wreckage, what ruin, strew thy altar, Love—what fortitude, heroism, martyrdom sublime!

*

Come what may! Let the Gods do their worst! I have no fears to fear, and no hopes to thwart.

A fierce fire is Love, beyond or above the strength of man. None can kindle, none can extinguish, none can resist its all-consuming flame.

*

Will sorrows cease? will truth triumph? will love be ever a fadeless flower? Not until conquered wrong and conquering right acclaim a world set free.

*

How the fates' shuttles fly, how the threads twist and twine! where is free-will—the philosopher's boast? where the vaunted strength of man?

When are we free from pain; when really rid of cares; when truly blessed with peace? Never! Resign—for who can wrestle with fate? Renounce—for is not renunciation the lot of man?

*

One mysterious touch, and the past unrolls itself before the eye—forgotten loves revive, forgotten sorrows bleed. Ah! that vanished world, the world that once was mine.

*

We pray from noon to night; but do prayers avail? Do they bring light in darkness, comfort in despair? They fall, alas, on heedless ears; they baulk the hopes of man.

*

What tragedy lurks in those soft, sad, streaming eyes! Can words express or hand paint it, with the living hues of art? But tears quickly dry, and eyes, bedimmed with tears, grow bright again, and shine with love and joy, as of yore.

*

Like the Flute I neither grow nor ever put forth a bloom. A brief day is all I have and that, forsooth, for singing sorrow and voicing woe.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE FISCAL POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The fiscal policy adopted by the English East India Company has been the subject of a controversy. It has been emphatically maintained by some that the Company deliberately set to work to destroy India's manufactures. With equal emphasis it has been maintained on the other side that what is ascribed to deliberate policy on the part of the Company was the inevitable consequence of the Industrial Revolution in England and the unequal fight between the handicraft and the machine product. It is proposed in these few pages to examine the fiscal measures adopted by the Company in Bengal in the early years of the nineteenth century with a view to throw light on some of the causes that drove out Indian products even from our own markets.

The main features of the restrictions on their internal and external trade of Bengal as they existed towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century may be thus summarised: All goods whether imported from abroad or manufactured within the country were liable to pay a consolidated duty and having once paid that duty were allowed free transit throughout the whole of Bengal. Thus cotton and silk piece-goods and cotton yarn irrespective of the place of their manufacture were charged a fixed duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Collectors of Customs were authorised to grant *Rowannahs* or passes on the production of which the traders could claim exemption from further levy of imposts. The country was studded with *chowkis* or subordinate custom houses on passing through which the goods were detained and subjected to a vexatious examination.

It will be observed that the principle of discrimination had not yet found a place in the fiscal policy of the Company.

British and Indian goods paid the same customs duty, were subject to the same restrictions and were in other respects on a footing of perfect equality. But very soon the policy changed and a series of discriminatory measures designed to favour British shipping and British goods followed one another in quick succession. In 1811 goods imported on other than British bottoms were subjected to double the ordinary rates of duty.[1] In 1815 the duty levied on many British imports was lowered and in many other cases the imports were made entirely duty-free. Thus cotton, cotton piece-goods of Great Britain imported into Bengal paid only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. whilst woollens, metals in a manufactured stage, canvas, cordage and marine stores, the produce of the United Kingdom, were allowed the right of free entry.[2] Two years later British goods were further favoured when all metals whether manufactured or unmanufactured obtained a similar privilege.[3] It is worth noticing that the transit duty to which the goods manufactured in India were liable remained unaltered. For instance cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, raw silk filature, Bengal wound silk paid a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., Indian copper, steel, quicksilver paid 10 per cent.

In these discriminatory measures an "anxiety to promote British interests" is observable.[4] The policy which animated England at this time was the policy which she had adopted half a century earlier towards the American colonies. There is noticeable in these measures the same anxiety on the part of Great Britain to encourage her exports of manufactured goods, the same desire to obtain the raw materials of colonies and dependencies to the exclusion of her trade rivals. Only there is a difference in the means by which

[1] Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1811.

[2] Bengal Reg. IV, 1815.

[3] Bengal Reg. XXI, 1817.

[4] The Report of the Comm. of 1834 appointed to enquire into the Customs and Post Office system of India.

she set to work to achieve her object. In the older policy which Great Britain had adopted towards the American colonies she used to "enumerate" certain goods, mostly raw materials, which the colonies could sell exclusively to England. With regard to India, however, she pursued the more enlightened policy of encouraging the export of raw materials to Great Britain by a liberal grant of drawbacks.[1]

The effect of these measures was reflected in the trade returns of the period. A word of caution is however necessary in interpreting these returns on account of the complexity and variety of influences to which economic phenomena are subject; it is not fair to ascribe one particular cause to a phenomenon when in reality it is due to the whole complex of causes in operation. The figures for the imports into Bengal during the years 1813-14—1820-21 are as follows:—[2]

Private Trade.

	Rs.
1813-14	1,25,34,738
1814-15	1,17,96,802
1815-16	1,32,45,798
1816-17	1,87,96,653
1817-18	2,55,94,728
1818-19	2,84,55,615
1819-20	1,75,21,977
1820-21	2,24,45,163

Of these imports Great Britain took a rapidly growing share. In the year 1817-18 there was an increase in imports of nearly 70 lacs (taking private trade and Company's trade together) over those of 1816-17 and Great Britain's share amounted to 58 lacs. In the year 1818-19 the increase of private trade over that of the preceding year amounted to 30

[1] A 'drawback' is a refund of some part of the duty on goods on their exportation.

[2] Wilson's Review of the External Commerce of Bengal.

lacs the whole of which came from Great Britain. An examination of the figures for imports of specific British commodities, *e.g.*, copper and nails, piece-goods and woollens which were favoured by the tariff laws of the period discloses equally striking results. The following are the figures for imports into Bengal from all countries including Great Britain during the years 1813-19.[1]

	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.
Copper and Nails ...	10,48,884	19,66,204	15,67,927	17,00,004	21,80,950	45,53,103
Iron and Ironmongery	2,65,000	3,70,426	5,67,674	7,06,113	8,66,808	6,80,345
Piece Goods ...	4,71,028	4,11,811	6,67,830	9,83,356	19,57,920	34,37,154
Woollens ..	4,20,000	99,116	1,96,221	3,33,675	6,13,124	7,68,943

Great Britain's share during these years was as follows[1]:—

	1813-14	1814-15	1815-16	1816-17	1817-18	1818-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.
Copper and Nails	78,581	3,96,323	4,11,881	5,42,267	8,91,601	17,30,329
Iron and Ironmongery	2,30,517	2,78,746	4,55,078	5,83,610	8,21,433	6,17,089
Piece Goods	91,835	43,346	2,61,816	3,13,102	11,20,909	26,55,192
Woollens	1,84,521	14,712	1,22,619	2,38,616	5,74,184	7,35,611

These figures show that while Great Britain supplied 7 per cent. of the copper and nails imported into Bengal in 1813-14, in 1818-19 she supplied 38 per cent. In piece-goods her share was 19 per cent. in 1813-14 and 77 per cent. in 1818-19; in woollens her share was 43 per cent. in 1813-14 while it increased to 95 per cent. in 1818-19. In iron and

[1] Wilson's Review of the External Commerce of Bengal.

ironmongery alone the percentage of her share remained stationary. When one remembers that these were precisely the British products which were favoured, the conclusion is irresistible that the tariff was partially responsible for bringing about this state of affairs.

It would perhaps be argued that the increased share of Great Britain in the import trade of Bengal was due to the large scale and hence cheap production that followed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution in England. More particularly, the increase since 1815 might be attributed to the conclusion of the peace with France. That these were amongst the causes in operation must at once be conceded. "The long pent-up stream of English merchandise may be said to have flooded the world at the close of the Napoleonic Wars," says Professor Taussig[1] and India was no exception to this. So much was this onrush of British merchandise feared in the United States of America that the Congress hastened to put on the statute book the Tariff Act of 1816, heavily penalising some of the British imports. While, therefore, it must be admitted that there is some force in these contentions, it must at the same time be remembered that the advantage which the British goods enjoyed in the matter of the tariff was sufficient by itself to enable them to compete with Indian goods in the Indian markets. Speaking of the British piece goods the Customs Committee of 1834 observed "they had been favoured by the customs laws to a degree which might have enabled them to drive the former (Indian piece-goods) out of their own markets had the influence of British machinery been less overwhelming than it really was."[2]

The contention has been put forward that the Indian weaver could not be protected by the imposition of import duties because of a "growing belief on the part of Parliament in freedom of trade which led but a few years later to a very

[1] The Tariff History of the United States, p. 20.

[2] The Report of the Customs Committee of 1834.

large reduction in the import tariff of England itself."[1] But this is certainly not true of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Bengal Regulations of 1815 and 1817 afford a very striking contrast to the Act of 1816 adopted by the British Parliament to protect British agricultural interests.

Meanwhile the exports of Bengal piece-goods continued to decline. The consequent decrease in the yield of the export duty levied on these goods drew the attention of the authorities in India to the decline of the Indian cotton manufactures and as early as 1819 the Governor General informed the Court of Directors that many industrious persons had been thrown out of employment. To the credit of the Directors it must be said that they issued instructions[2] to abolish all internal duties on piece-goods and on raw cotton produced in India. But the Governor General was not prepared to go so far as to abolish the duties entirely. What he did was to place British and Indian cotton goods on a footing of equality, both of them being now subjected to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. (Regulation V, 1823). This measure has been characterised as an act of justice. But this justice was more apparent than real, for Indian cotton was subject to a duty of 5 p.c., cotton yarn to another $7\frac{1}{2}$, the finished product to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c., and a further duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. was levied should the cloth be dyed after the *Boucaunah* had been taken out.[3] The Indian cotton cloth was thus subject to a duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. as contrasted with $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. levied on the British product. Even in the rules governing drawbacks British goods were favoured. Thus British piece-goods re-exported from India paid one-third the rate of duty leviable on Indian piece-goods.

[1] C. J. Hamilton—The Trade Relations between India and England, p. 205.

[2] From the Court of Directors to the Governor General, dated the 11th June, 1823.

[3] Letter from Lord Ellenborough to the Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the Court of Directors.

The difficulties under which the Indian industries laboured at the time would be, however, only partially realised on a mere review of the difference in the rates of duty leviable on the British and Indian goods. The manner and machinery of collection of the internal transit duties rendered them doubly odious. The illegal exactions of the ill-paid officers, the right of search exercised ruthlessly or waived in consideration of a gratuity, the detention of goods on the pretext of search, the vexatious rules regarding the taking out of the *Rowannahs* or passes made the "profession of merchant unpleasant and disreputable on account of the complete state of dependence in which the most respectable people are placed on the meanest customs house officer." Worse than all these was another effect of a far-reaching character. For fear of encountering one of those numerous custom houses of which the country was full at the time, every little area tried to produce only for its own needs and tended to become self-sufficient. These miserable regulations discouraged large-scale production, and in the words of Trevelyan, encouraged a return to that "barbarous state of things in which everybody is obliged to produce and manufacture everything he requires for his own consumption." It is no justification of this system that the internal trade increased from Rs. 2,34,56,021, in 1809-10 to Rs. 5,23,33,470 in 1831.[1] When a patient recovers in spite of the errors of the physician it does not show that the physician was in the right but that the patient had a particularly good constitution. Much of the success which is attributed to British machinery and British skill was the inevitable result of the conjoint operation of several forces in which tariff discrimination and the hardships and iniquities resulting from the system of internal transit duties played no inconsiderable part. The argument has been put forward that in 1814-15 the British cotton

[1] Observations on the Transit and Town Duties of Bengal by Messrs. C. D'Oyly and H. M. Parker, 1834.

goods competed successfully with the Indian produce in the Java market notwithstanding an import duty of 15 p.c. on the former.[1] But it is forgotten that the Indian goods were handicapped at that time by the accumulated weight of the transit duty levied successively on cotton wool, cotton yarn and finished product, in all amounting to 20 p.c., only a very small portion of which was given as drawback when these goods were exported to Java on foreign bottoms.[2] Indian industries were subject to two destructive forces, the one acting from without and the other from within. Firstly, they had to bear the full force of foreign competition and secondly, they were assailed from within by the ruinous internal duties. The Hon. Fred. John Shore observes on this point: "we have for years been vaunting the splendid triumph of English skill and capital in carrying cotton from India to England, and after manufacturing it there bringing the cloth to India and underselling the natives. Is this any way surprising under such an intolerable system as is above described?"[3]

The circumstances which led to the abolition of this system so ruinous to trade and industry are not without interest. Reference has been made above to the letter of the Court of Directors urging the abolition of internal duties on piece-goods. In 1829 they again wrote on the subject and in 1830 they expressed their opinion in strong terms. They observed: "the great objections to the transit duties appear to us to be more deserving of attention each time we recur to the subject." It appears that in accordance with these repeated instructions the authorities in India contemplated their abolition and proposed to reimburse themselves for the loss of revenue by taxing the seaborne commerce and the imports of metal in particular. This proposal was placed before the

[1] Hamilton—Trade Relations between India and England, p. 203.

[2] See the provisions of Reg. IX of 1810 and Sec. 12, Regulation IV, 1815, read with Regulation III of 1811.

[3] Shore's Minutes on Indian Affairs, Vol. 2, p. 309.

Calcutta merchants for opinion. But as they were not unanimous in their opinion and entertained apprehension that "their constituents in England would be dissatisfied at seeing them assenting to" tax on their commodities, the proposal was dropped.[1] Shortly afterwards Trevelyan published his Report on the Transit Duties and it soon became evident that the system must either be ended or mended. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck appointed a committee to investigate and report on the whole question of customs and transit duties. While this committee was sitting, the then Governor of Agra, the Hon'ble A. Ross on a representation from the Board of Revenue of that presidency abolished the Bareilly Cawnpore and Farukkabad customs house and soon followed up this measure by the abolition of all internal custom houses and the only duty which continued to be collected was that on the merchandise crossing the preventive line established along the frontier of the Agra presidency.[2] The Governor General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was not consulted in the matter, had two alternatives before him. He could either rescind the order of the Governor of Agra and re-establish the custom houses or take the more logical course of adopting similar measures for the whole of Bengal. To his lasting credit he adopted the second alternative and thus rid Bengal of a system which had promoted roguery, bribery, perjury, smuggling and had for years put fetters on her trade and industry.

JITENDRAPRASAD NEOGI

[1] Appendix B to the observations on the Transit and Town Duties of Bengal. Extracts from a letter to Sir Ch. Metcalfe dated the 17th October, 1832, by Messrs. G. Chester and H. Sargent.

[2] Extract from a separate letter from India, dated the 2nd March (No. 1), 1836 to the Court of Directors.

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER III

"This was a Man"

"Please, brush my hair first."

"No, mummy dear, my hair first."

"Nay, brother, but I should be first."

"Look here," said Gunavanti smiling, "have I got four hands? You come one after the other."

"If Jagat wants to be second, of course he may. He calls me 'Devi' and so I should be first by right."

"Very well, you come first, that's all!" and Gunavanti made Tanman sit near her. During the last two or three weeks Gunavanti's loving ways had extended their charm over her neighbours also. Harilal and his daughter respected her as an elder. Tanman spent the whole day at Raghubhai's place. The children played all day long; they romped together, ate together and quarrelled a dozen times in the day—but they never went to bed without making up and becoming friends again. From last night Tanman had insisted on sleeping under the same roof as Jagat.

"Auntie, your boy calls me names."

"What names?"

"But, mummy, she also calls me many names."

"He calls me 'Devi,' 'Tanudi,' and yesterday he read out of his book 'who'll buy my little Tanmankin'!"

"And what names do you give him? Please don't waggle your head so."

"I? Sometimes 'brother' and sometimes 'Kishor' and only rarely do I call him 'my Lord Jaga.'"

"No, mother, she calls me this very often. She tells lies."

"Little children love each other," Tanman began to recite.

"Oh, do stop your prattle. How can I do your hair nicely if you wriggle about in this manner?"

"What is going on, my child?" asked Ramkisandasji entering. Jagat ran to the old Bawaji, who lifted him up in his arms and put him down after a few moments.

"Welcome, Maharaj!" said Gunavanti. The Maharaj put his staff in a corner and stroking his beard began to walk to and fro in his usual manner. In the meanwhile Tanman had got her hair nicely braided and had arisen from her seat.

"Well, girlie!" asked Bawaji. Tanman turned away her face and going up to the door, muttered, "Oh well, who cares for us? Bawaji has got his Jagat: but we two are not going to care for such old gentlemen, not we." She pouted disdainfully; but she snatched up the Bawaji's staff, as she reached the door and quickly made off with it. Ramkisandasji loved this girl also and when she was bent on some prank like this, he entered into the game with great zest.

"Stop, thief! what are you about? Stop, at once, I say!" shouted Bawaji with difficulty restraining his laughter.

"What have we got to do with you?"; and smiling archly Tanman took away the staff into the courtyard.

"Jagat, my boy, run and bring this little thief to me."

Jagat jumped up and ran after Tanman. They ran all round the house till tired. At last Tanman charged straight at Bawaji, who was ready with outstretched arms to catch her. First she and then Jagat fell into their broad expanse, and Bawaji held them tight to his breast.

"Now, you imp, I have caught you! Just wait, and you shall have a taste of my staff. Have you no respect for old age?" He gave the children a parting embrace before he put them down again.

"Well, Gunavanti, to-day some fellow-disciples of our Teacher have come to the temple from Virpur and there is

going to be a little Bhajan-party.[1] So I am come to take son with me."

"To-day there is a nautch at the court and Raghubhai wanted to take them there."

"No mother, we are not going there. Are we, Tanman?" cried Jagat. He never liked being taken out by Raghubhai.

"Of course not; they shall go along with me. Go, children, and get your things on."

"But you should bring us back at night."

"Oh, no. They shall sleep there."

"Yes, auntie dear, we will stay there." The children walked out arm in arm.

"See, Gunavanti, what a pretty couple they make. God seems to have meant them for each other.

Gunavanti smiled a little and said, "Yes! she is not of our caste, else I would surely have got her for my son." The Hindu mother feels greater pleasure at the marriage of her son than at his birth, and even the talk of his marriage is a perpetual comfort. The children heard the last few words; with a glance at each other they went in to dress.

"Gunavanti, did you hear the latest news?"

"What?"

"You know Champa, the dancing girl, she who has been called out from another place? His Highness is going to keep her permanently in his retinue."

"Oh, nonsense, Bawaji! The poor prince has got a bad name, so people talk anything and everything about him."

Just then a shadow fell across the veranda. A *Sannyasi* had come to beg for alms.

"Mother, pray give something." There was some magic in the tone of that gentle request which did not belong to the yellow robe the man wore. Both turned to look at him and

[1] A party where devotional songs and hymns are sung and some of the episodes from ancient scriptures are recited. These are generally held after nightfall and sometimes have really splendid musical accompaniment.

were astonished. The man was standing there humbly asking for alms, but looked as if he could give alms to thousands. The *Sannyasi* was still a young man. Even among thousands his fair and finely chiselled features might have struck anybody. Arjuna might have looked thus when he carried away his bride Subhadra, or perchance Mahadeva in the full splendour of his youth might have had this grace. His appearance indicated latent powers of the dancing Shiva, which, if unloosened, could dance the whole world into destruction. His lips were ripe and full; usually they were parted by a quiet, loving smile, but they could have curled up with the consciousness of power and could have caused men to tremble to behold them; and looking at the man, one would have thought the latter possibility not at all unnatural. Some earthly lover might have imagined such lips for his beloved, but this man's eyes had a heavenly look in them. They reflected the wisdom, pure and profound, which belongs only to those who meditate upon the Origin of things, or by those who are merged in unceasing contemplation of the Absolute. The light flashing from these eyes had no power, shared by the pure rays of the sun, of conquering darkness and filth. Upon the fair and majestic expanse of the forehead deep thinking and profound study were unmistakably stamped. One might have expected to see such majesty crowning the brows only of that Ocean of Vedantic lore, that super-sage Shankaracharya. Complete self-possession and the peace that comes through it were oozing out at every pore of the man. He stood there like a well-guarded, self-contained fortress without any loophole of either a fault or a foible.

Ramkisandasji knew everybody in the town, so he was surprised to see the stranger and his manifest powers. Gunavanti, full of faith and devotion, stood gazing at the ascetic in mute adoration. His appearance had assured her that he was no ordinary low-caste beggar.

"Maharaj, who are you?" asked Bawaji.

The *Sannyasi* turned his large eyes upon Ramkisandasji. The honest gaze of Ramkisandasji bent low in reverence before the power and wisdom flashing from those wondrous eyes. The mind of even the ignorant Bawaji felt the respect and reverence due to a spiritual superior.

"I! I am but one of the humblest of the servants of the Almighty Lord,"[1] even in these simple words there was a boundless humility and an irresistible charm.

"Where are you from?"

"I am from the village of Varat. Some business of the temple has to be attended here."

"Are you really from Varat? And how is my friend there, Karunanandji?"

"The Swamiji is my Guru. I have come hither at his bidding. But pardon, good Sir; whom have I the honour of addressing?"

So refined and yet so unaffected was his manner, that both Gunavanti and Ramkisandasji felt their respect for him increasing every moment. Ramkisandasji in reply gave his name and with a humility he had never felt in his life before requested the honour of a visit from him at his temple.

"Not to-day, pardon me, Maharaj. When I come again I will surely do myself the honour and pleasure of visiting you at your temple."

Raghubhai came up the front steps just at that moment; he was vexed to see the two ascetics and muttered something about ochre robes and family honour. He dared not say anything to Ramkisandasji, so he vented his anger on the other man.

"Who are you, Sir, and what do you want?"

The *Sannyasi* cast a piercing glance upon the Kotwal, taking his full measure from top to toe. He smiled as a grown up person smiles at the folly of a child. To Raghubhai

[1] *Sachchidananda* is the name always used by this man for the Absolute.

the smile was inscrutable, but he felt his power was being set at nought and he saw himself being humbled. In spite of all this he felt himself carried off by the irresistible magic of the Swami's personality.

"Dear Sir!" replied the Swami, "I am a *Sannyasi* and have come for alms." He took the proffered gift of flour from Gunavanti and walked away. To Raghubhai this was a new and strange experience. This man had proved the wonderful power he had even over himself, the Kotwal.

"Well, children, where are you off to?"

"Bawaji has come to fetch them. There is a Bhajan party."

Raghubhai had no particular wish to take the children out. So he was relieved and felt thankful to the old man.

"Well you may go, good-bye, Bawaji."

"Good-bye. Now come, Jagat on one side of me and Tanman on the other."

"No, Bawaji," said Tanman, "we will walk together hand in hand by ourselves."

CHAPTER IV

The Troth Plighted

Bawaji arrived at the temple with the children. It was an old temple and part of it was in ruins. The entrance opened into a big inner courtyard; the sanctuary was just opposite the door and in it stood the images of Ramchandraji and Sitaji. There were two rooms on either side of this in one of which was some furniture and the other was used as Bawaji's private room. There was a covered veranda running all round the courtyard. A dozen or more Bawajis were sitting in the courtyard. Some were pulling quietly at their

Ganja-pipes ; a couple were trying to put right a big drum by thumping and pulling it in various ways. Another old Bawaji was making herculean but fruitless efforts to tune a *Sitar* as ancient as himself.

"Look here, here comes Ramkisandasji."

"Yes, Janardan, my boy. Now make ready for the *Arti*."

A young disciple, fully dressed in a loin-cloth, made haste to prepare for the *Arti*. Ramkisandasji, meanwhile, took the children into the sanctuary to pay their homage to the deities.

"But, oh Bawaji, your Ramchandraji is still fast asleep."

"How so?"

"How? Have I yet rung the bell?"[1]

"Indeed, I had forgotten," and the Bawaji lifted up Tanman to ring the bell.

"And look here, my dears, we will be singing hymns all night to Ramji. If you feel sleepy just come here and tuck yourselves in on that mattress in the corner."

"Very well."

Coming out Ramkisandasji asked, "Jankidasji, do you know the Swamiji of Varat?"

"Oh, that old fellow? Yes, what of him?"

"I saw his disciple to-day. A wondrous man! I have never seen a more splendid specimen of manhood."

"Oh, yes, I too have heard that he has had a new disciple these last couple of years and the whole village has gone stark mad after him."

In the meanwhile Janardan had got the *Arti* ready, he now brought in the requisites and all the Bawajis got up and went into the sanctuary. Ramkisandasji grasped in his powerful hands the heavy round brass tray with its seven lighted wicks. Three or four people began to strike on brass

[1] After doing reverence to the deity the worshipper rings the bell hung inside the chamber.

gongs. In the further corner a couple thundered away upon a kettle drum. At short intervals Jankidasji blew ear-splitting blasts from a huge conch, others started ringing bells of various sizes thus adding their efforts to the praise-worthy task of rousing Ramji. God is ever so much greater than man and correspondingly greater is the noise needed to wake him up. Very likely for this reason He is unable to hear the whispered prayers of helpless creatures wasted by hunger and enfeebled by disease!

The *Arti* of the Bawaji was enough to burn up, besides the sins, all patience as well, in most human beings. It lasted about three quarters of an hour. On either side of the images of Rama and Sita the Bawajis stood in two rows like courtiers. Most were singing to the tune of the whirling tray. Drunk with the holy wine of the Bhajan, their ignorant, illiterate souls left all the vexations, troubles and sins of the world behind them and soared away into the higher, purer regions filled with unselfish divine love.

Jagat and Tanman were standing just in front. For a few minutes they too had joined their palms in devotion, but getting tired they soon let their hands drop. A couple of minutes later Jagat began to suffer from fidgets in his legs on account of his having had to stand still so long and he began to stamp on the floor with his feet. Tanman's feet too were tired so she leaned with her arm on Jagat's shoulder. The pretty limbs of the two little children—the beauty of Tanman specially—seemed to blaze forth in the flickering light of the waving *Arti*. After a time Tanman began to sing. Music is catching. In the midst of the deafening clatter and din around she sang out loudly. "Raghupati, Lord of Heaven, deign to dwell in this poor heart"—she began the first song learnt by the maidens of Gujarat. Sometimes she beat her little foot on the floor to keep time. Tanman got completely absorbed in her music.

The *Arti* ended at last and the din suddenly subsided. A moment ago there was noise enough to awaken ten thousand corpses from their graves, and now one could have heard a pin drop. Only the sweet bird-like notes of Tanman were heard trilling out: "Rama slew the dreaded demon."

The Bawajis, so long absorbed in the *Arti*, turned suddenly, and stood struck with amazement. Like the love-song of a nightingale after the thunders of a world-destroying tempest sounded the sweet notes. Even their hardened hearts were melted and they looked admiringly at the pair.

Suddenly self-consciousness came back to Tanman; hers was the only voice heard, and blushing crimson, she stopped abruptly.

"Bravo, little girl, bravo," said Jankidasji coming near, "well done indeed!" He lifted up Tanman in his arms. The peace following the music was now again disturbed, for the sweet offerings were now being distributed. The noise began again. As we come down from heaven and get among physical things once again, we naturally cry out.

The children enjoyed the sweets, and all went out into the open courtyard. Jankidasji still held Tanman in his lap. Jagat was sitting at a distance. After some time the musical instruments consented to give forth some semblance of harmonious notes.

"Dear," said Jankidasji, "do sing something."

Tanman smiled. Which maiden dislike flattery and praise? "No, Maharaj."

"No, but you must."

"But what shall I sing. I cannot sing at all."

"No, no, do not tell stories. Sing anything."

"Yes, darling, don't be shy," pleaded Ramkisandasji.

"Well, then, listen. But I do not know songs about Ramchandraji but about Krishna."

"Oh, well, it does not matter."

Tanman cleared her throat: her tender flute-like notes poured out in a sweet little ballad.[1]

"My love has quite forgotten me,
O darling of my heart, my Lord.
My Kahnuda,[2] I trusted thee
False is thy love and false thy word.

All through the weary night I weep
My heart is torn 'twixt hopes and fears,
Sleep closes not my burning eyes,
My pillow, friend, is wet with tears.

'Tis true, my Hari, once you sent,
With words of love, a letter sweet;
But black art thou, and faithless too,
Thine heart is black with foul deceit.

You won my untried maiden love,
Then flung me helpless from your side
Oh, Chieftain of proud Jadav clan,
Would such base deed enhance their pride?

Without thee life hath lost its charm;
A corner in thy loving heart
Reserve for me;—oh, come to me,
Give me one kiss—ere life depart."

[1] No translation can give an idea of the beauty of the original lyric. Each word there is full of tender association of Krishna and Radha. The translator has merely attempted a feeble paraphrase.

[2] Krishna.

The Bawajis, the adamant-hearted Bawajis, knowing neither love nor family, who had never bathed in the sweet stream of a maiden's love, who would not even have cared to wash their hands after spilling human blood—even such hard-hearted Bawajis felt their very beings thrilled by the sad simplicity of this ballad. For some moments—a dozen perhaps—they allowed the waters of pure love to lave their hearts, they bathed in its limpid stream and—emerged the better and the purer from it. To sing songs throbbing with all the ecstasy of burning love or even to hear the burning notes of the heart is real education. For they pierce through the outward indifference of mankind, they melt away the ice of selfishness, which freezes "the genial current of the soul" and whatever raises the brute up to the human level is education in the truest sense.

All acclaimed Tanman loudly as she finished her song.

"But," said Jankidasji, who had been looking about him for some time, "Sita is here, but where has our Ramji disappeared?"

"Poor little chap! He must have gone to bed. Now, Tanman darling, you too run away. You did exceedingly well to-day and gave us the greatest pleasure. Tanman got up and looked round her but no Jagat was to be seen.

Jankidasji at last managed to straighten the strings of his crazy *sitar* and with a long-drawn "a-a-a-a-a-a-a-..," now coughing, now spluttering, arranged to bring his voice to the correct pitch. After about a quarter of an hour's running over the whole gamut with every conceivable variation, some connected words began to come from his throat:

"My soul, give up life's shifting quicksand
And on Rock of Ages anchor."

Tanman began to search for Jagat. Every girl, even a child of eight or nine has got the intuition of her sex; so she

knew that Jagat had some special reason for leaving her and going away. She went to the room where the mattress had been spread for them. Jagat was lying upon it, face down. Tanman quietly went up to him and sat down near him. She leaned against Jagat's body, but he did not speak; she gave him a little loving slap but he only set his lips tight and moved not. Jagat was really angry and was not likely to give way so easily.

"Kishor, dearest, do speak to me. Do look up, my darling," said Tanman, and with all her strength tried to turn him on his back. At last Jagat yielded to her efforts, and said:

"You go and sing and laugh by yourself. What have I to do with you!" Love's sway must always be undivided.

"Nay, Kishor, my dear, don't say that. If you had told me so I would never have sung," cooed Tanman. "Brother dear, please do not treat me thus, I am to be with you only a few days more."

Jagat was suddenly startled into life and sat up; "Why so?"

"Ah, now you speak, you dear old rogue!"

"No, but do tell me, why only a few days more?"

"Yes, I quite forgot to tell you. We are going away."

"When? When? And who are the 'we'?"

"Father says he will be probably transferred."

"Really?" "Yes."

"Oh, my dear Tanman, what shall I do without you?" The words of the child were innocent, but they implied a deep and real wound: "How shall I get on without you."

"But surely I will come back."

Jagat felt being crushed by the impending calamity; "How so? Will your father be transferred here again?"

Both remained for a while sunk in deep thought. They looked at each other in helpless dejection. At last Tanman found a way out.

"But surely I will always write to you. And when I grow up I will come back."

Jagat liked this proposition better. "Yes, I will also grow up by then and will be earning my own living, and we will live together—mummy, you and I," cried he, his heart swelling with pride.

"And then we will marry," added Tanman, as if a sudden flash had illumined the darkness of their ignorance. But once again she was plunged in deep thought. "But, Kishor, dear, if you forget me?"

"I forget you?" cried Kishor proudly. He was already well acquainted with romances and their language. "I forget you? My Devi? No, it can never be. What are you thinking of?"

"Honour bright?"

"Honour bright! Just come here," saying so, he caught Tanman's arm and led her in front of the altar where the images stood in the sanctuary.

"Here before Ramchandraji I swear never to forget you."

For five minutes the children remained quiet and solemn. From outside came the deep bass notes of Ramkisandasji singing—"All the world is seeking Rama-a-a-a-..." Then came a wonderful moment for both. The oppressing load on their hearts was lightened and the soul of each looked into the other's eyes. "My Kishor!" "Devi!" and they clasped hands before the altar.

* * * * *

At six o'clock the next morning Ramkisandasji finished his Bhajan, and after singing his morning hymn he went in to wake up the children. The little lovers were asleep on the mattress looking like unopened rosebuds. They were still clasping each other's hands as if afraid of being separated

even in sleep. The tender light of the morning was falling around them, and soft sweet breezes were blowing round their pretty faces. It seemed as if the souls of both, as tender and pure as their bodies—had attained the goal of human endeavour, and, completely absorbed into each other, were being united before their God in bonds of Love Divine. Did the gods and goddesses wed thus of old?

(To be continued)

K. M. MUNSHI

CO-OPERATION AND THE PROBLEM OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

One of the world's greatest teachers held ignorance to be the worst of sins and the root cause of human misery, and it certainly seems that if the leaven that is now working in all countries brings them disaster instead of a happier era, ignorance will be the cause ; ignorance of what might be done towards solving all our problems by the simple and peaceful means of economic co-operation; we are concerned in this article with the solution by co-operation of the fundamentally important problem of education, but we cannot separate one from others that it would solve, so, for every reason, we shall start by considering co-operation in a general way.

The movement that bears that name, may be said to be on the eve, now, of triumph, owing to the productive power given to labour by industrial progress, and the increased facilities given for employing unskilled workers. The earning classes will see that this progress is opening up for them a new and very simple way of solving their problems, both economic and political, by organising themselves to work for each other, to employ each other mutually as we might express it, and so to be independent of the "laws of supply and demand" and that is what we have to understand now first and foremost.

There is no need to explain to people in India that this plan would solve political problems as well as economic ones. In the language that is now current, if people had the option of working in their own economic organisation, it would be perfectly easy for them to withhold their co-operation entirely from any government, and by that means to bend governments to their will.

But a good deal of confusion exists now in popular notions as to what co-operation is, and what it might or might not do,

owing to the fact that the pioneers failed to carry out their plan as originally conceived, and that the co-operative movement then transformed itself into a mere democratic system of trading.

Some early pioneers tried to organise people in co-operative communities or "commonwealths" to produce the principal necessaries of life for themselves. They thought out their plan well, they foresaw, and arranged for, the economic difficulties that would have to be met, but they failed in practice because the workers were never unselfish enough to sink their personal opinions and work together to carry out the plan. Innumerable attempts were made, but they all came to grief in that way. The Rochdale co-operative shops system is the basis of the movement as we see it now. The plan is to create later, industries which the co-operators would support by being customers to them, enjoying themselves the profits that are made, and for those industries ultimately to work together and carry out the true idea of mutual employment and economic independence. But, to cut a long story short, the whole interest of the co-operators seems to have centred in the profits of the shops, the ideal was left to look after itself and thus it was never attained.

Quite naturally then, the idea is now fixed in the popular mind that co-operation as originally conceived, *i.e.* mutual employment, demands more altruism to carry it out than we possess and that, therefore, co-operation does not offer a practical solution for our greater problems.

But success depends on a factor that is changing constantly and rapidly: namely the productive power of labour. Progress is constantly opening up new facilities for carrying out the true idea: that of mutual employment.

We must set ourselves to discovering ways of commencing the application of this economically sound idea that short-sighted selfishness will not be able to defeat, and those who will take the trouble to do that may be the saviours of our modern civilisation.

Now in this connection a profoundly interesting situation has arisen to which all workers for progress must give their very best attention.

Many people excuse themselves from active participation in efforts to solve social problems, saying that charity begins at home. None, however, can fail to take an interest, in some way or other, in the problem of education, because it goes straight to almost every home. Now co-operation can solve our educational problems and nothing else can.

All have come to realise at least that we need a more practical system of education than we have. Those who take the most superficial view see that, as a result of education having spread so much among all classes, liberal professions, and generally all the occupations for which schooling qualifies people, are overstocked, so schools as they are now circumstanced do not fit boys to make a living. Those who look more deeply into the question of the welfare of future generations see more reasons than one to demand a rapid and radical reform of our educational system.

Physiologists know now, that the young human being is extraordinarily plastic and capable of being moulded either for better or for worse; and the age of "plasticity," in the opinion of the Royal Commission on Physical Deterioration, continues up to about eighteen.

We know now that, by setting to work in the right way, to develop children's vitality, their alertness, their energy we can to an enormous extent, make normal children energetic and strong and form even their character in the moral sense.

We know, therefore, that there are things we can do for the young by the side of which the importance of the mere teaching, which is the be-all and end-all of our present system, seems to shrink into insignificance. Besides, by proper food and attention to hygiene, vitality and strength are induced by keeping the child at occupations that, by interesting it keenly, call forth the utmost of joyful exertion: joy and hearty exercise

of all the faculties are the sunshine and showers that make the young human plant develop. The moral senses which are founded upon the conceptions of love and of duty, are exercised by keeping the child at employment that will be a labour of love.

Now all this means, in a few words, that the very simplest and the most natural of all things, namely suitable practical work, the fruits of which are always visible, and the inspiration of which is loving service, is the most important thing in education. Thus it is that all great educationists endorse the view Ruskin has expressed so well in the words: "Employment is the half, and the primal half, of education, it is the warp of it; and the fineness or the endurance of all the subsequently woven pattern depends wholly on its straightness and its strength."

Second in importance to useful work for vitality-training, is undoubtedly play and sports generally, to which, therefore, the very greatest care should be given and for which we must give full opportunities.

We have not to contemplate any revolution so alarming to the ordinary mind, as the substitution of moral and vitality training for schooling. As a matter of fact, class-work is necessary also from the highest point of view of training. Study is the supreme means of giving mental discipline, which is, of course, of foremost importance in moral training. If continuous, however, class work is morally and in every way bad, and must be utterly condemned. In long stretches it induces a spirit of listlessness and shirking, of everything in fact that is absolutely poison to the young in the plastic age. It must alternate with practical work and sports. Then children will take to it also keenly, because it will be a change and it will then do then good not harm.

What, then, we need is a very long day at school in which constant changes will produce constant and keen interest and the day will be passed, not cheerfully only, but with delight,

each change coming in such a way as to create a strong and lively interest and then, as physiologists can tell us, every normal child will grow up energetic, alert and strong.

There will be nothing but agreement now-a-days as to the desirability of such an educational system, but the whole question is how the cost is to be met. The answer is to be found in a single word—and that is, co-operation; and a co-operative organisation can allow us to do all that is desirable for the very poorest children as well as for the rich. Thus we may hope that we shall find the educationist, in solving his own problem, the pioneer of the co-operative idea of mutual employment, and leading us in the direction in which is to be found the realisation of hope for all our longings for better social conditions.

Industrial progress has enabled us to make such great use of the labour of children, employed, of course, with a sufficient proportion of adults, that it is in our power to make the practical work pay from the age of ten or so. But we should require probably one adult to every two children, so that if they were employed, one-third of their time on the practical work, it would mean that there would be approximately an adult worker for every six or eight children above, say, ten. Education on this plan would, therefore, need its two distinct departments, the one scholastic and the other economic.

To organise the economic department is the great work of the educational and social reformer, to day.

Now, we come to an economic principle that is of the very greatest importance and opens up immense possibilities for education.

The child, and even, in the great majority of cases, the student, being a member of a family, other members of which earn money, can perfectly well bring his contribution in kind, provided only that it is in the form of articles of common use with a reasonable amount of choice, so thrt it would be better

in every way to employ the children producing articles for *their own use and for use in their families—that is to say "co operatively."*

This means that the college and school industrial establishments would enable the young workers, as we might express it, to earn their wages double, since they would earn both as producers and as distributors—or supposing their productive labour had no particular value, still they would earn the distributors' profits. This double earning is in any case the strength of co-operation, and not peculiar to this case; the principle, however, would work very simply and very visibly applied to education, and thus opens up immense possibilities.

But now for the present let us not think so much of possibilities for the future, but rather of how we might be able to make a small beginning with schools as they are and with the parents' prejudices as we actually find them: to *begin* such work somehow, is the important thing.

Market garden produce can be grown under good conditions for less than half of what it generally costs to buy retail. If, then, schools were to have gardens with a sufficient number of trained gardeners, under competent supervision and direction, the boys might have excellent practical training in doing some work under the gardeners in rotation. At first we should not be able to persuade parents to consent to more than a few hours a week of practical work, so that the boys' labour would have little or no value; still, however, they might earn as distributors by taking the produce home, which they would do with great pleasure and pride from the feeling that they had helped to produce it; and, however unimportant economically their part had been, their joy and their pride in it would not be diminished. It would be possible to arrange at once for town schools to send a proportion of their boys every day to a branch outside the towns, where, whilst going on with their lessons, they would have some healthy work of this kind; an arrangement that would obviously be of the very

greatest value to town children, their earnings as distributors easily paying the cost of travelling.

It is of great importance that the gardeners should be supervised together with the boys. In any enterprise the tendency is for most employees, unless closely supervised, to shirk their work, and thus losses occur. If, however, each worker had two or three boy helpers to look after, he would on the one hand, not be able to shirk so easily, and at the same time, he would not even be nearly so much inclined to, for, under his direction, the boys would do a good deal of the work demanding bodily exertion, so would make even a lazily disposed man do a fair day's work, provided only he was not also incompetent, and the discipline of the school was not defective. Any one who had anything to do with organising and supervising labour will realise how important that factor is.

An organisation of this kind would give the senior boys the opportunity at once of having one of the most commercially valuable of all trainings, in organising and supervising labour.

But, now, schools would not be prepared to take on large numbers of gardeners, knowing quite well, that if they were not managed in the right way, heavy loss would be the result. We need the co-operative organisation, of the schools not only to give all the necessary technical advice and supervision, but also to take the financial responsibility, of which the schools themselves would not consent to take more than a limited part.

Evidently, we cannot demand of a single school that it should launch out on a new enterprise of this kind and learn the way to carry out the plan, perhaps in the proverbially expensive school of experience. Co-operatively, however, it can be done, and so we need first and foremost the school and college co-operative organisation.

The same organisation would organise college and school co-operative stores, which, acting together as branches of a

central organisation, would be able, under modern conditions, to give students and school children opportunities of earning as distributors by taking articles to their homes, and of gaining practical commercial experience. The idea of the school and college co-operative stores is, of course, well-known, and has attained a considerable degree of success. With a central organisation on a large scale, it would be possible to deal in articles other than those of everyday use, those in connection with which the advantages of co-operative buying are greatest.

Here again there is an economic principle we want to understand and apply. If, in any way, a number of people could agree to make their purchases through the same channels, they could have, of course, more advantageous terms, whatever those channels might be. It would also be an immense advantage to all to have a co-operative general agency that would *advise* people in connection with any purchase. Practically, however, it is not feasible to induce people to combine for either of these purposes, they will not take the trouble.

But they would readily do it if their children were the canvassers and suitably rewarded for their agency. The school stores and agency are, therefore, a way of realising economic possibilities, that as yet we have realised only to a very small extent, and *for that reason, they should pay from the first.*

Industrial training is necessary also, but schools are, of course, quite incapable of organising industries successfully and unable to take the financial responsibility.

A school and college co-operative organisation, however, would be able to solve this difficulty also. With its various branches in the different schools, it would be an important agency, so its support would be well worth having, and it would easily be able to induce small industrialists to enter into arrangements with schools for the employment of the boys on a systematic and suitable plan, in consultation

with the school authorities, in exchange for its support commercially.

Evidently, we may anticipate, that when the organisation became a powerful one, it would not be satisfied with such an elementary arrangement as that, but would enter into some kind of partnership with owners of small industries, so as to have as nearly as practically possible, a proper share of the profits its agency would cause them to earn. Ultimately, of course, we may conceive of a very large organisation of this kind starting its own industrial enterprise in the various schools and colleges, but meanwhile it would be able to arrange for industrial work in schools, and advance step by step, towards that final development.

In those simple ways by co-operation, we may advance in the direction of education that would offer hopes of enabling boys to earn as well as to learn, that is to say, education which ought to be not dearer but cheaper than the present defective system. As soon as we began to realise some of these earning possibilities, we can foresee that we should establish schools on this principle for poorer boys, in which they would spend a sufficient part of the day in industrial work to insure that they would be self supporting. We should then hope to be able to overcome remaining prejudices and form public opinion gradually in favour of practical education for all classes.

Very simply, then, we should pass from educational to social reform.

Evidently this system of education could extend to adults also. We should be able to allow people of any age to join an organisation of this sort, receiving remuneration in kind and getting any industrial training they wanted.

When we had done that, we should virtually have solved the problem of mutual employment, and that would mean, ending unemployment.

We might find in that way a very ready solution for the problem of middle class unemployment in India. Young adults

working in such organizations might very easily earn thirty rupees' worth a month of food stuffsand other useful articles, whilst receiving a practical industrial training that would qualify them very soon to command good salaries.

The problems of practical education and of unemployment are absolutely bound up together in India, and they are also in every country. People can always get work in a mutual organisation in which they will do their share of producing articles for themselves, and for others similarly situated. At this point, however, we pass from the educational question to other social questions and we shall cry a halt, for many will think that we are entering into the domain of unrealisable dreams.

But we are not dreaming at all ; these are the possibilities of economic co-operation, which have been perfectly well realised by all thoughtful people for the last century and which, it now seems, we may attain by the way of an educational organisation. What concerns us immediately, however, is that we can now revolutionise our educational system if only we have the will. *Our whole system is vitiated now by our starting with the idea that education must be expensive and must therefore be gone through rapidly and owing to that reason children have been set to work in a way that is bad for them. Co-operation can change that for us at once and by that alone it can usher in a new era ; really successful school industries are impossible without co-operation ; so, once more, to start the school, co-operative organisation is the great need.*

We must not, of course, expect that in this way more than in any other, perfection will be attained at once. The employment of children in industrial work in a manner that will be instructionally and economically valuable will demand most careful study. Modern industrial methods, if thoughtlessly applied, are not at all good from the educational aspect. Probably at first, some at least of the practical work will fall short of what one would desire from the purely educational point of view. Even so, however, co-operation opens up a way in

which it would be possible to give the children the alternative of employment, that is necessary to keep them as interested as possible all day, and to enable the expense to be met of giving them systematically and unstintingly the most healthy kinds of games and sports, and to enable poor children to be given, at the school, a meal consisting of the most wholesome kinds of food, so that under those combined influences all normal children will grow up strong and energetic.

The application of co-operation to the solution of educational problems in India has now been the special study of the Calcutta University Poverty Problem classes for some years; in fact, ever since they came into existence. Several of the most prominent merchants of Calcutta, and of India generally, have given their support to an organisation to which the name Indian Polytechnic Association has been given, formed to carry out the ideas put forth in this article; there is some mention of it in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission.[1] Hitherto, however, from lack of popular appreciation, it has existed no more than in name, but practical experiment has now proved the difficulty, nay almost the impossibility, of establishing practical education by separate efforts, owing to the fact that schools generally know neither what practical work to take up, how to set about it, or how to dispose advantageously of anything they may produce. It is recognised now, as the result of experience, that the co-operative organisation is needed first and foremost, and a sub-committee has been formed in this connection of the Bengal Co-Operative Organisation Society, to help the Association of which one of Calcutta's foremost business men has consented to be a vice-president.

India has always been held to offer a particularly hopeful field for the application of co-operation in any form, and

[1] See Volume VII, p. 20.

specially, perhaps to education, and now that this start has at last been made in the right way some encouraging results are sure to follow.

J. W. PETAVEL

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE

Whilst the League of Nations has been occupying many months and days in getting its cumbrous machinery instituted and set in working order on a lesser scale—it is not perhaps too much to say—the Congress of the Universities of the Empire has been dominated by the spirit of the league and has been addressing itself in a mood of high seriousness to the accomplishment of certain of its aims. That the Universities of the Empire can do much both by internal consolidation and by their external attitude to promote the peace and order of the world is undoubted, and the consciousness of this opportunity was never absent from the deliberations of the Congress which was held recently at Oxford.

It was a representative gathering. Delegates to the number of about 130 were present from practically every University of the Empire, and the Universities had not hesitated to send their most prominent men to take part in the deliberations. Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and Pro-Chancellors, Presidents, Provosts and Principals constituted the majority of the members, whilst men of lesser academic standing contributed a democratic element and maintained relations with ordinary humanity. As always happens at such gatherings, the representatives from overseas took their duties more seriously on the whole, than did those who emanated from universities in the United Kingdom. The greater the distance, the more assiduous was the attendance and the nearer a university town happened to be to Oxford. The shorter and the more interrupted in many cases were the visits which its delegates paid to the Congress. But there were many even from the English and Scottish Universities outside of Oxford to whom this remark does not apply, and who, like

Sir Donald Macalister of Glasgow, took a leading part in the deliberations of the Congress and bore a large share of the burden of responsibility. And, as for our hosts in Oxford itself, even if they sat not through the entire period of the discussions, nothing could have exceeded the carefulness and cordiality of their hospitality. Behind the scenes much patient work must have gone to the perfecting of the arrangements which ensured the comfort and enjoyment of all their guests.

Calcutta had reason to be proud of its Indian delegation. Not only was it large numerically—so large indeed as to cause some searchings of heart on the part of the officials of the Congress and call for elasticity in the interpretation of the membership rules of that august body,- but it was composed of men who had a genuine title to represent their University. Calcutta was not content to appoint delegates who merely *happened* to be near Oxford and available at the time, or whose connection with the University was nominal and belonging entirely to the past, but men who were in the closest possible touch with present affairs and specifically and practically interested in the deliberations of the Congress. In these deliberations also the Calcutta and Indian delegates in general took an increasingly important share, and their speeches had considerable effect.

The members of the Congress did not meet as strangers under entirely new conditions. Many preparations had already been made for the meeting of 1921, and the individual members had already had opportunities for making acquaintance with one another. At the meeting of the Congress in 1912, provision had been made for the establishment of a Universities' Bureau, and in the intervening years this organisation had attained to the dignity of a corporation, having articles of association and drawing a revenue from Government assistance and from contributions more or less willingly given by the Universities of the Empire. It had found a local habitation in Russell Square, London, and it

had busied itself with gathering and disseminating information useful to migratory professors, lecturers and students of the different Universities and with facilitating research in subjects where co-operation was specially necessary. It had issued several editions of a year-book or conspectus of the Calendars of the Universities, and it had crowned its labours by undertaking the by no means easy task of making arrangements for the Congress of 1921.

These arrangements included a series of tours to the various Universities of the United Kingdom and Ireland, and as several of these tours preceded the meetings of the Congress proper, many of the delegates had formed associations with one another before they actually gathered together in Oxford. The Welsh Universities had already been visited, and so had the Irish, though it is alleged that several of the delegates who had arranged to go to Ireland had been reading the newspapers too carefully and were attacked by sudden illness on the eve of their departure. The University of London also had officially received the delegates and planned out a series of visits to the various colleges and institutions under its jurisdiction. Indian delegates found special interest in the magnificently equipped schools of medicine and science, discovered many friends at the London School of Economics, and received a cordial welcome at the School of Oriental Studies from a former Calcutta citizen, Sir Dennison Ross. The benediction of the State was received at a Government lunch at the Savoy Hotel where the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour presided over a distinguished gathering of literary men, scientists and politicians, and welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Imperial Government, speaking impressively of the spiritual unity of the nations. Rumour was rife to the effect that His Majesty the King had intended to receive the delegates at Buckingham Palace, but unfortunately arrangements could not be completed for the bestowal of this high honour.

On Tuesday morning, 5th July, the serious business of the Congress began. In strenuous mood the delegates assembled at Paddington station *en route* for Oxford, whither they were conveyed by special train. On arrival at Oxford there was in the opinion of the authorities need for such great haste that considerable liberties were taken with the persons of the distinguished delegates. The railway bridge over the station road at Oxford is not adapted for the passage of motor buses, having on top, University delegates possessing large heads, and in several cases decapitation was imminent. However warning was given just in time and the peril was safely passed. It would have been a thousand pities if Sir Nilratan Sircar upon whose head the University of Oxord was about to shower its honours had found himself deprived of that member of his body, at the very commencement of his visit.

The Congress met in the magnificent Examination Schools of the University and the first session was presided over with dignity and impressiveness by the Marquis Curzon, who regretted that the efforts to discover "political solutions for largely insoluble problems" had left him but little opportunity in recent years for the study of academic questions. At the same time he had watched the progress of the Universities, the increase in their number and the development of their internal resources. Oxford had not been slumbering even before the war; she had been vigorously shaken out of her accustomed routine by the fact that 2,500 of her members had become officers in the army, and she was now broad awake—to find that she had now 4,500 students instead of the 3,000 of pre-war days, and that her opportunities had increased at an even greater rate than her responsibilities. In referring to responsibility and opportunity the Marquis Curzon struck what might be described as the dominant note of feeling in the Congress, and his concluding words—"I venture to invoke the blessing of Providence upon your labours"—were in keeping with the whole tone of his address

and anticipatory of the serious spirit in which all the deliberations of the Congress were conducted.

At this session the Universities tried to set their own house in order and considered the balance of their studies. What was to be the place of the Humanities in the new educational world? Were the men of science to be accorded a grudging or a cordial welcome? And, if once admitted, were they to be allowed to possess themselves of the whole field? Dr. L. R. Farnell of Exeter College, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and our official host, represented the classical scholar who deplored the abandonment of Greek and the diminution of Latin learning, and who earnestly, though a little sadly, attempted to adapt himself to the new conditions. He was willing to lessen the time required for the training of a classical scholar by paying less attention to the study of accents and the composition of Greek and Latin verses, and he emphasised the importance of archæology for the revivifying of Hellenic studies and the recapturing of the Hellenic spirit. He also pointed out the close connection between classical studies and modern literature. It would have been of interest to the Congress if more allusion had been made to the place of Sanskrit in relation to modern University study in India, but attention was almost altogether concentrated upon the possible value of Latin and Greek.

In an extremely interesting paper on "The Place of the Humanities in the Education of Men of Science" Professor Desch presented the case from the point of view of the scientist. He argued that while the mental training which had hitherto been expected from a minute study of the classics could now be given by science, yet the man of science was apt to become narrow if he had no knowledge of history or of the literature both of the past and the present age. In particular, ultra-specialism needed to be counterbalanced by a synthetic view of knowledge which could be given only by humanistic culture. He made no plea however, for a minute knowledge,

and his suggestion that instead of the original texts, translations might quite well be used, was perhaps calculated to make the hair of the orthodox classicist stand on end. In passing, he made the pertinent remark that there was "no necessary connection between science and inelegance of expression" and hinted that humanism might lead to improvement in style.

At the afternoon session, the Congress looked beyond the borders of the Universities, and considered their relation both to the past and the future of their students. The training of students to fulfil their social and political responsibilities was the main idea of the discussion on "The Teaching of Civics, Politics and Social Economics," and Mr. Balfour, who presided, set the tone of the discussion high with his remark that he had ceased to believe in the distinction between superior and inferior races. Prof. Montpetit of Montreal set in the forefront one of the main difficulties in the teaching of politics in Universities, a difficulty which, as Miss Grier of Newnham also pointed out, had retarded the progress of political studies. Was the University to enter into the domain of party politics and soil its hands with the dust of conflict? And, on the other hand, how could it keep clear of current political problems without losing touch with actuality? Prof. Montpetit stated that while he did not believe in politics exerting an undue influence over the University he deemed it "a capital thing that the University should have an indirect action over politics and a strong grasp on the public spirit." Civism is the duty of all, and, if we are not to be at the mercy of propagandists whose hearts are stronger than their heads, it is necessary that public opinion should be enlightened. Unfortunately, an opinion is often powerful because it is poor, and, according to Miss Grier, the subject of politics has hitherto been frequently at the mercy of those who possess much good will but little knowledge. Yet knowledge is specially necessary at the present time in view of the vast size of modern communities

and the specialisation of industry which closeness of contact has rendered possible. Sir William Beveridge set forth as the objects of University teaching the training of the mind and the bringing of man into harmony with his environment, and argued that the study of politics and social economics was good for the first and specially good for the second, inasmuch as the dominant factor in the human environment now was not Nature but our fellow-men.

The discussion on the past of the students or the relation of the Universities to Secondary Education revealed the fact that the educational problems of India are by no means peculiar to that country.' An attitude was taken up very similar to that with which we are familiar in connection with Matriculation and School Final examination problems. The paper of Prof. Burnett of St. Andrew's might have been written in Bengal by a member of the Calcutta University Commission. He deplored the deadening external examination which took away all initiative from the schools and was fatal to good results. He pointed out that the University had no right to dominate the schools as if all pupils in the schools were proceeding to the University, while at the same time he frankly admitted that the University had a right to demand from its intending students a guarantee of a good general education. Mr. Cyril Norwood of Marlborough pleaded for a better adjustment of the relations between the secondary schools and the University, even though he did not think that the appointment of a "general staff" was the only method of bringing about this improvement. He urged that the schools should be given more freedom to work out their own salvation and that the University should be prepared to accept a pupil of a recognised and efficient school on the certificate of the headmaster. Further he asked that the specially efficient pupils of the schools—*i.e.*, those who had studied for, say, two years after reaching the minimum

standard required for the University—should have credit given them by the University for this *extra* work, there being nothing more deadening for the student than to have to repeat, during his first year at the University, the work he has already done at school.

After having discussed these weighty problems brought forward during the first day of the Congress, the members were more than ready for the relaxation of the evening, when the University of Oxford held an official reception in the Ashmolean Museum and in that artistic environment—at a gathering which a retired Indian official described as equalling in brilliance a diplomatic assembly—afforded an opportunity for the making of new acquaintances and the renewal of old friendships.

Although the meetings of the Congress took place during the vacation time in Oxford, occasional glimpses might be had of groups of students different from the ordinary youthful undergraduates and less familiar with their academic surroundings. These were men drawn mainly from the artisan classes and brought together in Oxford under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, enjoying the hospitality of various colleges and attending short courses of lectures specially arranged to meet their requirements. Their presence afforded an illustration of the importance of the topic discussed at the next session of the Congress, *viz.*, "The Universities and Adult Education." Lord Haldane presided at this meeting, and spoke of how in his ideal for them the Universities might soften the divisions between class and class. He refused to acknowledge any distinction between "labour" and "capital" education. Such a distinction belonged to a lower level and he would in the main have agreed with Mr. Basil Yeaxlea, who, at a subsequent stage in the debate, defined the University standard as one which "simply implies sincerity, thoroughness and persistence in the pursuit of truth." The responsibility of the University for the education

of adults who have not had academic advantages in their youth was fully recognised by Professor Leonard of Bristol. The day of self-centred culture was past, according to him, and he quoted with approval the saying of an American writer—"A college which satisfies itself with self-centred culture is a fountain in a park which thirsty children watch through an iron fence." The University must adapt itself to the requirements of those who are outside the academic railings. It must take the initiative in regard to these new movements, and thus most vividly realise in its new opportunities that it is the home of causes *not* lost. It must go to meet those who are coming towards it as pilgrims to a shrine with earnest desire for the education not only of their children but of themselves and anxious to enter into an inheritance of which it is not right that they should be deprived. They must be made to feel that in coming to the University they come to a place that belongs to them, as Coleridge's stars came to the blue sky "to their native country and their own natural homes, which they enter unannounced, as lords that are certainly expected, and yet there is silent joy at their arrival." Like the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Leonard urged that education is the great leveller and took as illustration the fact that in India, notwithstanding caste, the educated man is welcome in every household.

Our friend of the Calcutta University Commission, Sir Michael Sadler, tried to define more precisely the meaning of adult education and described it as the "training and self-training of those who cannot give years of their life to residence in a University, but whose minds are of the quality which rewards careful cultivation and who have a love of study and the perseverance to pursue it." This particular quality of mind he found to be indicated in the seventh and twelfth books of the *Prelude*—"the mirror of the growth of many a workman's, as well as a poet's mind." There seemed to be a certain degree of apprehension in the mind of Sir Gregory Foster lest

the attempt to give adult education might result in a lowering of the University standard, but he might have found comfort in the idea of the quotation already given from Mr. Yexlea that wherever there is sincerity and persistence in the pursuit of truth, there it is impossible that the standard should ever fall too low. Yet this cautious attitude might perhaps suggest in the mind of those interested in Indian education a query as to how far the methods discussed at the Congress were applicable to India where the almost indispensable basis of primary education is not laid in every case. But in this connection comfort might be found in the suggestion of Lord Haldane that the spread of adult education should take place largely through the efforts of the village schoolmaster. If the village schoolmasters in India—especially the better educated amongst them—could but realise their responsibilities to the community as a whole the ideal of the spread of education even amongst adults would not seem so impossible of attainment.

A somewhat narrower subject, but one still closely affecting the relation of the University to the community, occupied the attention of the Congress at the afternoon session on the second day. Mr. Swithells of Leeds University argued that when, as at the present day, the spirit of invention was quickened, industry needed most of all the leadership which might be forthcoming from established centres of educational influence. Before the business of the Congress proper began on the following day an academic interlude proved of special interest to the Indian delegates. At a "Congregation" held in the Sheldonian Theatre Honorary degrees were conferred on three distinguished members of the Congress. Along with a representative from Canada and another from New Zealand, our own ex-Vice-Chancellor, Sir Nilratan Sircar, received the high honour of a D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, amidst the good wishes and congratulations of all his fellow delegates.

The Congress then discussed further the responsibilities of the Universities to the community, and, in particular, the training of teachers and preparation for Commerce, Industry and Administration. Here again the difficulty was how to get from the general to the particular, how to pass beyond the age-long tradition that the University should prepare for everything in general and nothing in particular, without, on the other hand becoming narrowly technical and utilitarian. Sir William Ashley urged that there was plenty of scope for University training in commerce provided that principles were taught and powers of reasoning were developed. It was a mistake to overload the memory with unconnected facts or with details of office practice which could be picked up in a few days after the actual office work was begun. But it was good to teach accounting or the *rationale* of accounts and to give instruction on the subject of Commercial law. Modern languages should be taught with a view not merely to create ability to write a letter in a foreign language but to produce an intelligent appreciation of foreign conditions and opportunities. In general, the aim of the University ought to be to apply the humanistic spirit to utilitarian studies. The intelligent engineer will then cease to regard the labourers under him as mere machines and will avoid arousing the resentment of men who are acutely, and rightly, conscious of their own humanity.

In regard to the training of teachers, Prof. Adams of London referred to the fact that historically, one of the primary duties of Universities had been the preparation, if not the training, of teachers. As might have been expected however, he rather regretted that the Universities in old times had concentrated attention on *what* the students were to teach rather than on *how* they were to teach it. He seemed unconscious of the consideration that a good many people at the present day think that there is something excessively mechanical in the explicit training given and rather favour

the principle that a teacher is born and not made. Yet no one would have disputed his contention that in the training of teachers the University may come nearest to its ideal, because the material with which it deals is in itself cultural, and thus it is not compelled to depart seriously from the central aim of University education. One very practical point which arose for discussion in the course of the debate was the relation of the training colleges to the University. It was recognised that all teachers could not be expected to proceed to a University degree, and those who favoured a close relation with the University were inclined to pause before the consideration that such lower grade teachers might be overwhelmed in the general life of the University and lose their dignity and individuality. On the other hand the supporters of separate training colleges were slightly apprehensive of the dangers of narrowness and academic inbreeding.

The vexed question of University Finance next occupied the attention of the Congress, and all the University authorities had a tale of woe to unfold as regards the present situation. Everywhere demand was far in advance of supply, and neither fees nor Government grants nor the gifts of private donors seemed likely to yield a sufficient revenue. There was an almost universal agreement that fees could not be greatly increased, but there was a curious cleavage of opinion regarding the respective advantages of State aid and private donations. Canadian experience of State assistance had evidently been uniformly happy and there was a corresponding desire for nationalisation along with a certain amount of dread lest the private donor who paid the piper might also call for the tune. Sir Alfred Ewing on the other hand was more friendly to the private donor, and voiced the opinion of those who were apprehensive lest State aid might mean an excessive amount of State control.

The morning session of the concluding day of the Congress was occupied with the consideration of the place of research

in the Universities—how could the enlargement of knowledge be properly combined with the diffusion of it. The Congress was peculiarly fortunate in its chairman for this debate,—Lord Robert Cecil. He spoke of the twofold value of research in giving mental training and in increasing the knowledge of mankind. It was the one sure preventive against fossilization of the mind, and Oxford especially with its intense respect for tradition and its reputation as the home of lost causes might well give attention to it "not," as the chairman characteristically added, "that a lost cause is necessarily a wrong cause." Research is not only essential to the life of a University but promotes a world peace. One of the most disastrous results of the war had been the paralysing of research. Hundreds of scholars especially in Austria had been crippled in their resources and some of them had even lost their lives through starvation or had suffered grievously in health. There was thus much lee-way to make up, and urgent need to remember that research may promote the brotherhood of humanity, according to the truth of Einstein's saying that "there is no such thing as national learning." Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, urged the importance of research at second hand, *i.e.*, the proper use of materials which had been accumulated by others and the record of which ought to exist in a well equipped University library. He took occasion to emphasise the importance of the librarian's position and argued that he ought to have the same academic standing as the professors so that he might "stand up to them" and vindicate the claim of the library for existence and maintenance. Prof. Joly of Dublin entered again upon the conflict between the scientists and the classical men. He deprecated the compulsory study of dead languages as largely a waste of time and seriously prejudicial to the advancement of research which had never been more necessary than at the present time.

The important subject of periodical leave for professors and the interchange of professors and students occupied the attention of the Congress at the concluding session. In definite arrangements for periodical leave New South Wales seems to have gone further than any other country, and the results have been excellent, though we suspect that there must have been some searching of heart over the proposal to exclude lecturers and junior professors from the benefits of the arrangement. Indian delegates felt that in a less formal way, many of their Universities already enjoyed the benefits of this sabbatical leave both through the furlough system in vogue and through the efforts made in one University at least to give junior lecturers the advantages of study in foreign Universities. As regards the interchange of professors and students it was generally felt that there were great difficulties in the way of a professor's taking up duties in another University, however much any two Universities involved might benefit by the exchange. There was also agreement that there should be no interchange whatsoever of junior undergraduate students, and that only the very best students should be urged to go to the older Universities for post-graduate work. At the same time there was a strong consensus of opinion that sufficient facilities were not given for such students and that effort should be made to secure for them a definite advanced academic place in the home Universities and thus guard against the danger of their having to repeat work already done.

At this concluding session the thanks of the Congress were expressed to the University of Oxford for its most generous hospitality, Principal Herambachandra Maitra making special acknowledgment on behalf of the delegates from India. Thus came to an end a series of meetings which will ever remain in the memory of those who had the privilege of attending them. We are assured of the value of the Congress and look forward confidently to its rendering

even greater service at future meetings. The practical co-operation of the different Universities will without doubt have its reward. Of the journeyings of members of the present Congress to the other Universities of the United Kingdom it is unnecessary to speak. It is sufficient to say that everywhere a welcome was accorded to them which left absolutely nothing to be desired.

W. S. URQUHART



LITERARY, LINGUISTIC, AND OTHER SKETCHES

POLISH SKETCHES

I.—The Literature of Poland

(2)

Raduski's Home-coming

Raduski drove to the Hotel Imperial. He was shown into a room which was more chilly than a dog's kennel and the only redeeming feature of which was that through the window one could have a view of the church tower. Raduski put on his overcoat and went out. The day was verging into a grey night. The streets were empty, the shops were closed. A warm breeze traversed Lzawiec in various directions causing the blackened snow to melt and converting the lanes into ponds and swamps. Mist rose from roofs, walls, stables and heaps of rubbish. The streets were converted into streams of liquid mud. With a feeling of piety Raduski stood still in front of a courtyard enclosed on three sides by buildings. There it was where he had played with his school-fellows; he seemed yet to hear the joyous shouts of his companions and the patter of the feet, on the wooden gallery encircling the courtyard, of the girl scholars who lived there, twelve year old goddesses with long silky blond hair and wonderful dark-blue eyes. He continued wandering from street to street, from lane to lane, until finally he reached the outskirts of the town where the avenue of trees terminated. Still continuing to walk onwards, he suddenly heard quick steps behind him as well as sideways in the fields. Raduski stopped, turned round and tried to penetrate the darkness with his eyes, when he more felt than saw a tall man. "Gentleman," the new-comer asked, "where are you going?" Raduski, who had had

similar encounters before, realised that his interlocutor was a man of great strength. So he drew his revolver out of his pocket, cocked it and held it in front of him. "Where am I going?" he replied, turning his back towards the ditch. "What is that to you?" "If you have any money," the other said, "you better fork it out." Raduski answered: "Ah, that is what you want. Dare to come nearer and you will get a bullet through your head." "Vincent," another voice called out, "take him on." Raduski heard the whizzing sound of a stick and felt a violent pain in his neck. One of his arms grew stiff. A second blow fell on his hat, and thick fingers fastened on his throat. As he tore himself away, the velvet collar of his coat was left in somebody else's hands. He was just able to raise his revolver to fire twice. His assistants disappeared in the smoke and he could hear their footsteps as they fled across the fields. Raduski returned and when he reached the avenue of trees, he leant against one of them and sobbed: "This is the way you greet me!"

He managed to reach the suburb called Kamionka. Kamionka was inhabited by the poorest of the poor workmen, also by Jews whose income was the very minimum and by people whom it was impossible to classify. At the outskirts of Kamionka stood a large building, which was let out to small officials, who had the pleasure and advantage of being besprinkled with liquid manure from a stable whenever they went out for, or returned from a stroll. The part of Kamionka bordering on this building was a veritable miniature White-Chapel, cursed by people who possessed anything that could be stolen. Raduski passed a wooden cottage with a small verandah. Light streamed out of the windows of two rooms. "Here lived in former days Mrs. Wontrazker," thought Raduski. "She earned her livelihood by giving music lessons, a florin per hour. She may still be living here, the honest skin of her hands in gloves full of holes, her chief boast being that she once had seen the great Moniusko." Raduski looked

through the window of the room on the left. In this room he saw a girl standing in front of a kind of wash-tub. Farther at the back was a dirty fireplace and a few cooking-pots and plates. A sort of box serving as a bedstead coeered with a red rag stood in a corner; near the stove stood a pail supporting a board to do ironing on. A towel served as table-cloth, on which lay a small loaf of white-bread, a sausage, some eggs and a small piece of cheese, the table being ornamented with branchlets of a black-berry bush. For to-morrow is Easter Sunday! The girl might have been seventeen years of age; she was far from pretty with her snubnose and coarse large mouth. Her hair had probably not been combed for the last two months. Her lean breast was covered by a greasy jacket and her shoulder blades projected painfully below her dirty neck. "Shakespeare's Caliban in female garb!" murmured Raduski. "She is washing her only chemise in honour of Easter. Who can go about an Easter Sunday in a blackened chemise?"

Raduski wandered off to stop at another cottage. The windows were flush with the mud of the street and the steps leading into the cottage were dug into the same mud. The large room was divided up by thin screens into compartments. In one of them lay a person, man or woman, on a wooden bench. In another, near a stove, lay a married couple on a straw mattress beneath a torn cover, snoring peacefully. The couple even owned a chest of drawers; near the window, on a table, lay some loaves of white-bread, various kinds of sausages, cakes, and a flask of vodka. For to-morrow is Easter Sunday! In the back-ground sat an old man wielding hammer and chisel. His head was quite bald; eyes, lips and chin could not be seen as he bent over his work—a tiny tombstone. Wandering onwards Raduski spotted a small lighted window; the cottage was evidently of a second-hand iron-monger. Below the window, on a low stool, sat a boy in a cap of lambskin, trying to mend a boot the

upper leather of which had parted from the sole. Opposite this boy sat another, somewhat older, the naked left foot resting on a heap of boots of old leather. "The whole boot is rotten," remarked the youthful cobbler. "What is to be done with it?" "You go on and don't talk!" replied the older boy. "Why have you not come here earlier?" "Yes, you can well ask that question. Where was the money to come from? The manager told us to come for our wages at ten o'clock and then he made us wait for half an hour." "Have you to work hard in your shop?" "Work hard! you just try it." "I would not mind. I don't know when I was last out of this room." "You are always sitting on this stool? From where do you hail, Moshe?" "From the country." "Far from here?" "From a village, Niemrawe." This was Raduski's birth-place. "This is fine!" said the bigger boy. "Have you neither father nor mother?" "I have a father, but my father is rather stupid." "Stupid, you say?" "Yes, he has a stupid head. Sometimes he goes about without a shirt, and sometimes without his trousers." "Oh, a lunatic." "May be a lunatic. Why not?" "And what does your mother do?" "What can she do, such a mother? She trades a little, she works a little and she goes a begging. There is great misery in the house. There are brothers and sisters of mine; how many, I do not know; may be ten." "And is your master a relative of your mother?" "A distant relative. And now I sit on this stool mending boots for the last four years. O Simon, Simon!" And he let his hands sink on his knees. "Go on, why don't you work, Moshe?" "I am sleepy; I can't work any more." "But what nonsense!" "Simon, I can't, I can't work any more. I see only red spots before my eyes. Truly, I should willingly do your job. But I can't." "Here we are! To-morrow is high holiday, and you rascal have begun to mend the boot, and now you refuse to finish the job. I feel as if I could shoot you." "Simon, I tell you something. My

own boots are quite good, I shall lend them to you. Don't tell my master; I shall quietly sit with my shoes on, so he won't notice." "But the boots won't fit!" "Why should they not fit? They will be rather tight, but they will go on your feet. But you are sure you will return them?" "Why should I not return them? Show them to me!" "You may even go to church in them." "Oh yes, I want to go to church. I forgot all about it." "What is the matter?" "How can I go to church in your boots. You are a Jew." "What does it matter, if I am a Jew." "No, it won't do. It won't do to go to church in a Jew's boots. I might be struck blind during high mass." "Why should that be? The boots are not stolen." "Ah yes, it is true they are not stolen, but it is worse—they are Jewish. You see, a Catholic is a Catholic, there is no question about that. If you buy the boots, it is all right; then they become Catholic. But to go to church in Jewish boots! Oh no, that is impossible." "Well, that can be managed: You have some money; pay me some money and take the boots. We shall say, they are yours. After the festival, you return them, and I return you the money. But, please, return them. The master would cut my head off, if he found out."

Raduski went away. He passed the church, which was lighted up. He went in; the bells rang. Night-service had commenced. So ended the day of Raduski's home-coming.

His Friend, the Lawyer

Raduski had heard that a school-friend of his, Koszczyzki by name, had settled down in Lzawiec as a practising lawyer.

He, therefore, resolved to pay him a visit and was shown into the lawyer's office room.

"Do you propose to establish yourself in Lzawiec?" asked Koszczyzki. "Yes." "Then you will want to look out for something to do." "That is so." "Well," said Koszczyzki,

to tell you the truth, you should not have chosen this hole as the scene of your activities. You should have gone to Warszawa. Not even the most modest appointment is to be got here. "I have not come here to find an appointment. I am the possessor of a modest capital on which I should be able to live. But I am planning a little enterprise." "Oh, if you have some capital, you may be able to do business here. Of course, that depends on the amount of your capital. How have you made your money, little brother?" "Well, I have not earned it myself. Perhaps you remember an uncle of mine, when we were in school together. He sometimes presented me with a three rubel note and then confiscated it again. After I went to the University, he disinherited me but when he died, I discovered that by his will I was declared his sole heir. A matter of twenty thousand rubels."

"Well," said the lawyer, "with twenty thousand rubels you can do something even in Lzawiec. But come, I must introduce you to my wife." He drew Raduski into the large sitting room and disappeared into the next room to fetch his wife, a well-nourished, fair-haired, young damsel. She soon asked to be excused and the two men were left alone. Raduski asked his friend to tell him something of his past experiences, hoping that he was doing well. "Oh, I cannot complain," replied Koszczyzki; "I have married; my better-half brought with her a few thousand rubels, with which I was able to establish myself here. Now, here in Lzawiec, I have the honour of serving with my sage counsel what some people call the ill-smelling clientéle, nearly the whole of it. Well, when I first came here and established myself as a practising lawyer, I had my head full of youthful ideas, conscientious doubts, consideration of other people's feelings, sympathies and antipathies. The result was that my yearly income amounted to a few tens of rubels; I got head over ears into debt and began to despair. But the Lord watched over me. In the meantime I had kept my eyes open: I

employed some touts and I took what offered itself to me. Now it so happened that some Jew had had the misfortune of hastening the end of a brother in faith. The case made a noise; perhaps you have heard of it. The proofs were damaging. The wife of the Jew paid me a visit and implored my aid. I looked into the case and I managed it so cleverly that the beast got off scot-free. Since then, my door never closes." "Yes, you have done very well," remarked Raduski. "And how much do you earn in the year?" "Oh, three, four five..." "Thousand?" "You don't imagine Kopeks! Have you seen a two-storied building near the railway station? I am having that built. I should not advise you to imitate me. Collecting rent gives you lots of trouble." "And what about your colleagues, the other lawyers?" "Well, as long as I lived on conscientious scruples and went about with holes in my boots, I was treated by them with benevolent condescension. But after I had won the Jew's case, they pounced on me like tigers: calumnies, foul lies, openly exhibited contempt—all these fell to my share. Finally I was invited to a meeting of my confréres. I put on a clean shirt, a new tie and my black coat and went. The chairman of the meeting was the drunken sot Skurkiewicz. He, in the name of his colleagues, requested me to abandon my practice in the name of—'Ethics.' I knew that the swindler would hold forth on ethics, and he regaled me with a flood of high-sounding, highly moral, beautifully didactic phrases. Finally, I was permitted to say a few words in reply. I cited instances, mentioning the names of persons present at the meeting, quoting figures, sometimes pointing with my fingers at X, Y, or Z, giving dates, reciting little incidents, until at the moment the meeting was over my colleagues confessed that my character was without blemishes. Of course, the battle continues, but in secret. When we bite each other, we do it silently; when we tear each other's hair out, we do it in the depth of night. Well, wait, when I have amassed a fortune, they

will all come and lick my boots. Of course, I am considered to be a fallen angel, and I see from your face you share the same opinion. But mind, you kind of people, people like you, are a sort of busts or portraits. Some of my colleagues have at least faults, their portraits are at least painted in vivid colours but people like you are some kind of paper or linen of perhaps bronzen composition, without faults and without excellence. A common man is before everything a human being, a seeker of a bit of bread for himself and his children, an ant hurrying this way and that. A genius, on the other hand, produces enough for thousands to live on. You mediocre people never produce anything extraordinary. You try to look like second Aristotles or second Giordano Brunos, or the devil knows what else. Take for instance our friend, Kasick Laskoniec. He took on only cases embroidered with ethics and social justice. Guess, how much he earned in twelve months. A whole seventy-five Kopeks. He fed miserably, lived miserably, sneaked about in shoes full of holes. He began to suffer from stomach troubles and finally went off with his ethics to Father Abraham. You people with your grand phrases do only harm and make yourselves ridiculous. People like myself, look at things without a shadow of pessimism; we are like surgeons who dissect corpses to find out what was wrong with the organism of the dead man. Believe me, man is bad by nature, he is a born thief, murderer, perjurer, etc., etc. "Yes," interposed Raduski, "a crocodile!" "Quite so," continued Koszczyzki. "Take Hamlet. He was a patient and conscientious observer, one of those who crawl into the crater of a volcano to find out the secrets of nature. Well, you cannot imagine that a Hamlet can end in being an optimist. As a means of escaping that reptile, the human heart, he recommends: die! go to sleep! Now another investigator, infinitely superior to the Prince of Denmark, was Napoleon the Great. He knew the nature of the common herd and

he knew how to drive it along with his whip. There is nothing paradoxical in all this. I shall tell you a little story, quite an instructive little story. Perhaps you remember an old dyer, Miller by name, a German or Czech or what else. He sat all his life long in his miserable booth, wore a pair of trousers with big holes in the knees and scraped together penny after penny. Well, he died. No will, no family! Now, there live in this town some very clever birds. There is some sort of attorney, a true genius, Hilarius Kolpazki by name. The courts of law, on more than one occasion, have invited him to withdraw to a certain quiet, somewhat lonely place. But that is neither here nor there. He returns and starts business again. Now, after Miller's death, Hilarius, Mr. Kirschenbaum and Mr. Ponicdzialek meet in Gwazdzizki's inn, and next day there appears a relative of the defunct Miller, a small official of sorts. From wherever he came, he had a band of crape round the crown of his hat. With tears in his eyes he asked to be shown the place where his dear, dear uncle had lived and died. The tearful nephew and the two Jews formed a procession; Pan Kolpazki kept in the background. In the room of old Miller they found an iron bedstead, a straw mattress and a small table. And they had not long to search. There is a drawer, among rusty nails, lay the will, written in German, by which the whole of Miller's property was left to his dear nephew Miller of Lodz. Pan Kolpazki got drunk out of joy, the nephew went to court with the will and was empowered to draw the money—nearly hundred thousand rubels—from the bank. But no sooner the money was cashed, there arrived a letter from Breslau or some other place, announcing that in that place there lived the very widow of old Miller and threatened with proceedings to have the will declared null and void. Kolpazki proposes to the young fool to silence the woman, but, of course, that would cost money. How much? Only fifteen thousand rubels. The money is forthcoming and

Kolpazki pretends to be off. He does not re-appear for several months. In the meantime there appeared other relatives of old Miller who claimed a share in the money. Kolpazki returns and declares that the old woman is not willing to agree to a compromise. Of course, not a single Kopek of the fifteen thousand rubels was left. The so-called nephew was made to believe that things were not quite safe, and the company took leave and went off to Austria. The end was that all the four gentlemen were asked by some considerate judge to accept free board and lodging at an institution maintained by the State. "Now, my opinion is," concluded Koszczyzki, "that mankind consists largely of Millers, Kirschenbaums, Kolpazkis. To dream to be able to instil into these instinctive tendencies of blind human elements a drop of higher ideas means about as much as to blow on the sea to stop its ebbs and floods." Raduski looked at the lawyer in blank astonishment, rose from his seat, slapped Koszczyzki on his back, laughed and left the room, never to renew the acquaintance.

Raduski as Chief Editor

Raduski's ambition was to edit a paper which would spread useful information and raise the tone of provincial society. Lzawiec boasted a paper, "Lzawiec News," which counted one thousand subscribers, the annual subscription being five rubels. It was written as if the only subscribers were members of the highest nobility, although the editor granted the well-to-do bourgeoisie the privilege of existence and subscription to the paper. Provincial news were extracted from government reports, which procedure protected the editor from publishing accounts invented by imaginative reporters and saved him visits from inquisitive members of the police; news of ecclesiastical affairs were obtained in the anti-rooms of church dignitaries; to get the proper provision of political news, hands wielding scissors were busily occupied

on dailies published in Warsaw, and scandal and small-talk were carried by the basket-full by eager and obliging gentlemen and ladies and could be had for nothing. Thus the "Lzawiec News" was in a flourishing condition.

A concession to ruin a rival paper, the "Lzawiec Echo" had been secured by a small official, Okladzki by name, who could wield a sharp pen, but who had had to take some rest, as the papers did not pay its way, and who was now looking out, as he expressed it, for an enterprising and not very intelligent publisher, who would not be adverse to sinking a few thousand rubels in the enterprise. He thought he had discovered such a creature in Raduski and paid him a visit. Okladzki did not find in Raduski his ideal of a publisher; but they came to terms. The final agreement was that the tone of the "Lzawiec Echo" was to undergo a radical change; the paper was to have no particular party colour; all polemics with the "Lzawiec News" were to cease; the "Echo" was not to be inimical to the Government, but before everything it should contain information on Polish literature, the conditions of the common people, the productive activities of the manufacturing and mining industries and the agriculture and trade of the home-district. Instead of translations of inspired English novels, there were to be descriptive pictures, *á la* Heine, of the life of the people, of towns and villages, forests, roads, and fields. Sensational news and scandals were to be retailed only if they were of real interest and taught serious lessons. Okladzki accepted the offer, his monthly salary was to be ten rubels and he was to be at liberty to offer his pungent effusions to more enterprising and less fastidious publishers. Raduski discovered a sub-editor in Pan Grzybowiec, who had tried hard but not very successfully, to earn a livelihood by literary work. The following is an extract from the account our author gives of the first interview of Raduski with Grzybowiec at the latter's lodgings. Raduski had made an offer of a monthly salary of thirty-five rubels. Grzybowiec,

whose income had been considerably less and who was nearly moved to tears by Raduski's offer, called out to his wife who was in the next room. We now let the author continue his tale.

"Some noise was heard in the next room; a door opened and a young lady, quite a girl, entered; she was not exactly pretty and wore a thread-bare dress, but her whole appearance was sympathetic. She stood still and looked with an expression of curiosity at the visitor. Raduski rose and bowed. Grzybowiec introduced him to his wife and told her of Raduski's offer. He suddenly interrupted himself and seemed to think of something. As if having taken a sudden resolution, he turned to his visitor and said: "My wife is the daughter of a government official of this place. We too fell in love with each other whilst at school. She helped me whenever hunger looked me in the eyes." "Oh, Anton!" whispered the lady. "Wait, wait, all right." We engaged ourselves secretly. Her parents, who guessed something, were not at all favourably disposed, the less so, as my wife had refused some tempting offers. Finally a young professor of the college appeared on the scene. Papa and Mama were inclined to adopt strong measures! No wonder! Their house harboured a multitude of youthful offsprings. What was to be done? I sent the university to the devil and finally obtained a place which secured me the princely income of thirty rubels per month. The wedding took place accompanied by a flood of motherly tears and paternal thunder. A year later a little boy made his appearance—another problem. I earned a little extra by copying and my wife gave music lessons, fifty Kopeks per hour, rain or no rain, winter or no winter. Her health broke down. Oh, good Lord! The roof leaks like a water spout, worst near the bed. And because our rent was in arrears, the landlady refused to have the roof repaired. We used all the soup plates and cups and saucers and any other spare vessel to

catch the rain water. Notwithstanding all the precautions the rain came down like a shower bath right on our bed. The landlady took pity on us and lent us a tray meant to hold twenty-four glasses, a family souvenir, and beneath that tray my wife lay for days and days together." And then the young man explained to his wife what the new plans were. She sat stiffly upright, pressed her handkerchief against her mouth, and suddenly began to sob and tears streamed down her face. Raduski was beyond himself with pity and emotion, he rose to his feet, moved his hands in despair, bowed to various pieces of furniture and rushed out of the room. Raduski had gained a pair of devoted and helpful friends.

The "Lzawiec Echo" appeared at first to become a really successful enterprise. But soon the "Lzawiec News" changed its tone of hypocritical praise into active hostility; lying reports, evidently emanating from the editor of the rival paper and the unprincipled lawyer Koszczyzki, were circulated about Raduski's private life, and finally a tempting offer was made for the purpose of buying him out and inducing him to retire into obscurity. Raduski, although he had lost heavily, stoutly refused. He still believed in the final victory of the ray of light which was to dispel darkness. Whether his experiment was ultimately crowned with success or ended in failure, the author does not tell. The novel is full of other incidents depicting the life and sufferings of the people. The writings of a pessimist may sometimes be truer to life than those of a great romancer.

(To be continued)

P. Brühl

Reviews

Leone.—*A Play in seven acts of Italian Nationalism*? by K. Gaubas, (Pp. 64. Heath Cranton, Ltd., 6 Fleet Lane, London, E. C. 4, Price 4 *s.* 6 *d.* net.)

Anything that deals with national movements has a special appeal to Indians just at present. Mazzini has ever been a great inspirer of our efforts. This little book could be read through in a couple of hours and that would be time well spent. One imagines that one might almost read Punjab instead of Lombardy and substitute for the Italian names our Indian ones and there would be very little else to change either in the plot or in the words to apply it to our own land. The Baron Diable is the typical bureaucratic governor and the author has hit the right nail on the head when he has made the Baroness Marie even a greater tyrant and a more subtle one. Leone, the hero, the idol of Lombardy, is not easily identifiable in India. He is a composite blend of several of our national leaders. He savours of Mahatma Gandhi especially when he says:

> Under no circumstances are they (the people) to resort to any sort of violence, from morning till evening every front door must be shut, every shop closed, and every sort of amusement banned.

The way in which he issues his orders and his express stipulation that people should follow him unconditionally *if* he is to be their leader are also echoes of Gandhism.

We also get the title-hunters and flatterers of the Government and all their petty spite against the patriot and their underground machinations stand revealed in bold outlines. This incident, too, probably reflects some secret history of the Punjab.

The question about real Lombardy is set quite at rest when Andre, the special "strong man" deputed to crush out the people's aspirations gives his narrative of the manner in which he accomplished his task (he is talking to Leone):

> ANDRE. A crowd of five thousand did assemble yesterday, and I did my duty.
> LEONE. Did you know the crowd was on its way for a mass service at the cathedral?
> ANDRE. No.
> LEONE. Did you employ any means to find out?
> ANDRE. No, Sir, because it was open rebellion.

LEONE. Was the crowd disorderly?

ANDRE. No, but it was a crowd.

LEONE. Well, did you ask them to disperse?

ANDRE. Yes, but they did not, and I told my soldiers to open fire.

LEONE. How long was it between your arrival and the first shot?

ANDRE. Half a minute.

LEONE. How many were killed and wounded in the crowd, do you think?

ANDRE. Five hundred killed and two thousand wounded.

LEONE. How many women and children were killed?

ANDRE. I did not count them, but I should say about one hundred.

LEONE. Did you care for the wounded?

ANDRE. That was not my duty.

LEONE. Oh, I see. But one thing more I have to ask you. Could you not disperse the crowd without shooting them?

ANDRE. Yes, I think it was quite possible. I could have dispersed the crowd, but they would have reassembled and the people would have laughed at me and I should have looked a fool.

This last speech ought to have been in inverted commas. It is only after reading this dialogue that one understands why the author calls his work a "Book of Untruthful Truth."

I. J. S.

The Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth :—By Josiah C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.C., with a Preface by Viscount Haldane, F.R.S., K.T., O.M. (Pp. xi, 251. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, Price Rs. 3-8.)

We have been favoured with an advance copy of the first volume of the new venture of the Theosophical Publishing House, THE ASIAN LIBRARY. The prospectus of this series, which has also been forwarded, says,

Civilisation, considered only as material comfort and physical organisation, has failed. Deeper vision and a truer ideal is sought for, and it is felt that in the Genius of Asia, especially as it is expressed in the culture of India that has lasted through the rise and fall of Empires, there may be found the secret of happiness

This Asian Library is, therefore,

designed for the twofold purpose of rediscovering to Indians the extent and glory of the culture for which they are responsible, and to the level of which they must rise; and of giving to the world at large a knowledge of that culture and of the elements in it which make for the regeneration and permanent elevation of humanity.

This is a noble ideal worthy of the Theosophical movement and the great leader that is guiding it at present. If all the books promised in this series are to be of the same high standard and are inspired by the same

ideals as this first volume is then we may safely venture to prophesy that the object of THE ASIAN LIBRARY shall be achieved.

Both the writer of this little volume and the writer of the preface are well known in India as among the best friends of our land. They are both earnest workers who desire a widening out and purification of the old fashioned flag-waving patriotism of Western nations. This same fervour when purified and widened would lead to the "League of Nations" and ultimately to "Universal Brotherhood." Col. Wedgwood indicates the first step in this direction. There is a good bit of the world which now comprises the British Empire. There is variety enough of peoples, aspirations, interests, and cultures in it to furnish material for working out a common basis on which a "League of Nations" should stand. Just at present these varied peoples and lands are united under the political domination of the Union Jack. This is a unique opportunity for the British people to make their Empire a commonwealth of free nations. America, bound close to England by ties of common interests, common culture and common language, would easily come into such league and this commonwealth would become in the future the true parent of the "parliament of man and federation of the world" which our dreamers have dreamt of.

But Col. Wedgwood is not merely a dreamer. He is a man of action and he indicates clearly how the first practical steps are to be taken to construct a true Indo-British commonwealth broad-based on perfect equality of all the component parts. He says:

> When I called this book THE FUTURE OF THE INDO-BRITISH COMMONWEALTH it was because any world-union, built upon these free lines, must bring in Asia or it would inevitably fail, and deserve to fail. ..The Non-Co-operation of India takes away the key-stone of the arch. We need Asia In Asia is the danger to peace. The real danger is, in my opinion, so great that for safety, as well as for justice and world-peace, India must come in quickly.

These words tell us clearly and without any extra embellishment the exact motive of this remarkable book. He begins by reviewing the position of Britain and America after the war. He judges, and rightly judges, that Britain stands higher to-day than any other of the "Great Powers" in strength and in credit. Then he outlines the position of America equally strong and bound to Britain by so many ties of the past. He thinks that these two—the English-speaking races—should take the lead in the League of Nations and should lead the war-distracted world to a lasting peace. He then carefully examines the obstacles to the formation of a Commonwealth of free nations under three main headings—insolence, selfishness and ignorance. Next he pictures the British citizenship as it ought

to be and he tells us what he understands by the term "responsible dominions."

So far the book is an outline of the author's political philosophy and the following chapters are the practical application of it to those parts of the British Empire which have not yet attained Self-Government. His analysis of the situation is very clear. It reveals the heart of a knight-errant of old always ready to stand up for the weak and the oppressed. His two chapters on "India the Danger" and "India Freed" are very interesting and to the point. Another chapter of intense interest to us at the present moment is on "the Muslim World."

The language of the book is terse and forcible "for he is expressing deep-seated faith" (as Lord Haldane has put it). The Colonel does not mince his words and though occasionally not exactly "elegant" his expressions are "genuinely arresting." A few samples may serve to whet the appetite of the intending reader of the book:

> But it (British Empire) was an Empire only of White co-operation.
>
> Common nonsense is a surer lie than common sense. The fool's cap unites better than a crown.
>
> What some call grab and others, the white man's burden.
>
> A State is best defended by the free-spirit of its citizens.
>
> And how nervous they (the "loyal" Indians) are, running about like a hen after her chickens, and making plaintive hesitating noises to the Government.
>
> What they (Indians) want is to have a direct voice in the stages towards Self-Government—a treaty not a gift.
>
> No series of Viceregal Circulars will induce him to compromise himself, particularly in the eyes of his wife, by treating a 'subject' as though he were a British Citizen.

But it would be better that every one interested in India would try to get this book and read it for himself. It stimulates thought and the extremist as well as the moderate would profit by reading and inwardly digesting this book.

POST-GRADUATE

Acknowledged with thanks—The *Mysore University Magazine* (July), the *Indian Review* (September), the *Hindustan Review* (October), the *Indian Antiquary* (October), the *London Quarterly Review* (October), the *Labour Leader* (weekly), the *Motherland* (weekly), the *Commercial Advertiser* (weekly), *Annual Report on the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust*, *Kormi* (Vernacular monthly), *Sekendar Shah* (Bengali Drama), *Karmaphal* (Bengali Novel), *Bengal Agricultural Journal* (March) and various Government publications.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1921

THE MESSAGE OF RABINDRANATH

A great deal has been written in the newspapers and magazines regarding the exact significance of Dr. Tagore's recent utterances. But while a rather voluminous literature has gathered round the subject, very little has been said and written that is really satisfying. The reason is, that people are bewildered by the variety and importance of the issues raised. While the poet looks upon the issues as one complete whole, his readers and listeners take a fragmentary view and are completely lost in the variety of shapes and colours of the fragments. The issues in their isolation are no doubt a *rudis indigestaque moles*, but in their totality, they represent a harmonious, homogeneous whole.

To understand the poet's message, we have to keep carefully before us his fundamental standpoint, the standpoint, namely, of the complete man, *humanity in its totality*. It is a *Totalitätsdenken* which he has been advocating all his life and if we miss this point we miss the whole of his teaching. Rabindranath has always stood for the whole man, the human being in the totality of his qualities and functions. He won't have the fruits only, but he will have the whole tree, root, branch and all. What he

deprecates is the fragmentary view which looks upon only one aspect of humanity, ignoring the rest.

For this reason, when he talks of politics, he cannot ignore the social and cultural questions which are indissolubly bound up with politics. If it is education that he is discussing, he cannot forget the political questions that are raised by it. It is a total misconception of his teaching to say that he stands for the West. He stands neither for the West nor for the East, nor even for a mixture of the two, though perhaps such a mixture comes nearest to his doctrine of the complete man. Some light he gets from the West, some from the East, some he gets even from the North, and his genius brings all this varied light to a focus. This focus is समवज्ञानम्, as opposed to the खण्डज्ञानम् of the isolated rays.

Rabindranath's whole philosophy can be summed up in the one word "complete man," as Nietzsche's can be done by the one word "over-man," and Chamberlain's by the one word "over-race." The idea of the "complete man" implies not only the perfect realisation of all the latent faculties of man but also the perception of his oneness with his fellow beings. For this reason, the poet has said in an essay entitled, *The Day of the Festival*: "On the day of the festival, man is great because of his union with fellow-men, he is great in the realisation of the strength of the entire mankind." Isolation, therefore, in whatever form it may appear, is repugnant to the poet. When we live in isolation, we lose sight of truth, it is only when we feel the universe throbbing in our veins, that we have access to truth. "In isolation," says the poet, "is ugliness, in the One is beauty; in isolation is effort, peace dwells in the One; in isolation is discord, in the One is well-being."

It is clear, therefore, that the poet can have no sympathy with any doctrine which preaches isolation in any form. All water-tight compartments, whether in education, culture or politics, are alike repugnant to him. He has no patience

with those who like to see humanity divided into a number of mutually exclusive cultural zones. What he wants is humanity in its totality and not the crippled, mutilated humanity which emerges out of the innumerable religious and cultural divisions.

From what we have said above, it is clear that no education can be complete for a human being, if it gives only those ideas which we are pleased to call Eastern, any more than if it gives only those, which are dubbed Western. The whole wealth of knowledge and experience that mankind has acquired through centuries of toil and suffering must be placed at the disposal of the scholar if we want to train him properly. For the scholar, being a human being, is entitled to the *total human culture* and it won't do if we serve him with miserly doses of the world-culture, calling these Eastern or Western. It is therefore, a fundamental mistake to impart an education that is purely Oriental or purely Occidental.

Moreover, no truth can be called purely Oriental or purely Occidental. Truth is an undivided whole. We cannot partition it off into two compartments, calling one Eastern and the other Western. Truth is a continuously developing whole and its state at any point depends upon all the previous states. Modern Science is said to be a Western product but it rests in no small degree upon the mathematical researches of the Indian scholars which were transmitted to the West through the contact of Greece with India and later, through the Arabian mathematicians. India, too, has at all periods, absorbed whatever she found useful in Western culture. It is impossible therefore to say what is specifically Eastern or Western in any given culture.

It is only for the sake of convenience that we divide human culture into Eastern and Western. Certain ideas have dominated mankind in particular areas in particular periods and these historians, for convenience of classification, have designated by such names as Semitic, Hellenic, etc. But

Semitic ideas have ruled Hellenic ones and *vice versa*, and therefore these classificatory signs should never be allowed to rank as fundamental divisions of mankind. The moment we forget that they are mere convenient symbols, we split up humanity and divide it into water-tight compartments.

It is against this division into water-tight compartments that Rabindranath has fought and is still fighting with all the energy he can command. For this reason he cannot march with those ardent patriots who would avoid everything Western. There is no meaning, says Rabindranath, in refusing to profit by the results of Modern Science on the ground that it is Western. For Science is the common property of the whole human race and is no more Western than it is Eastern. Moreover, to shut ourselves up from the light which Science sheds will be to imitate the folly of the Tibetan monks who spend their whole lives in dark cells, completely shut out from the world. The inevitable result of such a folly will be to cripple our manhood, to make us less efficient than before for the struggle for existence. For if all the other nations of the world take the fullest advantage of the progress of Science, we shall simply be crushed out of existence if we refuse to take her help.

This, in brief, is Rabindranath's protest against the present Non-Co-operation Movement. If the present foreign Government is bad, if it is crippling our manhood, by all means non-co-operate with it. But why abandon Science, why shut out all culture which is the common heritage of mankind? The folly is on a par with that of the man who, as a Bengali proverb says, strikes his wife in retaliation for the injuries he receives from others. If an unsympathetic foreign administration is choking our manhood, there is all the more reason why we should make ourselves strong by utilising to the full the immense resources of Modern Science. If, owing to the apathy of an alien Government, foreign manufactures are driving our native products out of our

markets, we cannot remedy this evil by simply taking recourse to the *charka*, though the *charka* may be a useful instrument, if used in conjunction with power looms and power spindles. Boycott is no doubt a useful weapon but it alone cannot save us. What is needed is to produce in our own country the manufactures which we are importing from abroad and this can only be done by an enormous increase in the loom and spindle power of our mills with the help of Modern Science.

It is a pity the poet's points of divergence from Mahatma Gandhi have been more emphasised in his recent utterances than his points of union. His points of union with the Mahatma are many and various. Both are animated by the same ardent patriotism, by the same intolerance of wrong. Both are actuated by the same burning desire to restore their country to her last glories, by the same contempt for personal gain or loss. In their methods, too, they are not so divergent as people generally imagine. There is reason to believe that Rabindranath would have whole-heartedly supported Mahatma Gandhi if the latter had confined his movement within the limits of politics. Rabindranath was the first to give up his Knighthood as a protest against the Punjab wrongs. The letter which he wrote on the occasion of this renunciation of his title is perhaps the most valuable document that the Non-Co-operator possesses, for the grounds of Non-Co-operation are nowhere stated more clearly and vigorously.

But Rabindranath cannot see eye to eye with those who would like to have the principle of Non-Co-operation extended to other fields, particularly, to Science and Culture. Non-Co-operation here is the greatest folly that a nation can commit. Non-co-operate by all means with what is unrighteous, but it is a criminal folly to non-co-operate with Science and Philosophy. Such Non-Co-operation is suicidal. It perpetuates subjection, for subjection is born of weakness

and weakness, cannot be overcome except by flooding life with the light of Science and Philosophy.

It may be argued that the leaders of the Non-Co-operation Movement understand all this perfectly and that they preach the boycott of Science as only a temporary measure, to be abandoned when the country will attain Swaraj. But when a measure is fundamentally wrong, it cannot be accepted even as a temporary one. If a thing is intrinsically wrong, it makes little difference whether it is accepted for a long or for a short period. The mischief which it does to the character of an individual or of a nation is almost the same in both the cases.

To this question of a temporary suspension of Science, and indeed, all ordinary activities, Mahatma Gandhi has returned in an article which he has recently contributed to the "Young India" which is a reply to the charges brought by the poet against him and the Non-Co-operation Movement. The Mahatma says that during the late war, in each of the belligerent countries, the poet had to give up his lyre, the writer his pen and everybody his profession, in order to attend to the call of the country. Similarly, India is at present passing through a crisis and everybody has to give up all his other work and devote himself solely to the cause of his country. When fire breaks out, we have to stop all work and rush out of our house. Without pretending to guess in any way the poet's reply to this argument, it may be said that it is based upon false premises. The question is not whether or not our energies are to be concentrated upon saving our country. The whole question is, what is the best way of saving the country? Who knows but that the very Science which it is proposed to boycott is our best ally in our struggle to win Swaraj? If it is, then instead of shutting up our laboratories, we should rather open new ones wherever possible. Who knows but that the much-despised poet may be the very person we are in search of, to kindle

our patriotism. Moreover, the illustration of the fire does not seem to be a happy one. When fire breaks out, one has not only to leave the house but also to throw bucketfuls of water, and better still, use pumps and all the elaborate machinery of Fire Brigades. We may very well look upon scientific education as throwing these bucketfuls of water or calling in the aid of the Fire Brigade. The important thing to remember here is that Swaraj is a very complex thing, requiring for its attainment a most elaborate machinery. All the arts that mankind has up to now cultivated, all the sciences that human intelligence has discovered, will have to be brought into requisition to perfect the machinery of Swaraj. If Swaraj is therefore to be called a war, it is the war of the Spirit against Matter. Its munitions are the entire spiritual resources of humanity—all the love for truth which Science and Philosophy have engendered, all the wealth of devotion and renunciation which Religion has called into being. For the collection of such munitions, we require the fullest expression of our manhood, the most complete realisation of our humanity.

No boycott of Science and Culture can, therefore, be justified, even as a temporary measure. If Science and Culture are needed for the development of our manhood, the need for them will be all the greater when we try by heroic methods to rush the pace of development. If Swaraj is to be attained within a year, the pace will have to be very much accelerated and this can only be done by giving a tremendous push to Science and Culture.

But Rabindranath does not believe that Swaraj can in any case be won within a year. It is a fundamental delusion, he says, to suppose that Swaraj can be won without rendering ourselves fit for it by a long process of education. Those who hold out hopes of a cheap and speedy Swaraj are, says the poet, like the musician who, when asked by his pupil to make a harp for him, says that he has only

to beat a string with a rod and it will become a harp in no time.

Indeed, Swaraj is to be looked upon as the crown of a completed and perfected humanity. It is the final stage in the process of development of our manhood.

The angels said in Goethe's "Faust":—

Wer immer strebend sich bemüht
Den dürfen wir erlösen

Likewise, Swaraj is to be conceived as the culminating point of a toilsome process of self-realisation. It is to be remembered that no nation has yet achieved Swaraj, "for in every country there is lurking some greed or illusion which perpetuates bondage." If, therefore, we want to obtain that which no nation has yet been able to obtain, we must in every sense be superior to the rest of mankind.

To conclude, the ideal which the poet holds before us is the complete man, humanity in its totality. He asks us to remember that we are **अमृतस्य पुत्राः**, that whatever is narrow or one-sided is to be rejected as leading to death. In testing any political or social doctrine, we shall have to examine whether it leads from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to the deathless. If it does not do this, then, however great the authority behind it, we have to reject it as being no principle for us. Politics divorced from Science, Science divorced from Philosophy, can therefore never serve as a guiding principle of life. It is a crippled, mutilated humanity which we obtain when we accept the East divorced from the West, or the West divested of the light from the East. We have always to bear in mind the words of our immortal Rishis:—

असतो मा सद्गमय, तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय, मृत्योर्मा अमृतं गमय।

SHISHIRKUMAR MAITRA

'NEATH THE MIDNIGHT SKY

Softly I walk 'neath the midnight sky,
Earnestly casting my eyes on high;
Silently glowing, the stars look down,
Watching the river, the valley, the town.

Puzzled, I ponder on problems old,
Asking the stars for the secrets they hold;
Wisely the stars with their golden light
Flicker, but answer me not from their height.

Naught do they tell of their circuits free,
Naught of the worlds that my eyes would see;
Naught do they tell me of whence I came,
Naught of what follows my short-lived flame.

Yet how enraptured I wander alone,
Watching the stars after daylight has flown,
Stars that were there when the earth was made,
Candles that glimmer but never fade.

WAYNE GARD

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

III

The vainest woman that ever looked in a glass never regretted her youth more keenly than I.....she has her portrait painted; I write these confessions; each hopes to save something of the past, and escape somehow the ravining waves of time and float into some haven of remembrance.

—*George Moore.*

Wherefore, O Heart of mine, art thou disquieted?
Why vex thyself so very needlessly
With this old so-called Riddle of Life and Death?
Life springeth but from Life—it *cannot* die!
Though, Proteus-like, it changeth. *Verbum sat!*
Yet look to it that every metamorphosis
Results in something worthier, ev'n of thee.
Meanwhile—Ho! Sāqi, bring me my Lute, and Wine;
For soon—too soon, alas!—cometh the End,
When we must render back our emptied Cup,
Gird us again, and so betake us hence.
Hence!—aye, but whither? To some other life—
Doubtless more complex—better, too, we trust!

*

I dreamed a dream of days gone by—a time when Light and Love shone bright; when no Discord marred Life's sweet song, and no Strife perturbed, no Malice poisoned, Love's pellucid stream; when Life was one divine harmony of Peace, of Love, of Innocence unsoiled. It was simply of my Childhood that I dreamed!

*

I am Liberty—man's loftiest conception, his dearest, his most coveted possession!

Many are my wounds—for mighty was the Foe in the long, sad past;

Encarnadined my Blade—for hydra-headed were the Dragons that it slew.

I am Honourable Pride—Tyranny's implacable opponent!

I rescue Thought from Bondage; I strike from every limb the galling shackles of Despotism;

In *all* I recognize the Sovereign Power—its burdens and its privileges;

I set no degrading value on Colour, Caste, or Creed;

I brook no hateful distinctions between man and man.

Mine is the Sword that smites the Wrong; mine the Shield that protects the Right;

Mine the Light that is freely outpoured everywhere, that irradiates every sky, that shines for all.

On the West I have already shed my Glory—long hath it enjoyed my Gifts;

To-day I shoot forth my Beams Eastward; Darkness, Chaos, and Trouble are already preparing to take flight;

Soon, like the morning mist, they will disappear, and give place, let us hope, to Refulgence, Beauty, and Joy!

Equality and Enlightenment are my Flower and Fruit;

Love is my Crown!

*

Bathed in tears and transported with joy, the Lover exclaimed: Is there aught in heaven to compare with—certainly there can be nothing to excel—Love's intoxicating rapture, Love's enchanting dream?

*

A woman's eye—what witchery, what caress, what passion, what charm, what poetry, what happiness lie therein! How it agitates, captivates, dominates us! How can man resist, when even the Gods succumb?

*

What Moses saw on Mount Sinai is but hidden in thy heart. Thou would'st see much nearer home if only thou had'st eyes to see.

*

Heaven is on thy lips; joy eternal in thine eyes; bliss supreme in thy caress; the fate of man in thy hands. Gold, jewels, flowers—all that is fair and lovely on earth—all, all is thine! But far, far above all things earthly, thine, thine is that unassessable, priceless treasure—the heart of man!

*

I kiss the hem of thy garment, O Night, I worship thee and adore. Thou only can'st take me to the barred apartments where my Beloved dwells, and thou alone can'st restore her to my arms. For is there aught that can check or hinder the flight of thought in Dreamland?

*

No meagre cup can satisfy the wine-bibber. So no distant vision will ever slake the thirst of lovers.

*

I believe not in prospective earthly pleasures, nor in those joys that await the faithful in the world to come. Not for shadowy, far-off hopes such as these would I forego the brimming cup, the loving kiss, that cheer life's weary way.

*

Ah! the unsatisfied longings of the soul! the stifled yearnings of the heart! How plentiful they are! Was this thy promise, O Life? How hast thou belied it! How grievously hast thou deceived!

*

The gods smile—beware of them—those envious, mocking gods—who ever love to see us set on thorns, or plunged in woe.

*

Crumpled, shrivelled, wilted, the Rose sighed and said: Once a Queen of Faerie was I, streaming with gold, resplendent with gems, loved and honoured by all. Then into a Rose was I transformed. Love's ineffable token, worn on an immaculate bosom, as fragrant as myself, scanned by adoring eyes, rocked by gentlest breathings! Lovely was I but luckless; sweet was I, but fragile -too fragile alas—to survive my glory, my honoured place, even for one brief day! And now here I lie, in a dust-heap, discarded and forlorn!—I who was Once a Fairy Queen, anon Love's sweet, tender pledge. And *now*? What grief or joy will *next* be mine? Ah! what a gamble is existence!

*

Dost thou really love me? asked the Lover. Or is it mere make-believe? For what are promises, vows, endearments, without truth and constancy?

*

Treasure Love's secret, Sweet; for they are Love's choicest flowers in Love's flowery way. Treasure Love's secret, Sweet, for they are an inexhaustible fount of joy.

*

No lute or lyre now charms the ear; no cheerful voices resound; no banquet regales, where thou and I so often met of yore. Swept by the wild world's tide, they are gone, for ever gone! Sorrow-stricken, long weaned from hope, nothing now illumines my gloom.

*

We speak of "thou and I"—what idle talk! "Thou and I" exist but a moment—the moment that spans two eternities—and then "thou and I" are lost in an unimaginable unity of love and light.

*

Was it all a dream I dreamed, or a fairy-tale that I was told? sighed the Nightingale, when the Spring was gone and its smiling sun had set.

*

Look into thy heart, and see the vision of loveliness,—sweeter far than that of bud and blossom and bloom; look into thy heart and see the strength that giveth thy peers earth's fairest, laurelled crown. Though numbered be thy days, and sorrow be thy lot—yet what infinite possibilities are thine—thou that hast "all hope for harvest, all heaven for flight."

*

A thousand vanished images haunt the mind; a thousand joys rise from the dead; a thousand unfulfilled desires trouble the soul—when memory carries us back to the days that are no more.

*

Many sorrows have I, said the Lover, each enough to sting, to smite, to shatter the soul. Shall I hide them away, or shall I make them into a necklace for some sad Queen of Hearts? What would'st thou have me do; tell me, O Sāqi, what?

*

Give me once again, if for one moment only—great gods, give me but once again—Youth's unconquered hope, Love's bright, untarnished glow.

*

A tear or two—and, again, forward! The Caravan of Life hath no time for more. Thus on and on do we trudge, until Light faileth and Night enfoldeth us for ever more.

*

Neither a flower, nor a fruit, nor a sheltering tree! What place is mine in life's scheme? What purpose in the world's show? Thus sighed a weary way-farer plodding along his lonely path.

What ails thee, O Sāqi, what makes thee sigh and weep? Doth not the brimming cup enliven and the festive board cheer thy heart? Doth not this merry talk delight thee? Do not these sweet-scented flowers redouble thy joy? Doth not the Spring stir emotions within thee? Do the moon-beams kiss thine eyes for naught? What can it be that makes thee so sad? His answer was: I see tears lurking beneath thy laughter; I see discontent common alike to youth and age; I see that happiness is a prize beyond the reach of man. 'Tis this that makes me sigh; 'tis this that makes me weep.

*

We start, we shudder, at the thought of Death;
Yet, at the least, Death bringeth Rest and Peace.
Why, then, O Sāqi, need we dread the Power
That sets a period thus to all our Woes?
What were this Earth-life, did it know no Death?—
Struggle unending; Pain perpetual:
Fetters, once fixed, never to be removed;
Evil triumphant; Sorrows ineffable!
Thus, said the Sāqi, in reality
Death is maligned; his is a kindly *rôle*.
'Tis not the actual, 'tis the fancied fears
That rack the soul of every Son of Man.
So hath it been, since Cycles first began;
So shall it be, when Time itself hath ceased;
So 'twill remain, till Mortals, merged for e'er
In Immortality, behold in so-called Death
Naught but the Portal to Eternal Life!

I see thee bowed in solemn devotion: I see thee lift thy hands in holy awe;
Thy heart is overflowing with fervent, silent prayer;
In unbroken meditation (*Zikr*) thou sittest out the night;
Thou offerest goodly gifts, and sheddest burning tears!

But do the Heavens for such things e'er relent?
Do the blind Fates one moment stay their hand?
Doth Death turn by one hair's-breadth from his course?
Ah no! What is to be will be—despite the gifts, the prayers, the tears, even the repentance of the Son of Man.
Go, wash thy piety in wine, and drown thy grief in song!

*

Bring some message of hope, Love; for life's bitter burden weareth me away! Bring some kindly light, Love; for all too quickly twilight giveth place to gloom!

*

Imagination! God's greatest gift to man! It buildeth heaven; it fashioneth ideals; it encircleth love with glory; it restoreth the vanished world of man. Boundless is its power, its kingdom without end!

*

How sweet to know thy love is mine! How sweet to feel thy arm about me thus! Would I defer this joy divine, and trust to time and chance?

*

Fill full the cup! For love's banquet is lovelier than the loveliest of dreams! Fill full the cup! For love's joys are sweeter than all the sweetest joys that Earth can yield.

*

Come to the garden, Love, and drink with me Life's choicest wine. Thy beauty will put the lilies and roses to shame; thy whisperings, even the nightingale.

*

We linger on from day to day—hoping, yearning, battling, praying unto the last. And yet, withal—naught see we but impenetrable gloom around us, naught hear we but Jove's thunder above!

*

If youth and bloom and all Earth's good things flee—be it so. We shall hold their memory dear, and, with the passing

years, 'twill even grow dearer. That, at least, is ours—and ever will be ours—ours to feast on, ours to cherish, ours to cheer us along life's dim-lit path.

*

In this house of ever-changing visitors, of ever-shifting scenes, I too have dreamed my dreams, I too have lived my days. Blissful were those days, and radiant those dreams. But, now that the dreams are fled, the days gone, and this sweet visit nearing its end, naught but illusion confronts me—naught but illusion all.

In vain, O Sun, dost thou burst through the clouds; in vain dost thou seek to reveal thy splendour. Henceforth, for me, no sun will ever rise, no light ever shine. My longing gaze will ever long—my yearning heart will ever yearn—in vain.

*

Life—this prison of our own choosing! Wisdom looks at it with mingled scorn and pity; pity for its jewelled sorrows, scorn for its gilded chains.

*

Let me kiss thy tresses, and with thy dimples let me play: for ineffably sweet is life with the loved one nigh. Love may live or Love may die; but this none can doubt, that sweet—passing sweet—is Love's roseate dawn.

*

In this valley of ever-deepening gloom we cry for light, and never cease to cry; but light cometh not, cry as we will.

*

Ah, Love's first sweet, impassioned kiss! It thrilleth the heart with joys before unknown; it filleth the mind with visions unutterable; it sealeth Love's mutual pledge of love; it bindeth two enraptured souls with a divinely fashioned chain of gloriously linked and unspeakable bliss!

Ah, that first timid touch of the priceless chalice of Love! Ah, that first intoxicating draught of the nectar of the gods! The first kiss of Love! Its initial uncertainty—then the moment when all uncertainty vanisheth in mutual surrender, in reciprocal rapture! Even when youth has fled down the mist-wrapped aisles of the past; even then, never can its memory fade!

*

What! Back again, and so gaily?—shedding light and lustre as of yore. But what is there now for thee to take, thou who hast already stolen all that there was to steal—this little heart of mine?

*

What matters it, whether sad or happy be our lot? What matters it, whether short or long be our day? What matters, what avails? Are we not all too soon but dust and ashes, out of sight, out of reach, beyond mortal weal and woe?

*

In the radiant cloudland of Love, sighed the Lover, no speed is swift enough for Love's pulsing, hungry heart; no speed, forsooth, is swift enough; for Love knoweth no patience, nor doth it brook delay.

*

The crescent moon; the star-lit sky; the gentle, fragrant breeze; the silvery gliding stream—where heaven and earth are in perfect, loving accord; here alone are we to-night, thou and I! Kiss me, Love, for Time is on the wing, and Night is fast slipping away.

*

Spring hath come, and will always come, setting the Earth ablaze with blossom and bloom, thrilling the heart of youth with passions sweet, and intoxicating it with golden dreams. But for us, weary travellers, worn with age, it hath one solemn message, and only one: all on earth is fleeting—all must vanish, all must go!

These pleading eyes plead with Fate in vain! This suffering heart, weighted with life's crushing load, seeks relief, but alas and alas.....! The beckoning hand inviteth to naught but death and the darkness of the tomb.

*

Those dews that gleam and glisten—too delicate to outlive the dawn—are they not tearful heralds that proclaim the brevity of existence, our sad mortality?

*

Unrequited love! Unseen, it bears the martyr's cross; unseen, it wears the martyr's crown.

*

Why set thy heart on things that pass and never can be thine? All this pomp and power, all this wealth and glory: they are mere illusion, distractions which lure us away from reality; snares which ensure our fall. Flee from their influence, flee if thou would'st be what thou wert meant to be.

*

Death?....Ay, upon this fair Earth we know him well!
Somewhere on every path he waits—even for us.
None may evade that meeting. Nay, since Life
Can never cease, Death should be even welcome;
For think! The sooner that he greeteth us,
By so much sooner do we enter on
Our next all-glorious Youth—its gift divine,
A Body better suited to the needs
Of our abounding life. Yet happiest he
Whom the Great Reaper, when he cometh, finds
Battling, however humbly, for the Right.
To him be Homage paid, the Anthem raised;
For him the Palm, the wreath-deck'd Cenotaph;
Indelibly inscribed on the bright Honour-Roll
Of the World's Deathless Army, lo, his name
Liveth for ever in the hearts of all!

S. Khuda Bukhsh

HIGHER TEACHING IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The University of Calcutta signifies to-day something totally different from what it meant in the 19th century or practically in the first five decades of its eventful career. Since its creation right up to the first decade of the present century this University followed the old 'traditional' lines. From its foundation in 1857—in pursuance of the recommendations contained in the celebrated Despatch of 1854—the University continued its slender growth as an independent corporation quite distinct from the Colleges which imparted teaching to the alumni of the University. The University was, therefore, meant primarily as an examining body. It granted and withheld the 'license' or affiliation to the Colleges, prescribed the necessary curricula, laid down rules for the presentation of candidates at the several examinations and finally conducted these examinations. The policy of the London University was at that time accepted as "the final word of educational statesmanship."

The Calcutta University, it cannot but be admitted if the truth is to be told, was not then a place of learning. It was not really a corporation of scholars. There was no happy comradeship among men who had devoted their lives to the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of learning. It was chiefly due to two reasons. There was no synthesis between the colleges and the University. And the teachers as such had no recognised position of their own in the University. The University was practically a group of administrative boards, dictating the courses and conducting the examinations without consulting the colleges or the teachers. The University stood in a position of proud isolation—neither contributing to, nor strengthening the intellectual

resources of the ill-equipped colleges, or the mental equipment of the students. The teachers upon whom devolved the task of training men for life had little control over the colleges or the organisation of examinations in the University.

With the expansion of University education the need was felt for more and more devolution of educational control both to enlist public sympathy and foster local activity. The colleges, much against their will, had to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of post-graduate instruction, as the desire for it steadily grew. There was still the same lack of co-ordination between the University and the colleges—the same defective supervision by the University—the same neglect of the teachers both in the spheres of instruction and examination.

In 1904 was passed the Indian Universities Act. And the old order changed yielding place to new. There could be no college after 1904 which would impart post-graduate instructions without previous affiliation to the M.A. standard. Before 1904 there was practically not a single college which had been affiliated to the standard of the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University. The old regulations did not insist upon proper instructions being imparted to the M.A. candidates, and most of the colleges had neither the staff nor the resources to provide adequate instruction in any department of post-graduate teaching. Only a few colleges sent up candidates. But no regular classes were held, no regular staff appointed, no teaching or tutorial facilities systematically afforded to the students even in those colleges. This unsatisfactory state of things was put an end to by the Indian Universities Act, 1904, which ushered in a new era in the history of higher teaching in the Indian Universities.

Section 3 of the Indian Universities Act authorises the University to appoint Professors and Lecturers for the instruction of students and made the promotion of study

and research an essential function of the University, and Chapter IX of the University Regulations, promulgated in pursuance of the Universities Act itself, laid down that "the University shall provide for post-graduate teaching, study and research in the Faculties of Arts and Science." The Universities were thus called upon to assume teaching functions. To an enquiry as to how many colleges would take up post-graduate work not a single college at first responded. After some hesitation only two colleges, the General Assembly's Institution and the Presidency College, applied for affiliation in a few subjects to the M.A. Standard under the new Regulations. In 1908 the University for the first time exercised its authority in appointing persons connected with affiliated colleges as University Lecturers under Sec. 2 of Chapter IX of the new Regulations. It was a remarkable step in the annals of the University. Mr. Wordsworth and Dr. Harrison, two Professors of the Presidency College, were appointed University Lecturers in 1908. And the next year the University appointed 18 University Lecturers—the majority of whom were to deliver lectures at Calcutta and the rest at Dacca, Rajsahi and Patna. The rapid increase in the number of students, the improvement in the standard of the new M.A. courses and the unsatisfactory nature of the initial arrangements compelled the University to move onwards. The University appointed Assistant Professors and other whole-time teachers who devoted themselves exclusively to post-graduate teaching in the University. Next came the appointment of University Professors to supervise and co-ordinate the work done by the Lecturers in their respective departments. And the mere enumeration of the names of the distinguished scholars who adorned the Professoriate of the University would at once justify the changes introduced—Mr. Monohar Lal as Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. Brajendranath Seal as George V Professor of Philosophy, Dr. Young as Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, Dr. Thibaut

as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Dr. Stephen as Professor of English, and Dr. Otto Strauss as Professor of Comparative Philology. The new system improved the higher teaching in the University, provided regular instruction in subjects which could not be so long undertaken by the affiliated colleges—*e.g.*, Pure Mathematics, Comparative Philology, Pali, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit,—and secured for the University a staff of distinguished scholars. But there were serious defects in the working of this system—due to a regrettable feeling of distrust and jealousy between the University and some of its colleges. The affiliated colleges had not the resource adequate enough to meet the increasing demand for instruction in the M.A. and M.Sc. courses and even those who did participate in M.A. teaching distrusted the University which, on the other hand, was suspicious of the colleges. Apart from the loss of energy and resources due to the multiplication of post-graduate teaching in the different colleges—working in water-tight compartments—the spirit of jealousy and rivalry produced many unhappy results.

In 1916 the Government of India appointed a Post-Graduate Committee under the presidency of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to consider the question of post-graduate studies in the University. On the Committee sat some of the foremost educationists of this country: Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. Hayden, Mr. Hornell, Mr. Wordsworth and others who were unanimous in their recommendations. The Government of India forwarded the report of the Committee to the University for consideration and ultimate action in case of approval by the Senate. The report was the subject of elaborate discussions by the Senate and was ultimately incorporated into the University regulations by the necessary amendment of Chapter XI of the Regulations. The most important feature in the new system which is still in vogue and which had been the subject of

much criticism both before and after its initiation, should be noted. The new regulations abolished the affiliating system in Calcutta and replaced it by a new organisation wherein post-graduate teaching can be conducted only in the name and under the control of the University. The affiliation of the Presidency College and the Scottish Churches College in certain subjects for the M.A. and M.Sc. examinations accordingly lapsed.

The Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science were set up to work and control post-graduate teaching in Calcutta. The Board of Higher Studies in each subject consists of primarily the teachers of the University in that subject, three persons selected by the Council from among its members and a few members co-opted by the Board from the post-graduate teachers outside Calcutta. The Board elects its own Chairman who supervises the teaching arrangements in the department and enforces the decisions of the authorities in that behalf. The Board also initiates proposals regarding the courses of study, text-books, standard and conduct of examinations, appointment and remuneration of teachers, arrangements of teaching, distribution of work among the teachers, the preparation of the time-table and the appointment of examiners.

The proceedings of the Boards of Higher Studies are subject to confirmation by the Executive Committee which is composed of two representatives of each of the branches of study, elected by the staff in that subject from among themselves, two members elected by the Senate and one member elected by the Faculty of Arts or Science. The Executive Committee receives and considers reports from the Boards of Higher Studies, confirms their proceedings, prepares the agenda for the Council and co-ordinates and regulates the work of the University and the discipline among the students.

Over all is the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching which is vested with the authority to deal with all questions relating

to the work and management of post-graduate teaching. It works, of course, subject to the ultimate control of the Senate. But the Senate cannot, and as a matter of fact does not, reverse or amend the recommendations of the Council. The Council is really a federation of the Boards. It is practically an academic Senate—mainly composed of the teachers who sit there *ex-officio*. Its predominantly academic character is to some extent tempered by the admission of a few distinguished scholars who come as elected representatives of the Senate, or the Faculty of Arts or Science, or as heads of first-grade colleges in Calcutta. The Council elects its own President who is also the *ex-officio* President of the Executive Committee. Elaborate regulations have also been prescribed defining the position and the functions of the Syndicate and the Senate with regard to the post-graduate organisation in the University and the financial arrangements of the post-graduate department. The highly complicated procedure in the method of appointing University teachers is worthy of note. The name of a teacher is first recommended by the Board of Higher Studies. It then goes through the Executive Committee to the Council. After the confirmation of the Council it is transmitted through the Syndicate to the Senate. When it receives the sanction of the Senate it is notified to the Government of India within one week from the date of the decision of the Senate. If the remuneration of the teachers concerned is to be paid out of funds supplied by the Government of India, the previous sanction of the Government is essential. In other cases the Government of India can object to an appointment within six weeks from the receipt of the notification on other than academic grounds. Subject to this final approval of the Government of India an appointment by the Council takes effect from the confirmation of the Senate.

The new system was introduced in September, 1917 and has been working only for four years. It is, therefore, now

too early to pronounce a final verdict upon this system. The new system was inaugurated in an atmosphere of suspicion and prejudice. There were influential and distinguished members of the Senate who were opposed to the centralisation of post-graduate teaching in the University. There were representatives of the colleges who would be affected by the new system and who evinced considerable anxiety as to how it would affect their authority and weaken their influence. There were again others who were totally opposed to the elimination of the College as a factor in post-graduate work. The colleges were the only institutions which had up till 1906 been entrusted with the work of teaching and even after 1906 did a considerable share of post-graduate work. Thus a radical change which would take away M.A. teaching from the colleges and concentrate it in the University would naturally be opposed by the educationists of the old regime. The college had so long been the predominant factor in the educational system of this country, the college had so long been the only avenue to higher education in Bengal, and the University had played so little a part in it, that it was deemed an academic heresy to suggest that higher teaching can be imparted and that the academic life may be lived anywhere else but in the Colleges. Tradition was thoroughly wedded to the affiliating system and it was difficult to overcome the traditional views.

The post-graduate department in the Calcutta University has brought under the banner of our *alma mater* a corporation of scholars and researchers. It has really laid the foundations of a sound University organisation. It is the realisation of a great ideal. No higher education worth the name is possible unless a scholar harnessed to the work of teaching is himself engaged in extending the bounds of knowledge. Those who realise that education is a system which requires scientific handling must grasp the patent fact that any adequate effort to impart higher teaching in a

modern and progressive University must comprise many fields, must extend over a wide variety of subjects and must secure 'co-operative' effort. No teaching in Indian history can achieve its real purpose unless it includes archæology, fine arts, social and constitutional history and various other subjects which might strike as novel to students of older generations. The world outside is progressing fast and the working of the old educational policy for the last half a century had revealed serious defects and errors. A modern University charged with the great mission of advancement of learning and saddled with a statutory obligation of imparting post-graduate instruction to all seekers of truth must quicken her pace, must radically alter her whole educational outlook, must introduce comprehensive measures of reform, and must never hesitate in breaking new grounds. And thanks to the organising ability and the creative genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the University of Calcutta has moved on with the vital current of the age.

The University Commission of 1902 strongly recommended the provision of instruction in the sphere of post-graduate and advanced studies. The Commission recommended "that the Universities should justify their existence as teaching bodies by making further provision for advanced courses of study." The Universities Act of 1904 codified this very principle. But among the various Indian Universities which had been dragging on their slender growth, it is only the Calcutta University which has to some extent been successful in making itself a teaching body in accordance with the principle laid down in 1904. It can safely be asserted that among the Indian Universities Calcutta is the only University which has carried out the obligation of being a teaching University by directly undertaking post-graduate instruction. With most of the other Universities the Indian Universities Act remained practically a dead letter. The Calcutta University has concentrated and to a great extent

consolidated the teaching resources of Calcutta, and this happy result is, to a large extent, due to the post-graduate organisation which was set up in 1917.

The post-graduate department has drawn together into a common brotherhood a large number of scholars and researchers devoted to the common purpose of training up the youth of Bengal, and inspired by a common zeal in extending the frontiers of knowledge. It has secured for the teachers a recognised position in the body politic of the University. It has given *them an effective voice in the shaping of the curricula, the organisation of teaching and the conduct of examinations.* It has opened out brilliant opportunities of higher studies and research to indigenous talent and scholarship. It has practically Indianised the University staff—thus making the professoriate alive to the needs of the community and better able to mould the character and influence the lives of the students. It has also given an impetus to oriental studies—ancient Indian History and Culture, Pali, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, and Islamic History and Culture. It has further given a great stimulus to the development and scientific study of the Indian vernaculars. In a word, it has Indianised the courses of study and has given a distinctly nationalistic outlook to the higher teaching in the University. In the field of science the schools of Sir P. C. Ray and Prof. Raman and other distinguished researchers have worked miracles and have spread the name of the University of Calcutta throughout the scientific world. The post-graduate department has thus set up an educational organisation unique of its kind in the history of the Indian Universities. It has supplied Professors and Readers to the new Universities of India,—to Patna, Dacca and Lucknow,—and they are all vying with each other in enlisting the services of the Post-Graduate teachers of the Calcutta University.

The post-graduate organisation has very serious defects of its own. As the Calcutta University Commission has pointed

out in unmistakable language,—and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a member of that Commission—the present scheme of post-graduate studies in the University labours under serious drawbacks. The present constitution provides wonderful facilities for conflicts and deadlocks, in case of disagreement between the Senate and the Council. The next important drawback is the cleavage between the post-graduate and the under-graduate teaching in the University—resulting in an unnecessary duplication of Boards and Faculties. Lastly the development of the post-graduate system in the University is likely to prejudice the colleges—their status, their prestige and their efficiency. Hence, the need of a more unified and better co-ordinated system which will secure a happy synthesis, a real co-operation between the colleges and the University. The multiplicity of organisations, the large number of Boards, the huge size of the Council make it almost impossible for an ordinary teacher with no administrative experience to run the machinery without difficulty or friction. Hence, the democratic element in this essentially teaching organisation hesitates and is to some extent handicapped by the defects in the constitution in taking the full initiative and in exercising the full control over all matters, academic or administrative, in the actual working of the post-graduate system. The democracy—and here the demos is essentially one of teachers,—has, therefore, placed itself under the guidance of one resourceful administrator who has the necessary experience and the practical sagacity to secure harmonious and conjoint action.

The post-graduate department has recently been subjected to many an onslaught from different quarters. The critical stage has now been reached in the development of the Calcutta University, and we hope that the University will survive this crisis. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the present post-graduate organisation, it has afforded valuable experience and has opened out a remarkable chapter in the history of

Indian education. It has taught many lessons which should neither be ignored nor forgotten. It is difficult to overcome all the obstacles, to baffle all the impediments which hamper the proper working of this organisation—the defects of its origin, the want of financial resources, the lack of sympathy and generous appreciation of the good work achieved.

When the dust and storm of the present controversy is allayed, this teaching and research organisation will rehabilitate itself in the popular mind. But those who are apt to criticise its activities should remember that all the academic ills are not of its own making. The University, constituted as such under an Act of the State, and working under the orders of the Government, had to tackle the question of post-graduate teaching almost as an isolated problem on its own merits. This post-graduate organisation was not planned as the pivot of a comprehensive scheme for educational reconstruction. The greatest defect in the present system of education in this unfortunate country is that it has "got out of gear with the economic needs of the nation." This ancient country—equipped with literary culture—now wants to be reborn into an industrial life—filled with a new spirit of industrial enterprise, and awake to the claims and opportunities of a great industrial awakening. Hence, this distaste for literary culture, this prejudice against higher studies, this dislike towards 'orientalia' and research. This spirit should be properly nursed and directed and utilised. This new awakening should be satisfied by affording vocational and industrial education. But it is a positive mistake to play upon this new spirit in destroying the great organisation for higher studies and research which has been reared up in the University of Calcutta,—and which has placed before the country the conception of a new type of University, directly responsible for the conduct of its higher teaching—a University which not merely examines,

but also educates. Educational reform is certainly needed and Bengal now demands new types of education which will make her youth more practical, more productive, better able to contribute to the social well-being of the whole nation. But in this new reconstruction the usefulness of a teaching and research institution should not be lost sight of. Some place should still be assigned to a teaching University which "must denote more than mere examination, must undertake more than mere control, must offer more than mere instruction." Nevertheless, as the Calcutta University Commission had observed, "the ideals of a new age call insistently for a new purpose in education." The educational aims should be changed, the policy should be altered, the constitution radically modified, in a word, the whole system must be completely readjusted, so as to accentuate the more practical aspects of education, so as to equip the future students of the country more and more for industrial and commercial careers. But in a blind frenzy for vocational and commercial education we must beware of the "iconoclasts of culture," lest their narrow outlook—coloured by vulgar commercialism—should destroy all seats of culture, all organisations for higher teaching and research, all intellectual centres which ensure the real progress of the country and broaden the civic outlook of the nation.

To those who are urging the reforms of the University our appeal should be for sympathy, for charity, and for constructive criticism. Their efforts to serve the University and to rescue it from the danger of ruin will be far better appreciated, if every destructive criticism levelled at our *alma mater* should accompany some constructive suggestion with a proper appreciation of her limited resources. Every reformer who suggests measures of reform in a spirit of sympathy and co-operation deserves our undying gratitude. But the reformer should remember that University education is a great asset in the evolution of our national life, and,

before he indulges in sweeping generalisations and wholesale condemnations, he should further note how the education imparted by the University influences the whole texture of our national life, and how it profoundly affects the whole movement of our national thought.

NIRMALCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

LIFE

Life is like a wayside bloom
The butterfly disdains,
But where the probing honey-bee
Finds nectar for her pains.

WAYNE GARD

MY FEATHERED FRIENDS

The Summer of 1917 found me in a lonely village, without company and twenty miles away from the nearest library. In a week or so I began to wonder why philosophers loved solitude so much and sometimes I really suspected their sincerity. Time hung heavily with me and something had to be done to kill it and so I turned to the birds. It was their breeding season and a little search was enough to find many beautiful little nests with tiny eggs. The rest of the summer passed away like a happy dream and I was loth to leave my village home when the college reopened.

The bird that first attracted my attention was naturally our good little *tuntuni*, called *Orthotomus sutorius* by pedantic ornithologists, I know not why, and the "tailor-bird" by plain Englishmen for the wonderful cup-shaped nest it builds inside a clever little leafy bag sewn with no other needle than its long straight beak. It has figured largely in our nursery tales. We had listened, while little children, with rapt attention and wonder, how a little *tuntuni* had wreaked terrible vengeance on a despotic king and seven queens, all because of the loss of its nest. The poor victims had all been sadly mutilated. The queens had lost their shapely noses and the king his posteriors. We had unbounded admiration for the little bird's intelligence and diplomacy and an undefinable awe for its vindictiveness. Another story, tells how another *tuntuni* had moved heaven and earth because a foolish barber had the temerity of refusing a request—he would not leave his bed at the dead of night to remove a *begun* (brinjal) thorn that had pierced the *tuntuni's* back. But this was not the only reason why the tailor bird was my first favourite. I could not possibly ignore it. Its loud *twit twit twit* could be heard from morning to evening and it was seen ceaselessly

hopping from twig to twig, from shrub to shrub and bush to bush, an embodiment of life and delight, now taking a short flight and now stopping to pick a worm and then finally disappearing mysteriously in some secret hiding place, which I had passed and repassed seven times that morning without suspecting that the curved leaf of the young solitary *dumur* (fig) that almost reached the ground contained the loud-voiced tailor's nest with three tiny living balls of feather in it. And the eggs of Mrs. *Tuntuni*, they are interesting too. Mr. Frank Finn writes about them; "The eggs are, according to Mr. Hume, most remarkably variable, for although always spotted with reddish brown, they may have either a white or a bluish green ground colour." Her eggs, however, are not always spotted, for in some nests I found white eggs with reddish brown patches at the broader end. Mr. *Tuntuni* again wears a bridal dress in the breeding season although it is by no means so bright and pompous like that of his neighbour the "weaver bird" or *babui*. In the breeding season the male *tuntuni* gets a few very long tail feathers so that the tail actually grows longer than the tiny body that bears it. Mr. *Tailor* proudly displays his tail now raising, now lowering and finally making a few of it, while his loud merry *twit twit twit* goes on. And our nursery tales were true! He is a terrible fighter and unlike the timid "weaver" has got a nasty temper, and two male *tuntunis* are seldom seen together. But inspite of their bad temper and extraordinary cleverness the *tuntuni* is duped by the cuckoo in Southern India, where she unwittingly cares for the eggs and young ones of the plaintive cuckoo, as do her English cousins, the Reed Warbler, Sedge Warbler and Orphean Warbler, who rear the cruel young English Cuckoo to find to their dismay later on, that the child they had loved so well was not theirs at all! But who knows, perhaps they are not undeceived but fondly cling to the dear mistake.

Popular belief ascribes to our *tuntuni* an amount of vanity that like the loudness of its voice, is quite out of proportion

with its tiny feathers. It is said that when monsoon breaks out and clouds gather dense and black, and storm wind shrieks and rain pours in torrents, the little *tuntuni* lies on her back in her nest with her small legs towards the sky, confident that if the impossible happens and the skies fall down her legs are strong enough to hold them up and save her nest with its treasures. A friend of mine had assured me that this was literally true as he had seen with his own eyes. So whenever it rained or stormed that summer, I visited all the *tuntuni* nests I knew, four or five in all, in the fond hope that very soon mine would be the proud privilege of being an eye-witness of the curious 'though foolish' self-confidence of our little feathered friend. But I was sadly disappointed; the *tuntuni*, vain and clever as she is, behaved just like all other birds. She sat on her eggs or her youngs with her wings outstretched, sheltering them from rain and cold. Fiction has many wonders which nature lacks. The *chakors*, it is said, live on the nectar of the moon, and my childish fancy had created a wonderful bird with strong gaudy wings and remarkable soaring powers, that nearly reached the moon and revelled in the nectar that was nightly poured out for her from the cup of a friendly lunar spirit. But alas! what disillusioning was it when I saw the real *chakor*, a partridge (with painted wings it is true) of poor flight, that picked its food from the dust of the earth like our ordinary domestic fowl. Then I was told that the male *chakor* swallows with impunity and relish burning red-hot coals in the breeding season. The accuracy of this statement I had no opportunity to test. So also the fowl of our poets have no sexual instinct and their hens bear eggs by some artifice unknown to nature, but the real pea-hens have to meet real cocks before they can conceive! But probably my friend was not entirely wrong: perhaps the *tuntuni* that *he* knew was inordinately vain, while all of my acquaintance were modest ones.

Fiction, however, is not always false. The *tuntuni* of our nursery tales had a wonderful nest built entirely of gold tooth-picks thrown away after a day's use by an extravagant Indian Raja. But though the ordinary *tuntunis* are contented with a neat straw cup lined with silk cotton and soft feathers, there are some birds with more costly tastes. Crows have taste for bright metals, as a Bombay optician learnt to his cost. The following occurs in *The Common Birds of Bombay* by "Eha." "It is not many years since a pair living in the Fort discovered a real El Dorado in an Optician's shop. They worked that mine so stealthily and cleverly that before they were discovered they had succeeded in abstracting about Rs. 400 worth of spectacle frames, which they had worked up into a very superior nest, combining durability and lightness like a 'helical tube.' The museum of the Bombay Natural History Society contains a ponderous nest made entirely of iron wire, taken apparently from the ruins of railway fences." Bombay crows must have imbibed their rich taste from their fellow citizens, the merchant princes! A Dacca crow once requisitioned the property of his neighbour, a lantern maker, and when the son of the angry victim pulled down the clumsy structure, it was found to consist of bright pieces of tins and small sticks in equal proportion! Poor bird! he could not forget that Dacca was once the capital of a Nabob, and he had rich tastes but he could not find anything better than tin in the twice deserted metropolis.

The Calcuta crows cannot vie with their Bombay brothers in wealth and pomp, but for boldness they know no superior. They freely levy their *chauth* and in their plundering raids make little distinction between black and white. Like impartial Judges they make no racial distinctions and are equally conspicuous near the Sahib's table and the Hindu kitchen. The Calcutta crow builds its nest in the most exposed places, having little fear of man's inquisitiveness or interference. Two years ago, a pair selected a most curious

site for their nest, and I am ready to bet a pice that none of my readers can guess where it was. But I shall not keep the secret all to myself. A number of broken desks were heaped outside the Senate House near the wall that separates our compound from Madhab Baboo's Bazar. A broken stool however was placed, I know not by whom, in the fork of a *Karavi* tree that still stands there. And inside that stool, placed upside down, scarcely three feet from the ground, I found one day to my wonder a pair of crows busy heaping up, in the most clumsy manner imaginable, sticks and twigs by way of preparing for the arrival of their prospective family. Perhaps it was a young pair building for the first time, impelled by parental instinct and they took little account of the dangers of such an unsafe place within the reach of every inquisitive boy that might pass by. I was naturally eager to have this curious nest in the *Karavi* fork photographed, but when I returned to the place the next day, what was my sorrow and vexation to find the stool gone! Some stupid Darwan in a khaki *Vardi* with C. U. emblazoned in red thereon, had evidently disturbed the birds and removed the convenient receptacle of their nest. But the birds had not gone. A few days later I found them as diligently employed as before in piling stick and twigs in another stool which was somewhat concealed beneath the stupendous heap of broken desks but scarcely a foot from the ground. But perhaps I was not the only interested watcher, my rival in the khaki had discovered the new abode also and this time he took away the twigs and, I suspect, made fuel of a prospective nest. Foiled for the second time, the crows left the place and, let us hope, found a safer site for their nursery somewhere else. A wise pair of kites built their nest last year, on the roof of Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., just behind the water tank and the nest with a young bird could be plainly seen from Shamacharan De Street. Rural birds however are not so bold. They prefer the leafy solitude and shelter of the topmost branches

of the tallest tree available and there hatch their eggs quite beyond the ken of *Homo Bengalensis*. But there must be some difference between city-folk and country-folk and familiarity, they say, breeds contempt.

A really interesting nest that I saw for the first time in 1917 was that of the crow-pheasant, the *Mahoka* of up-countrymen, and *Koukal* of the Bombay people. It is called *Kukhkha* in my part of Bengal and is on the whole an uninteresting bird. It is generally seen walking on the ground in search of food and when frightened hides itself in the nearest thicket. When disturbed it takes wing no doubt, but cannot fly long. The Muhammadan peasant, who is fond of *Kukhkha* meat, finds little difficulty in spearing a bird of such poor flight. Old village folk still believe that this crow-like bird with brown wings, red eyes, and unshapely black body and zygodactyle feet are really responsible for the multiplication of one of the most venomous of cobras, the *Keutia* of Bengal. According to them the *Keutia* has no male of their own species and finds in the *Kukhkha*, her feathered neighbour, a suitable mate. The truth is, however, quite the contrary. What is popularly believed to be amorous sport is in reality, the life and death struggle between the bird and the reptile in which the wings and the fangs are freely used.

Although the *Kukhkha* looks more like a crow it really belongs to the cuckoo family. Its note, though not at all musical, has some similarity with that of *Koel*. But it has a self-respect all its own; it is not a parasite. It builds its own nest and affectionately performs all the parental duties, that nature demands of a wedded couple.

The crow-pheasant is a common bird in our villages and can be seen any time in a grassy meadow or a thick bush. But for a long while I had not been able to discover its nest. One morning when I was watching a *Mynah*, a crow-pheasant suddenly caught my eye, persistently pecking at a cocoanut leaf. At last it succeeded in tearing out a long piece and flew

away with it. I followed the bird and to my great delight discovered its nest which was not far off. A small *Hijal* tree overgrown with country cane bent over a small *nala* and what seemed to be the thickest part of the cane bush was really the nest of the crow-pheasant. It was a perfect globe with a single hole which formed the door. Inside the globe was the real nest built of twigs and straw. The whole structure was, however, too small for the bird so that when it sat on the eggs, its long black tail could be seen protruding out. But the shape of the nest is not what extorted my admiration. It was the sagacious precaution of the bird that carried strips of green cocoanut leaves every morning to its globular home and stuck them on to it in such a manner that they looked just like the foliage of the surrounding cane reeds. The nest could not therefore be easily discovered. I had all along been under the delusion that as the building operations were still going on it would be unwise to look for eggs in the nest. But at last my suspicions grew strong and I decided to disturb the birds. I found three white eggs, which were already hard set, and the birds had been all the time carrying cocoanut leaves! If it was instinct alone, it must be very akin to intelligence.

That summer I made another discovery. A discovery great enough to make the heart of any amateur leap in joy. Like "Eha" I had my "pigs." And one of them brought me one afternoon what he called "a *Shalik's*[1] egg." I knew what it was, but to be sure of the nest I went to the place. The nest was surely of a *Shalik* and the two remaining eggs belonged to the rightful owners. They were hard set and, indeed, the chicks were then busy pecking at their prison shells from inside. I left them in the earthen jar that formed the nest and brought home the parasitic *Koel's* egg. It was newly laid as its thin shell and the liquid inside plainly told me. I thought I had made a discovery. Here was a new dupe of the

[1] Mynah.

Koel, and what an achievement it was for an amateur! But I did not know at the time that a few years back an Englishman had not only found a *Koel's* egg in a *Mynah's* nest but wrote a note on it in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*. Fame is assuredly not easy to achieve!

But if my feathered friends brought me no fame that summer they certainly gave me many a pleasant morn and eve and their pleasant memory I shall ever cherish. Even to-day when I feel worried, I turn confidently to the feathered folk, and they never fail to bring me that joy and cheer which human company seldom gives.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER V

RANUBHA

A short while after the children had left, Raghubhai started off for the palace. He walked in deep thought all the way there, busy with all sorts of calculations. He reached the palace counting the number of steps that yet remained to reach the Divanship. But Revashankar, the Divan, had established such hold upon the State that it seemed impossible that any one else could hope for that post whilst he was living. There was no room for weakness or partiality in his management, so that Raghubhai could get neither opportunity nor foothold. All went on perfectly smoothly. The only weakness of Revashankar seemed to be his passion for amassing money and for spending it as little as possible. As in a Marwari firm, every item contributed its share towards the general economy. His Highness also needed a Divan who would give him more money for his pleasures—after that the State might go to the devil himself.

There came a break in the thought. Somebody coming down the marble staircase ran against Raghubhai.

"Who the devil is that? Oh, Raghubhai! I beg your pardon, sir. I am just going to tell Champa that His Highness might be expected to-day at eight-thirty."

"Go, my dear sir, go," said Raghubhai smiling sweetly. A new idea struck him. Champa had come quite a month ago, but there had been no signs as yet of her going away. Possibly she might become a permanent factor in the hitherto fickle mind of His Highness. If such contingency arose, was she not worth being won over?

Up the staircase he went into the great hall at the side. This was the waiting room for those who desired audience with His Highness, where they learnt to possess their souls in

patience. His Highness as a rule woke up from his slumbers at about five in the afternoon, and about an hour later, transacted any state business there might be. Those who wanted to salute royalty, used to assemble in the hall and from thence the Divan Saheb called these eager souls, turn by turn, into the inner sanctum.

Ragubhai walked into this room and glanced round. Eight or ten gentlemen, yearning for but one glance from the royal eye, were talking together in a group. On one side, in the outer gallery, Raghubhai's sharp eye detected the gleam of an ochre robe;—he at once recognised the *Sannyasi*. Was it the same person? Had he not come begging at his own door only two hours ago? The *Sannyasi's* face made the Kotwal desire to know more about him, and so attracted him outside to where he was standing. Recognising the salutations of flatterers and bowing to his superiors, Raghubhai went out on the gallery. The *Sannyasi* was saying something to Ranasingh: his frank musical laughter fell on Raghubhai's ears.

"Well, Ranubha, deep in conversation?" broke in Raghubhai sweetly.

Ranasingh—Ranubha—was a kinsman of His Highness. He also was a remarkable personage in that state. The heart of the straight, plain, frank Ranubha opened only to one key —service. With the fidelity of a dog he had faithfully served His Highness from childhood upwards. He was a man of but few words; and he never liked to interfere with other people's affairs. But he was well educated; he had also visited Europe twice or thrice with His Highness. He was a thoughtful man and a keen student. But the thoughts of his brain remained where they had been born. He could detect the shortcomings of others but never cared—indeed, never dared—to point them out.

"Yes, Kotwal Saheb; come along."

"Hallo, Swami Maharaj!" Raghubhai changed his note and addressed him as an old friend. When a person came to

beg at his door he had to be spurned like a dog; but when he stood in the royal palace itself with the air of the master and when Ranubha addressed him with such deep deference, a claim to an earlier acquaintance with such a man must, of course, be established. Could one get on otherwise at the court of petty royalty? Raghubhai's quick eyes glanced at the Swamiji; the humility he had before noticed at his own door had visibly grown less; there was more of self-assertion; the lips were curled with some scorn. The Swami accepted his salutation with a look such as the Lord of the World might vouchsafe to a low-born creature; and turning again to Ranubha, continued his interrupted talk. The Swami was at that time talking in Gujarati with a slightly foreign accent, which, indeed, added greater sweetness to his words. There was a strange gravity and a wonderous inspiration in his speech.

"You see, Ranubha, that is wrong; mere selfishness and naught else. If you gather wealth and do not use it, you are a miser. Of what use is your honesty or your knowledge? If you do not use them in the service of your land you are committing a crime. I have understood the ideal of your life, such a petty ideal might do for men of low minds, but it is not worthy of Ranubha. What is the duty of one in your position? To forget this were a great sin. Some Rajputs may like, and may lead, the life of ignorant, sensual, intoxicated beasts;—they are at liberty to do what they like, but *your* life must be worthy of your *Kshatriya* birth. Your position might well be insignificant enough, but in the service of your land, in the service of humanity, lies your true greatness. A *Kshatriya* is one who rescues people from evil[1]; if you cannot literally live up to your *Kshatriya* ideal better give up calling yourself one." The Swamiji smiled; Ranubha hung down his head. Raghubhai stood quite

[1] क्षतात् त्रायते इति क्षत्रियः।

dumb before this flow of eloquence. He was still deep in calculation.

The Swami gently patted Ranubha on the back and said:

"Ranubha, there is still time. Take advantage of the first opportunity. When are you coming to Varat?" He smiled quietly.

"I will come when I can. For the present His Highness does not let me go."

"This is your Kotwal, isn't it?" said the Swami turning to Raghubhai standing there with a hang-dog look.

"Yes, sir."

Raghubhai felt the keen gaze of the Swami as piercing as the searchlight of a dreadnought, he felt that the Swami must fathom every unsuspected depth in his own mind. Raghubhai had all along regarded himself secure from anybody's piercing gaze, but to-day he felt this cloak of security slipping from him. For the first time in his life he stood still with his eyes cast down.

"Kotwal Saheb, how are you progressing in your task of protecting the public." If anybody else had addressed Raghubhai in this patronising fashion he would have marked him down in his black book. To-day, however, not even the swelling hatred he felt for the Swami could burst out. He was subdued—subdued for the first time in his life—by the Swami's power, the power of a man. He searched his mind for a crushing reply but no reply could he find.

"What progress could there be? All goes on as usual."

"If you cannot progress in a task, drop it. Resign your post. Seek out something else—something more congenial, in which you can put your whole heart," said the Swami with a quiet smile. Raghubhai still stood dumb. To-day even the honied tongue refused to move.

Raghubhai began to scorn himself. Why this childish awe to-day? Where had his power over men gone?

"Never mind, try again from where you slipped, Kotwal. You are sure to win," said the Swami. Casting upon him a glance which to Raghubhai was inscrutable, he turned away and, following a page who had come to call him, went into the private room of His Highness.

"Who is this, Ranubha?"

"Don't you know him—the Swamiji of Varat Math?"

"What is his name?"

"Anantanand. He is very wise."

"Yes, it seems so." Raghubhai, so confused as long as he was in the presence of Anantanand, now felt the poison of hatred creeping all over his heart. In one moment he had seen that the Swami was a really great man—a Mahatma, that he himself was as a child before him, that he could conceal nothing from those wonderful piercing eyes. When to self-esteem is added a cowardly and treacherous heart, the mixture becomes indeed terrible; and if the self-esteem of such a person is wounded, the injury is bound to fester and quickly poisons the whole system. Raghubhai went on making his own plans and naturally weighed Anantanand in his own scales.

"Ranubha, why has he come here?"

"For this reason: the Varat Math up till now used to get a grant of Rs. 3,000 a year, but the Divan Saheb has now reduced it to 1,500, so he has been sent over by the Guru of the Math, Karunanand Saraswati."

"So he is not the Guru? How great must be the Guru of this person?"

"Oh no. He has been there only about five years. Before that Karunanandji was going on in his usual happy-go-lucky fashion. There is not much stuff in him. But some years ago Karunanandji's Guru came to Varat and died there; he had brought Anantanandji with him that time. Karunanandji too was getting old and as he could find none else worthier to occupy the high

office of the Guru after him, he kept Anantanandji near himself."

"I see."

Just then a page came out and approached these two who were talking.

"Raghubhai, you will wait here? Please don't go away."

"Why?"

"The Divan Saheb has whispered to me to find out if you were outside."

"Why, what is the matter?"

"Oh, there is just a bit of a row between His Highness and that Swami."

Ranubha being so intimate with His Highness there was nothing to hide from him. He turned a little pale on hearing this and looked anxiously at the inner room. A few moments later he saw a shadow moving in a distant apartment and quietly slipped away.

Raghubhai and the page exchanged glances and understood.

Ranubha went past the staircase into another hall, looking about carefully. This hall might be called the porch of His Highness's pleasure chamber. All sorts of luxuries calculated to bring satisfaction to every whim of an epicurian lay scattered there in profusion. Without even looking at these, Ranubha passed through this hall into an outer gallery. His face had grown serious. He was trying to control himself, but without success. A dignified young woman lay reclined, or rather had flung herself, upon a *gadi*.[1] She had put on her rich dress with the utmost carelessness; and she lay there listless and uncaring, with eyes shut. The chief characteristic of Champa was her carelessness; it constituted, in fact, her chief attraction. His Highness had wandered over the world in search of varied experiences, but only here had

[1] A raised dias richly furnished with carpets and pillows so that one could recline thereon with elegance and ease.

he found such a woman, and he had surrendered to her at sight.

Ranubha stood still looking at her for a while, then he called out: "Champa."

Champa opened her eyes languidly, as if it were an exhausting task.

"Well, what is it?"

"Why are you flung down like this?"

"What else could I do? I am sick of Your Highness."

"Champa, do not deceive me. Why do you thus make me dance attendance upon you?"

"Do I make you or do you choose to do so yourself?" said Champa; and as if tired of speaking turned away so as to rest on the other side: "I never asked you to speak to me? What is His Highness doing?"

At the mention of His Highness, Ranubha got a little annoyed; "He is busy."

"Ranubha, who was the Bawa that passed this way a little while ago?"

"He is the Swami of Varat."

"Oh!"

"Will you please just look up at me?"

"No, my eyes are tired, and I have got to sing to-night before His Highness. Well, Ranubha, do one thing for me. Please go over to my lodging and fetch my servant here."

Ranubha understood that it was merely a polite excuse to send him away. "Certainly," he said, and sighed with a heavy heart, as with slow steps he came out.

CHAPTER VI

A KSHATRIYA TREE AND ITS BLOSSOMS

The history of the Lords of Ratnagadh was a remarkable one. It was closely bound up with that of Gujarat from the very beginning. Ratnasingh Solanki was born in A.D. 922 in an ordinary noble family and brought no other heritage into the world except his huge frame of six feet six and his noble blood. But his fortune and his courage were both high. Mulraj[1]—that inestimable jewel of Gujarat history—had taken birth in his family. From his boyhood Ratna Solanki had linked his fortune with that of his illustrious cousin, and he also trod the same path to fame. Then Mulraj went to war with Lakha.[2] On the field of battle, a sturdy warrior aimed a terrific blow at Mulraj, which might have ended his life, had not Ratna by great good fortune been by. To save his cousin and king he held out his left arm and allowed it to be shorn off. The grateful Lord of Gujarat presented Ratna Solanki with a small *jaghir* and permitted him to found Ratnagadh.

As long as Mulraj was living, Ratnagadh remained tributary to him. From the day of Mulraj's death, Ratna Solanki declared his independence, and became Raja Ratnasingh. Twenty years later, Raja Ratnasingh renounced the stormy world and became an ascetic; but he left a long line of invincible warriors to succeed him. These proud warriors of the Solanki clan accepted the nominal overlordship of Anhilwad[3] only so long as their kinsmen were ruling there. Siddharaj[4] alone succeeded for a short time in

[1] Mulraj Solanki (Chalukya) who reigned A.D. 942–997, was the founder of the most illustrious of the Hindu houses that ruled Gujarat.

[2] Lakha was the Rao of Kachh, who was defeated and slain by Mulraj.

[3] The ancient capital of Gujarat, which was founded in A.D. 746 and remained the first city of Gujarat till the Moslem conquest in A.D. 1296.

[4] Siddharaj (reigned A.D. 1094–1143) was the greatest of the Solanki family.

exacting the tribute and re-establishing his dominion over them. With the Vaghelas[1] they were at sworn enmity. From that time onwards, until the Maratha sun had set and the power of the English had begun to rise—that is to say, for quite nine centuries—the warrior Lords of Ratnagadh remained mostly independent. They were almost always having a share in the commotions between greater powers, and they alternately played a winning or a losing game. On the battlefield, by falling from horse-back, or as exiles in wild fortresses, the descendants of Ratnasingh ended their lives and showed their hereditary valour. All these years their family tree bore blossoms in the shape of fierce, wild, autocratic rulers; not one was a coward. At last, at the beginning of the British rule, Tejasingh Solanki renounced the hereditary methods of war and thought it more expedient to make peace, for he had taken measure of the strength of the rising power. He succeeded in advancing his state more by the force of his head than by that of his arms. His grandson Jasvantsingh was the latest blossom of this vigorous tree at the time of our story.

Jasubha (when wars and valour were no longer needed, the addition of "Singh"[2] had no meaning) was also a specially noteworthy character. From his boyhood he had made pleasure the one end of his life. In wisdom, tact and other manly qualities he was in no way unworthy of his race or his rank; but whether owing to the special type of teaching now given to Indian Princes, or to the selfish love of pleasure, he had imbibed during his unrestricted tour in the materialistic West, the greatest dread he had in life was to be forced to exert himself. Some people think that some kinds of activity bring joy and happiness, but to Jasubha the highest

[1] The last Hindu royal race of Gujarat. It was the Vaghela, Karan II, who lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Alauddin Khilji in A.D. 1296.

[2] Lion. The *bha*, now added in its place, means, literally, "brother." It is usually added to the names of princes and greater officials in Kathiawar.

happiness was only that which was obtained without any exertion. Running about on a cricket field, or exerting himself by walking out, was for him but a variety of pain. He thought it was his royal prerogative that none should seek to interrupt the pleasures that came to him without effort and therefore as long as Revashankar carried on the affairs of the state without bothering him, His Highness could have no objection whatever to his methods.

When, however, there was some business which had perforce to be attended to, there was a special room set apart for transacting it and evening was the time appointed for it. Usually His Highness came to this office-room twice a week; on the remaining days it served as the office of Revashankar. Whenever His Highness graced this room with his royal presence, he would exert himself so far as to stretch himself at full length upon an English arm-chair smoking a cigar; he would then even read one of the lighter English magazines or the latest and most worthless of novels. As a limits he sometime, scrawled his signature below some letter to the British Resident at his court. For this highly important task a magnificent table and a revolving-chair had been set apart for His Highness, but usually this revolving-chair served rather to support the royal cigar-case than the royal person.

To-day His Highness was lying at ease with eyes half-shut enveloped in a cloud of smoke from a cigar of considerable size.

"Revashankar, why should I trouble myself about this? Why else do I pay you a fat salary?"

"But, Your Highness, if this Bawa will not listen to reason, what can I do? He says he will not go away unless he sees you personally," pleaded Revashankar, his sharp eyes looking over the spectacles perched upon the lip of his nose, "as if fifteen hundred Rupees are not enough for half-a-dozen lazy Bawas?"

"But why should I take all this trouble to-day? Champa must be waiting for me over there."

"Your Highness, he is standing outside and he told me that unless Your Highness received him, he would come to the public *darbar* and speak there openly."

"Oh, bother! Well call him in," said His Highness with a deep sigh of resignation. If he had strength enough for the effort, he might have cursed aloud; instead, he only blew a great smoke-ring from his mouth.

A moment later the door opened, and Anantanandji came in. There was a marked change observable in the Swami, whom we had seen outside speaking affectionate words of advice with a smile upon his face. There was greater firmness and strength visible in his face; his staff was held with a stronger grip in his hand. His eyes showed the depth of his devotion to the task he had undertaken. He looked like one of the great Cardinal ministers of European history or like the great Chanakya bent upon overthrowing an empire. The possession of such opposite qualities by one individual,—the perfect unfolding of each of the different qualities of human nature, manifested to suit each varying occasion as it arises—this constitutes the highest ideal of character-building among the Aryan nations. With us perfection means being as like Nature herself, as far as possible:—Nature, which blossoms forth in spring, smiling and bringing smiles to our hearts; which changes in a moment and shakes the world with her terrific thunders, weeping and causing us to weep; while at the very centre there is peace eternal and undisturbed. To become such in our own selves is the Aryan ideal of human perfection.

Anantanand went straight up to His Highness and stood with his back to Revashankar.

"Your Highness, our blessings!"

Jasubha looked at him through his languid eyes, but just for one moment paid him some attention. The Prince had the power of inwardly understanding everything and he at once grasped to the full, Anantanand's power. After that great

mental exertion he gently waved the hand, which still held the cigar, in acknowledgment of the blessing.

For a couple of minutes no one spoke. The bright eyes of the Swami were looking at Jasubha with tenderness mingled with some pity. Revashankar was, however, completely eclipsed behind the Swami. At last Jasubha felt uncomfortable under that gaze sharp as a sword.

"Well, Maharaj?"

"The Lord hath blessed us with His favours."

Slowly Jasubha stretched forth his hand to put away the cigar, and, sitting up, inquired: "Maharaj, you desired to see me?"

"It was the Guruji's command that I should see our Prince."

"Well, you have seen him now! What is your business? Speak."

"Pardon me, sir. I have only seen *you*, not our Prince."

"That's rather funny," murmured Jasubha in English. For the first time in his life he had found one who had dared to point out this difference. The clever Prince thought the Swami a bit strange, but he also admired him a little in his own mind. "Then who am I?" asked he with a smile.

"At present you are only Jasubha. I am waiting until your true nature, worthy of a Ruler of men, bursts forth. It is useless for me to speak to you about my business in your present condition."

There was the affectionate sternness of a father speaking to his child in the eyes of Anantanand. Some latent seeds of shame in Jasubha's heart began to sprout under that tender gaze, but it was impossible for his delicate mind to continue for any length of time the exertion of such deep thinking.

"Swami, thanks for your good advice. Now kindly state your business to my Divan here and he will do the needful after consulting me."

"Pardon me. But I will ask what I want from the master alone. You have the privilege of ruling over men, and we, who have renounced the worries of earthly life and are trying to realise the Absolute, we, *Sannyasis*, have got the privilege of ruling over their souls. And a Ruler may not make a request but to another Ruler."

Revashankar sitting eclipsed behind the Swami was annoyed. He felt insulted that he should thus be lightly set aside. It was also possible that His Highness might accede to the request, in which case fifteen hundred Rupees more would be thrown away. He, therefore, got up and came up with his spectacles in one hand and some papers in the other. Jasubha could see that the Swami had already taught Revashankar some lessons in humility and he felt somewhat amused. For the first time in many years, he began to talk about state affairs without being stretched at full length upon his arm-chair.

"Look here, Swamiji, I have not much time. If you have anything to tell me, please cut it short."

"Your Highness, I will myself tell you," interposed Revashankar a bit sharply, "their annual grant was Rs. 3,000 and you ordered it to be reduced to Rs. 1,500. Now, in order to have this order rescinded, these Bawas—" and he indicated Anantanand with a sweep of his hand.

But the flashing eyes of Anantanand quite vanquished Revashankar and brought his explanation to an abrupt full stop. "Noble Prince! I need no hireling tongue to put forward my request. Why should the grant continued during a thousand years be stopped now? Is it right that money granted for religious charities should be stopped to satisfy miserly gold-grabbers? Is this the sum and substance of all your political economy? If you wish to be economical you are welcome, but there are many other fields."

Jasubha felt uncomfortable. The matter seemed to have exceeded the bounds of his patience. The Bawa seemed

to be quite clever and it was not likely that he would give in even the least bit. He felt half inclined to grant the request. Revashankar, however, interfered, "Your Highness, you are our master; but I must say that these people are wasting the money in a scandalous fashion. With great difficulty we find the money for their yearly grant and they set up their fine gardens and live at ease there. If Your Highness wishes, here are the papers," and he held out a big file.

The Swami smiled a pitying smile: "What we do or what we don't shall be judged by His Highness himself when he visits us. There is no question about the use of the money at present."

"Then there is no money, too, at present," said Revashankar taking off the spectacles he had put on to read the papers.

In the meanwhile Jasubha had lighted his cigar and had got up. He had come to an end of his patience. "All right, Swamiji, come again next year. Be satisfied with only this much for the present." And saluting with the hand that held the cigar Jasubha went into the adjoining chamber.

The Swami turned to Revashankar; "Well, Divan, shall my mission then fail?"

"Why do you say 'shall'? It *has* failed."

"Is there no hope?" Anantanand asked looking mysteriously at him.

"Yes, yes. After my death you have might some hope. Come again when there is a new Divan."

"Very well, I shall see." Anantanand turned away and with measured steps he left the palace through the great hall. Immediately Revashankar called in Raghubhai.

"Raghubhai, do you recognise that Swami? Keep your eye upon him and keep me informed about his movements."

K. M. MUNSHI

THE LEGEND OF YIMA AND THE "CRADLE-LAND" OF THE ARYANS

In the Avesta we find enshrined a number of old time Sagas which preserve for us some of the oldest beliefs and customs of the Aryan races. Among such legends, and possibly the oldest among them, is the legend of the great King Yima. He is always called in the Avesta *Yima-Khshaēta* (Yima the King)—which has become the modern Persian name *Jamshīd* and he always has the epithet "the Magnificent" added on to his name. He is one of the most glorious of the ancient Persian (one might almost say Aryan) monarchs and in *Yasna* IX he is called "the most resplendent of (all) created beings, (who shone forth) among mortals like unto the sun in appearance"[1] Yima was the son of Vīvanghvat and thus he corresponds exactly to Yama Vaivasvata of the Veda. His rule upon earth was the golden age of the Aryan land, for it is said that he "made during his rule (both) animals and human beings undying; and waters and vegetables (were) ever fresh; (there was also) inexhaustible food for feeding (his subjects)." And, the text of *Yasna* IX continues, "during the rule of the illustrious Yima there was neither (excessive) cold nor (excessive) heat, neither was there old-age nor death, nor (was there) envy created of the *Daēva*[2]; father and son moved about each (seeming only) fifteen (years old) in appearance as long as Yima the Magnificent, the son of Vīvanghvat reigned."

Such was the happy time enjoyed by the people of *Airyana Vaējah*[3] (the cradle-land of the Āryas) when Yima

[1] The translations given here are (unless stated otherwise) by the author of this article and will shortly be published in book form by the University.

[2] The Evil One, Sans. *deva*.

[3] Lit. "seed," Sans. *bīja*.

the King ruled over that ancient land. The second chapter of the *Vendīdād* gives a full account of the reign of King Yima the Magnificent. It is a splendid chapter and it is the object of this article to investigate it in some detail. Yima was the first mortal to whom "the Creator of the material world," Ahura Mazda, taught the great *Mazadayasna* (Mazda-worshipping) faith. And Ahura Mazda asked him to be the preacher and prophet of that faith. But Yima in his modesty declined that great office saying, "I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of Thy Religion." When Yima had thus declared himself unequal to the task of the *Āthravan* (*i.e.* the *Brāhmana*), Ahura Mazda asked him to be the *Ratheshtār* (*i.e.* the *Kshatriya*) of His land, to make the people to increase and to make the world to prosper: "to nourish, to rule, and to watch over His world."[1] Yima knowing that this was well within his powers consented and loyally watched over the growth of this world. He ruled wisely and in great splendour during "three hundred winters," and his kingdom became "replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds and men."[1] Thereupon, with the advice of Ahura Mazda, "Yima stepped forward into the light, southwards, along the path of the sun," and he thus found more room for his people. He had to do the same three hundred years later, and yet a third time after "nine hundred winters had passed away" under his sway.

When Yima approached the end of "the holy first millennium of years" a meeting was called by the Creator to which came the celestial Angels and also Yima with all his holy sages and ministers on the banks of the holy river Dāityā, in Airyana Vaēja of high renown." At that meeting Ahura gives warning to Yima of the approaching destruction of the

[1] Darmesteter's translation.

world: "Yima, thou fair son of Vīvanghvat! upon the wicked material world shall descend the winters, (and) through these (shall come) fierce deadly cold. Upon the wicked material world shall come winters and through these first of all shall fall deep snow (extending) from the highest heights of the mountains to the depths of the waters" (22).[1] Ahura Mazda also prophesied the destruction of all animals, those that live in wildernesses and on mountain tops, as well as those that lived domesticated "in the river-valleys (even though protected) in well-built stalls" (23). Ahura draws a striking contrast between the world as it is then and as it will appear after the terrible cold has set in: "Before (that) cold there is (at present) production of food in this land, (for) after the melting of the (winter's) snow (there is) water in plenty for irrigating it. But (later on), O Yima (the land) here shall appear uninhabitable for (all) corporeal life; (even) here where the footprints of lowing cattle are (at present) to be seen"(24).

In order to escape this danger the Creator advises Yima to "construct one *vara* or enclosure one *charetu*[2] long in each of its four sides" and he is asked to carry therein "the offspring of (small) animals, and of (large) cattle, and of men, and of dogs, and of birds, and the seed of the fires brilliant (and) flaming"(24). Some details are given as to the construction of this *vara* (or enclosure). It had special portions set apart for human beings to dwell in and others to be used "as a stall for cattle." There was to be a water-course one *hāthra*[3] in length in this enclosure and near this water-course fields were to be laid out, so as to assure a constant supply of "golden-hued" grain. Round these fields were to be dwelling places, each to have "a pillared portico and an inner courtyard, and an encircling wall"(28). The whole was to be

[1] The numbers refer to the "verses" in Chap. II of the Vendīdād.

[2] A measure of length equal to about two miles.

[3] Half a *charetu*.

divided into three parts which were to be arranged apparently in tiers one above the other. There were to be nine passages in the first one, six in the middle one and three in the lowest one. These three tiers were to be peopled respectively with one thousand, six hundred and three hundred, "offspring of men and of women." The entrances had to be sealed with the golden signet-ring of Yima.[1] The whole was to be underground[2] as affording the best protection from the cold and Yima is asked to crush up the earth with his heels and to knead it with his two hands "just indeed as potters here knead the wet clay"(31). Special mention is made, as might naturally be expected, for the lighting and ventilating arrangements within. The whole *vara* was equipped with doors and with windows "self-luminous on the inner side." The lighting arrangement is mentioned specially again in a later verse of this chapter: "These lights (were) both natural and artificial: once only (in the year) the stars and the moon and the sun are seen to set and to rise; and they (the people of the *vara*) think what (is) a year (to be) a day"(40).

There is one important point that would strike the reader at once—the essential similarity between this legend and the Biblical legend of the Deluge. The Deluge legend is very wide-spread, in fact there is hardly any nation or country in the world which has not got its own version of this story. The common points, which form the essential factors of the Deluge story, are (1) the growing wickedness of the world and its consequent impending destruction, (2) the warning given by the Deity to the leader of the good among mankind to save himself and his followers from the approaching catastrophe, (3) the preparations made to save the good men and women as also the typical plants and animals, and (4) the catastrophe

[1] This was given to him by Ahura Mazda as a sign of his sovereignty.

[2] This is not clearly mentioned in the Avesta, but there is clear mention in Pahlavi *Bundahishn* (XXII.5) that the *vara* "is below the earth" (*S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 140).

itself and (5) the rescue of the select few of the creation. The universal presence in these legends of these five points seems to indicate that there did occur, within human memory, a terrible catastrophe which left a profound impression on the minds of human beings. I do not think that a local catastrophe like the devastating floods of the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia[1] could have given rise to a *universal* legend of this type. The catastrophe was more probably much wider spread and affected a far larger number of people than a few tribes. In his *Outlines of History* H. G. Wells has mentioned (XI, § 6) the catastrophic flooding in a very short time of the Mediterranean basin which must have caused the loss of millions of lives. A catastrophe on that scale may well be remembered by the whole human race and echoes of it would ring down all the succeeding millenia.

Now as regards the event itself, most of the legends speak of destruction by *water*. But the Avesta legend is practically the only one that speaks of *snow and ice*[2] as the cause of destruction. This constitutes a very important point of difference which has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of any student of Avesta. The narrative of Yima is very clear and exact in its wording that the destruction of the "cradle-land of the Aryas" was caused by snow and ice extending "from the heights of the mountains to the depths of the waters." In short, all indications point to a land in the far north destroyed by glaciation. That the North Polar regions were at one period—and that too geologically not far distant—inhabitable by human beings may be taken as fairly established.[3] The mention of the sun rising and setting but once a year, which made the people of Yima's *vara* "think

[1] This is the argument of Suess in his book *Das Antlitz der Erde* (Vol. I) where he devotes several pages to this legend.

[2] The Scandinavian version mentions the Deluge to have been caused by *melting* snow and ice.

[3] I would refer the reader to B. G. Tilak's fascinating *Arctic Home in the Vedas* for details of the arguments both astronomical and geological.

what (is) a year (to be) a day" (Ven. II. 40), should be regarded as a positively conclusive argument. This particular mention of one sunrise in the year has not been noticed by any commentator, rather they have ignored this point, for it would otherwise have upset all their preconceived notions.

But though these two plain statements about the ice and snow and about one sunrise in the year, though conclusive, are not the only evidences in the Avesta of the Polar home of the Aryas. There are other passages equally clear which corroborate this view and which taken all together would be enough to demonstrate the truth completely.

I. In Ven. I. 3-4, the overwhelming of this ancient land is again mentioned quite clearly:

"The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the *Airyana Vaējō* by the *Vanguhi Dāitya*.

"Thereupon came Angrō Mainyush,[1] who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river and winter, a work of the *Daēvas* (3).

"There are ten winter months there, two summer months and those are cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees, winter falls there, the worst of all plagues."(4).[2]

The ancient Pahlavi commentator on this passage naïvely remarks "it is known (in the ordinary course of nature) there are seven months of summer and five of winter." Of course he was thinking of the land in which he was living, which was called *Irānvēz* after that ancient home. The mention of the serpent—the *Vṛtra* of the Vedas, who used to lock up the waters in his icy-grip—is also significant.

II. In another chapter of the *Vendīdād* (III. 10 ff.) there are given directions for preserving the dead body during the winter season. Special rooms are to be built for taking in

[1] The Evil One.

[2] Darmesteter's translation.

these dead bodies and the lifeless bodies are to "lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth." The last four conditions could certainly not apply to a land in temperate regions. Nor would a winter blizzard usually last for a month or more at a time. The essential element of the Zoroastrian disposal of the dead is exposure to the sun and this was not possible in the long night of an arctic winter Keeping the dead body for a month is not very reasonable, even in the Tigris valley where the winter storms are notoriously severe.

III. In yet another passage of the Avesta, *Yasht* X. 104, three places in *Airyana Vaējō* are mentioned which are respectively in the East, West and South. To balance these the fourth region is mentioned as being "the middle point of this Earth."[1] This sort of geographical arrangement where the North might be called "the middle-point of this earth" also tends to support the view that the region was circumpolar.[2] The conception of Mount Meru in Hindu writings as the centre of the earth is exactly similar.

IV. In the legend of Yima itself we are told how Yima had to extend his domains three times and each time he "stepped forward into the light, *southwards*, along the path of the sun." This also seems to indicate an extremely northern land, where practically all directions are south.

V. It may also be noted that all through the Chapter II of the *Vendidād* time is measured by *winters* not by *summers* as we do now.

VI. Nairyosang Dhaval, the learned Parsi priest, who translated a large portion of the existing Avesta into Sanskrit

[1] Darmesteter translates, "the boundary of the earth." But the original word is *ri-maidhem* (= Sans. *madhya*) and Bartholomae in his Dictionary says, "the middle-point of this earth."

[2] This passage has been discussed by me in my forthcoming *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*.

about A.D. 1200, usually merely *transcribes* into Devanāgarī characters the proper names occurring in the Avesta. He transcribes even the word *daēva* into the Sanskrit *deva* in spite of the fact that the meaning is the exact opposite of the Sanskrit word and might have caused confusion to his Hindu readers. But the name of *Hara-barezaiti*, the mountain at "the middle-point of the earth," he *translates* as *Meru*. Nairyosang being conversant with both the Zoroastrian as well as the Hindu beliefs and also having inherited a practically unbroken tradition through a long line of teachers, has evidently some weightier reason than a mere whim for this procedure. That *Meru* might well have been the North Pole has been ably maintained by B. G. Tilak in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*.[1] Therefore it becomes fairly clear why Nairyosang chose to *translate* this proper name and did not merely transcribe it as was his ordinary habit.

With all this evidence before us it seems to me difficult *to avoid* the only reasonable conclusion which would fit all these particulars. But so difficult are preconceived notions to eradicate that scholars have hitherto merely ignored these points or have actually mistranslated or otherwise twisted some other sense out of such passages. This one preconceived notion is that *Airyana-Vaēja* is identical with the historical *Irānrēz* (modern *Irān*). One may as well argue that because London, Richmond, York or Windsor are found in New Zealand, the ancient home-land of the English was in the South Pacific! Could not the Aryans when they migrated south to escape the rigours of the glacial period, have carried the beloved names of their ancient homelands with them and could they not have given those old names, so full of tender associations of "the golden age," to the countries, mountains and rivers in their new southern home?

There is another point of interest in the Avestic legend of Yima which has a special "moral" for us to-day. In all

[1] Pp. 56, 67, etc.

the Deluge stories we are told that a certain number of good men and women were to be preserved from the universal destruction, together with animals (and in some legends plants also). The obvious reason for this was the repeopling of the earth after the wicked had been destroyed. In almost all the legends we are merely told that the people thus saved were "good" people, but the *Vendīdād* gives us a considerable amount of detail regarding the principles which guided the choice. In fact we might say that some of the verses of this Chapter constitute what might be termed the oldest reference to eugenics we possess among the Aryans. The right type of human beings, as well as plants and animals had to be chosen, so that even after the destruction of the wicked old world the race could begin anew and perhaps at a higher level. The progress of humanity as a whole and the keeping up of the best traditions of the race are very clearly kept in view in picking out those who were to be protected in this *vara*—for they were indeed "the chosen people" on whom was to fall in future generations the burden of repeopling the earth and carrying forward the evolution of humanity. And not merely human beings but animals and even plants were to be chosen with care. The instructions given to Yima by Ahura Mazda is quite explicit:

"Therein shalt thou carry the offspring of all men and of (all) women, who are upon this earth the greatest, and the best and the finest. Therein shalt thou carry the offspring of all kinds of creatures which are upon this earth the greatest and the best and the finest" (27).

"Therein shalt thou carry the seed of all trees which are upon this earth the tallest and the sweetest-scented. Therein shalt thou carry the seed of all fruits which are upon this earth the best of savour and the sweetest-scented. (All) these (animals) shalt thou take in pairs, (and shalt preserve) each (pair) safe from harm through that (time), (during) which these people shall be (dwelling) within the *vara*" (28).

These instructions with regard to plants and animals are clear enough, but those which are to guide the choice of the human beings and the defects to be avoided in order to make those saved "a chosen people" are given in even clearer and fuller details. These are mentioned in the next verse (29). The words which describe the shortcomings which should be eliminated from "the chosen people" have not been translated by all scholars in the same way. Some of these words are not found in any other passage and even when used elsewhere, they are found in exactly a similar context: in fact most of these words are repeated in *Vendīdād* XIX. 43 and there they represent the minor devils, the lieutenants of the Evil One. It becomes therefore, very hard to determine their exact original signification. They can be taken in two ways, one as representing physical, and the other as representing mental or moral defects. Most European scholars take this verse in the former way, while the Parsi scholar, the late K. E. Kanga, translates it in the latter manner. From the former standpoint we may translate:

"(There should be) here (in the *vara*) neither the bulging-chested, nor the humpbacked, nor the impotent, nor the lunatic, nor the pitted-faced,[1] nor the emaciated, nor the undersized, nor the crooked-limbed, nor (any) possessing deformed teeth, nor the leprous who (have the disease) spread over the body, nor indeed (one showing) any of the other outward signs which are the marks of Angrō Mainyush put upon mankind."

Kanga translates it thus:[2]

"There should be (in the *vara*) no pride, nor laziness,[3] nor unholiness, nor tyranny, nor misery, nor deception, nor meanness, nor dishonesty, nor evil-speaking, nor leprosy which spreads over the body, nor indeed any of the characteristics,

[1] This probably refers to marks of small-pox.

[2] From his Gujarati version, 1884.

[3] "Back-biting" is also suggested as an alternative.

which are the characteristics of Angro Mainyush, and lead to death."

Whichever version we may accept, this much is certain that Yima had to choose (as Darmesteter has put it) only "the best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days...in order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities." The list of evils to be excluded from the *vara* is indeed a fairly detailed one and is evidently based on a correct appreciation of the object to be achieved, *viz.*, the re-establishment of the virile race of the Aryans after the wicked had been weeded out.

Life in the *vara*, with such perfect specimens of humanity thus carefully chosen, must indeed have been happy. The legend does not contemplate only a few weeks' stay in the place but of many generations.[1] The continuance of this virile stock is also assured during many generations, because "(every) fortieth winter unto (each) pair of human beings were born two human twins, a girl and a boy; thus (also was it) with those (various) kinds of animals; and (all) these human beings lived a happy life in that *vara* which Yima had constructed" (40).

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

[1] See Pahlavi *Rivāyat*, Iasht. III. 55 (s. *B. E.*, Vol. V, p. 234, footnote 4).

"TRUE" PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMY

(*A Satire*)

While according to the official reports there is only mild scarcity, unattended by starvation in Khulna, there is acute and widespread distress with starvation in the Imperial services of the Government of India. But while the Khulna people have, strangely enough, succeeded in enlisting stupendous public sympathy and support by simulating starvation and feigning death and disease, the Imperial services men have, they say, failed to enlist the faintest amount of sympathy, although they are actually passing through a critical phase of their existence not far removed from utter annihilation. The Imperial services men have, therefore, every reason to be jealous of the Khulna people on whom all kinds of public expressions of sympathy have literally been showered. This is, to say the least, a monstrous instance of injustice and racial inequality which must have their roots in racial hatred for which the non-co-operation movement is responsible, and which, if not nipped in the bud, may excite disaffection between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects for which drastic and timely executive action may be called for. Another consequence, no less serious, might be that if they failed to receive public help in time they might threaten to leave India to her fate and join their brethren at home where they would be better fed, better clothed, better looked after by the state and could earn more to be able in a few years to save a decent competence on which they could live like princes when they were incapacitated for work.

The controversy now centres round the question whether the Khulna ryots or the Imperial services men are better off economically. The decision of this question rests on scientific investigations of the most complex and abstruse order; and this decision can only be given authoritatively by the Imperial

service men. They would decide the question neither hastily nor empirically, but after prolonged and mature thought and investigation. For instance, they would inquire, and very properly too, into the number of milch cows in the district, the number of fishes of different species and sizes in the local tanks, bheels, rivers, and estuaries taking into account their productive capacity, the number of edible fruits in the trees, the quantity of vegetables in the fields, the quantity of hoarded wealth in the shape of earthen, iron and brass utensils, of bell-metal, glass and silver jewellery, the amount of manual labour (such as cutting and carrying earth) which they are able and ought to undergo in the interest of maintaining physical efficiency, the number of able-bodied men, women, and children who are fit to work in tea-gardens and factories, and similar other matters of great social and economic importance. All these require time, labour and thought as well as a study of economic, statistical and sociological methods. Neither should the medical aspect of the question be entirely ignored: namely, whether the people are really starving or suffering from stomachic disorders brought on by gluttony for which medical experts advise prolonged rest to the digestive organs. The assertion of a large number of semi-civilised and unscientific men that they are suffering from starvation and need food must be taken with a great deal of caution. For, their brain-cells are not sufficiently developed to enable them to describe precisely what they feel, and to discriminate between hunger and satiety, both of which may produce similar sensations. There is also a difference of opinion among ethnologists, anthropologists, anthropo-geographists, physiologists, biologists, pathologists and psycho-physicists, about the degree of hunger produced in different men at different stages of civilisation and of mental and physical development: for instance, biologists affirm that certain animals can thrive best on air for a long time, while others of a more advanced type require nourishment more frequently than those of a less advanced type.

It is also quite possible, nay probable, that certain physical, ethnic or geographic conditions may produce in the ontogenetic organs of a certain class of human beings a sensation which is akin to, and is liable to be confounded with, hunger. There is therefore stupendous difficulty in pronouncing with any degree of scientific accuracy on both the theoretical and practical aspects of starvation; and *nolens volens*, the people must be content to accept without question the verdict given by the scientific authorities of the Imperial service, and console themselves with the reflection that it is scientifically safe, and physically beneficial to the human system, to conquer the rebellion of the stomach rather than to yield, every 12 or 24 hours, to the stimulus of craving for gross material objects, called food. Thus, it is evident, that the problem of determining the starvation stage of half-civilised people like that of India is beset with innumerable difficulties: but as the members of the Imperial service are thoroughly grounded in all branches of extant science, they are pre-eminently qualified to solve it. But, it often happens that amid the distractions caused by the human beings for whose well-being they toil and labour, the researches conducted by them in the plains are liable to serious errors which have to be corrected or modified by the super-Imperial officers residing in a cool and quiet retreat, where there exist ample facilities, in the well-equipped government record-room, for making researches in all branches of human knowledge, aloof from the distractions in which the researcher is liable to be caught up in the centre of the wails and cries of hungry men in the plains. Imperial officers working in the plains are liable to err on account of the noise created by the surrounding humanity; but all chances of error would be eliminated for the super-Imperial officers who worked in the "comparative calm of a retreat" high up at Darjeeling or Simla, or Mussourie, or Nainital. Errors occur when super-men work among ordinary men: but errors never occur, when their brain works in a vacuum, with no

external disturbances, no thoughts of human beings, no concrete problems to tackle. The calm atmosphere of the hills is suitable for the reflection of the highest, the abstract and the absolute. What more congenial atmosphere can be therefore imagined for the solution of such abstract problems as hunger, starvation, justice, peace, etc.!

Not only must we accept the solution of this ontogenetic instinct called hunger arrived at by scientifically-minded administrators, but we must also accept their decision as to the kind and quality of food which is suitable for our system. Let me illustrate: a European Imperial service man, born with a natural genius for science, was a member of a certain committee appointed to investigate the grave problem of reckless extravagance prevalent amongst government clerks, who had organised themselves for submitting to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales a petition for increasing their salaries. The inquiry was considered to be politically necessary because, according to the confidential report of a C. I. D. officer, this reckless habit on the part of an organised body of clerks might cause serious discontent and shake the foundations of the government established by law in British India and was likely to excite disaffection and hatred towards the officers of the department entrusted with the judicious administration of its finances. It was whispered in commercial and financial circles not only in Calcutta, but also in London and New York, that the deficit of two crores in the Bengal, and the threatened deficit of 19 crores in the Government of India, budget was due solely to two causes, (1) the extravagant rates of salaries of clerks, (2) the extravagant rates of salaries of school masters. So it was very wisely proposed to cut down these two scales of salaries, or to do away, if possible, with these two classes of officers in order to avoid the imposition of fresh taxation so soon after the introduction of the Reforms. However, of this later on. To resume our main topic, the European member of the committee asked a certain clerk,

who appeared before him to give evidence, why he wanted such a tall salary as Rs. 75 a month. On his supplying the member with the details of his domestic expenses, he at once, with the shrewdness of his intellect and precision of his scientific instinct, hit upon the true cause of his extravagance and consequent misery: *viz.*, "Rs. 5 a month for milk for his baby!" This worthy gentleman was astonished to be told, after 25 years' solid experience of Indian life, that babies are fed on milk! He went on to suggest a food which, both on medical and economic grounds, was more suitable, *viz.*, beef-soup.

If beef-soup is cheaper than milk, why do foolish people, asked he, object to killing cows and want to save them in order to drink milk which is trebly and quadruply dearer? This is contrary to all sound economic laws against which it is vain for them to beat and foam. If economic laws sanction the sacrifice of ultimate good for the sake of the present, the good of society for personal good, why should they evince any scruple, under the influence of maudlin sentiment and silly phantasies, to sacrifice all other laws, *e.g.* laws of religion, laws of morality, laws of health and laws of humanity to economic laws? The clerk could not suppress a smile; and it is on record that he was reported to the head of his department for impertinence and to the secret police for watching his movements. In brief, we are bound to bow to the decision of the Imperial service men as to the quantity and quality of food we should prescribe for us and for our babies and widows. The question whether we deserve to starve owing to our social and religious customs, or to the ethnological and other characteristics which place us on a very low plane of civilisation, or whether we deserve to become extinct on impact with a higher civilisation according to the biological law of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest - this question is, I understand, being investigated in one of the Research Institutes by the scientific members of the Imperial service; and after the results of their investigations

are published, a Royal Commission will be appointed to make recommendations on this and other allied questions which may arise incidentally out of the same. In contrast with the case of half-civilised Indians who, according to zoologists, can very well thrive on leaves and grass, and even on nature's air and water, just as many animals of the lower type do, the case of the members of the Imperial service stands on a different footing. The latter belong to a continually rising type of civilisation, the criterion of which is continuously fresh wants. The man who belongs to the highest type of civilisation is, therefore, he whose wants are boundless and unsatisfiable. Admitting, as we must do, this criterion of civilisation, the wants of the Imperial service men are perpetually increasing and it is the duty of their employer, the state, to do everything in its power to satisfy them, by economies in other directions, by taxation and even by borrowing. Their present grievances are genuine, real, insistent and acute: and to redress them the following minimum requirements must be satisfied:

(1) A motor car -with a chaffeur--or a motor launch, if the head-quarters are close to a lake or a river. This is absolutely necessary if tours of inspection are to be made, and efficient supervision over the Indian staff has to be maintained. These tours of inspection are becoming increasingly necessary in order to study the behaviour of the animals, known as "Indians," and to devise, after laborious research, measures for their feeding, nurture, exercise, etc.

(2) Electric installation for fans and light, in their offices and private residences to enable them to work under 'home' conditions, and to think calmly for the welfare of Indians.

(3) Free furnished quarters, to be occupied without deduction of rent from their salaries: until such quarters are provided, a suitable house rent and an allowance for furniture and crockery should be granted.

(4) The grant of travelling allowance to enable them to

resort to theatres, cinema palaces, races and clubs at least twice a week to and from towns where these exist.

N.B.—If the government considers that it would be more economical to erect such places of recreation and amusement than to pay travelling allowance, the government is at liberty to do so.

(5) Cost of return passage home on full pay for himself, *wife, and children, with an ayah for each child, every six months.*

(6) Instructions to police officers to procure eggs, fish, meat, vegetables, milk, etc., at less than market rates. There is no objection to pay more than market rates for British-made goods as this would benefit their own countrymen.

(7) The payment by government of the excess of the prevailing rates of wages for servants over standard rates based on three years' average preceding 1914.

(8) Greater facilities for tours of inspection and more liberal scales of travelling allowance.

If, in the interest of India, the Imperial services have to be maintained at the European standard of excellence, probity and efficiency, there is no reason why the above concessions should not be provided at public expense. The ultimate economy which would result from the grant of these concessions would be evident to any person with a scientific frame of mind. A European can perform three times the amount of work he at present does under improved conditions of comfort and convenience, and under the stimulus of pleasure and enjoyment. Whereas, it has been scientifically demonstrated by the highest experts on experimental psychology that an Indian becomes dull, lethargic and effeminate under similar conditions. It, therefore, logically follows that if the above concessions were granted, the members of the Imperial services would be able to do, in addition, the work which their Indian subordinates are now doing, and an ultimate saving could be effected by the abolition of the entire Indian staff. No question of policy is involved in the

improvement of the position and prospects of the clerks and school-masters, for no complaints of a serious nature, threatening to subvert the government of His Majesty established by law in British India, have been heard from them. If they did make their voice articulate and powerful, they could easily be replaced, to the immense relief of bankrupt Bengal and still more bankrupt India, by other starving men of whom there are a plenty and to spare in the province and outside of it. As stated above, it is scientifically inadvisable and economically unjustifiable to give these men, who are notoriously prone to extravagance by spending recklessly on milk for babies, warm clothing in winter, *dal* in addition to rice and such other luxuries, higher salaries which are, according to the unassailable testimony of science, injurious to their physical and moral welfare.

From a consideration of all the arguments bearing on this problem, it is indisputable that true economy consists in providing ever-increasing comforts for the Imperial services and in stubbornly refusing to grant a farthing of increase to the clerks and the school-masters. I am glad that the government has realised the truth of this sound doctrine for it has shown great courage and foresight in definitely postponing the increases, inspite of public clamour, for at least five years. These five years were very wisely interposed as "feelers" and have performed their proper function in bringing out the real truth that the people are too well off to require any state assistance. If matters have gone on smoothly and without any outburst of violence for the last five years, they might go on as smoothly for the next fifty. These five years furnish an unfailing test of the imaginary nature of the grievances. There may have been wails here and lamentations there in the homes of the sufferers; but they are of no political moment, as the law and order of the state has been admirably preserved, thanks to the salutary examples of Amritsar, Chandpur, Chittagong, etc. No increase of policemen and

super-policemen has been called for, and there is no fear of the Police or the Military budget being unfairly and impertinently criticised by rowdy councillors. So the administration goes on merrily and can go on jolly well for ever, inspite of hungry clerks and lean school-masters; and there is no fear of any dislocation in the machinery on that account so long as the vital parts are properly lubricated. Experience justifies the wisdom of the government's action; and in the present bankrupt condition of our province it ought to be applauded and supported by every public man who has the interest of the reformed government and the finances of the province at heart. If the clerks and school-masters by concealing their real affluence show a bold front again, why, that would provide an opportunity to the government for a great humanitarian work coupled with the display of statesmanship of the highest order in the domain of finance. It would give the government an opportunity to replace the existing men by starving graduates and undergraduates whom this University has turned out by the thousands. If they again express dissatisfaction with their position and prospects, they may be dealt with similarly as their predecessors had been, until we have a corps of school-masters and clerks drawing salaries of Rs. 10 rising by a quadrennial increment of one-eighth of a rupee in the upper, and one-sixteenth of a rupee in the lower grade. Thus the whole country will have been filled with thousands of loyal and grateful citizens who have "eaten the salt" of government and Bengal will have returned to her old prosperity. Blessed is the day when such a Utopia, hitherto the dream of political philosophers, is born, and proud is the government which claims it as its offspring! In this Utopia there will be no waste of money, talent or efficiency, and the foundations of a code of economic principles will be well and truly laid for the guidance of every government in all ages and in all countries.

SATISCHANDRA RAY

THE PLASSEY DRAIN

One of the immediate effects of the battle of Plassey was a drain of the Nawab's treasury. Mir Jafar had promised in his treaty with the English to pay large sums of money as compensation to the Company and to the English, Indian and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta for their losses at Siraj-ud Dowla's capture of the town. This restitution money paid by him in 1757 amounted to £2,150,000. In addition to these compensations, Mir Jafar, after his accession, made large "presents" to the Company's servants. The Select Committee of 1772-73 estimated the total amount of these "presents" at £1,238,575, out of which Clive alone received £234,000. It appears that during the period 1757-1765 this profitable business of making and unmaking Nawabs in Bengal, brought to the Company and its servants no less a sum than £5,266,166[1] (exclusive of Clive's jaigir). The greater part of the wealth which Alivardi had hoarded, did not reach the hands of Mir Jafar. So the ultimate effect of this drain of the Nawab's treasury, was felt by the people of Bengal.

Far more serious was the drain of wealth from Bengal for which she received "no equivalent returns." Controversy is peculiarly keen as to the nature, extent and destination of this outflow of wealth from Bengal which began after the battle of Plassey. According to some writers, this drain was in the form of bullion, especially silver and it went chiefly to England. Thus Digby refers to the vast streams of treasure

[1] The Select Committee's Third Report (1773), pp. 311-12.

According to this Report, the sums paid as presents and compensations amounted respectively to £2,169,498 and £3,770,833, &c., to a total sum of £5,940,498 within eight years of the defeat of Siraj-ud Dowla. To find out the amount of money paid as presents and compensations by the Nawabs of Bengal, the restitution money of £583,333 paid to the Company by Shuja-ud Dowla and the presents of £32,666 to General Carnac in 1765 from Balwant Sing and the King and of £58,333 to Clive in 1766 from the Begum have been deducted from £5,940,498.

which began to flow into England from Bengal soon after the defeat of Siraj-ud Dowla. But we do not find any mention of this drain of bullion to England in the Reports of the Select Committees of 1772-73, of 1782-83 or of any other Parliamentary Report of the period. Vansittart, Verelst, Bolts, Milburn and MacGregor are all silent on this point. Sir John Shore is the only important writer, having first-hand knowledge of the economic condition of Bengal of this period, who refers to the drain of bullion to England. In his Minute of the 18th June, 1789, he observes "Silver bullion is also remitted by individuals to Europe; the amount cannot be calculated, but must, since the Company's accession to the Dewany, have been very considerable."[1] But it will be clear from subsequent discussion that neither the Company nor the private individuals did export any considerable quantity of silver to England during the period under consideration. The Select Committee of 1782-83 suggests a very strong argument in support of this view. "To send silver into Europe," observed the Committee "would be to send it from the best to the worst market."[2]

The Company's servants and the English free merchants had a more profitable means of sending home their fortunes than by the actual export of silver, *viz.*, by purchasing bills on any foreign or on the English Company. They could send also diamonds for transferring their fortunes to Europe. This latter method of remittance appears to have been long-standing, for in an order of 4th October, 1716, Fort William, one Mr. Prager was permitted to reside at Benares "for the purpose of trading in pearls, diamonds and other precious stones, in order to afford to individuals means of remitting their property to Europe." Generally, however, the purchase of bills was preferred to the purchase of diamonds for purposes of remittance,

[1] The Fifth Report, Vol. II (Firminger's Ed.), p. 33.

[2] The Select Committee's Ninth Report, 1783, p. 15. It may be noted here that Edmund Burke was the author of this report.

because there was no fixed price at which such diamonds could be sold in Europe. But the Court of Directors were at first quite unwilling to have any bills drawn on them, in favour of their servants or of private English individuals, wanting remittances to England. They generally prohibited the drawing of such bills. Even when they permitted such bills to be drawn, they were "allowed at too low a rate of exchange to be availed of." Lord Clive, in his letter to the Court of Directors, of 28th November, 1765, pointed out that "the refusing to grant bills will undoubtedly throw large sums into the hands of foreigners, particularly the Dutch, as immoderate riches have been lately acquired." The Court of Directors were at last convinced of the unwisdom of their policy and in their letters of 11th November, 1768, and 17th March, 1769, authorised bills to be drawn on them, for the ensuing season to the amount of £212,789. The Government of Bengal did not pay much attention to this limit imposed by the Directors and in 1770 it sold bills for £1,063,067. The increase in the amount of bills drawn on the Directors from this time suggests that these bills had become the most convenient method for transferring individual fortunes to England.[1]

The transfer of such individual fortunes to England by means of bills, did, however, cause a drain from Bengal. It resulted in a drain of goods and not of bullion. With the greater part of the proceeds of the sale of such bills, the English and foreign companies purchased goods for export but in exchange for such exports Bengal received no corresponding imports. It is difficult to calculate the total value of this drain because the amount of bills bought by Englishmen in Bengal from the English and foreign companies[2] cannot

[1] From the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) we learn that the amount received in Bengal for bills of exchange on the Court of Directors during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 was £2,598,931.

[2] According to the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of 1783 (p. 16) the drain to England, resulting from the purchase of bills on foreign companies was 1 million pounds sterling per annum.

be determined with any precision. But whatever may have been the amount of this drain, the East India Company was not responsible for it.

The direct drain to England on account of the English Company was also in the form of goods. It first arose in 1757 on account of the receipt of large sums[1] by the English Company in Bengal, for its military and political services to the native rulers. The surplus of this money over the actual expenditure, was used for purchasing articles of export in exchange of which Bengal received nothing. We do not know the value of the Company's Bengal investments from 1757 to 1760. According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773), the investment from Bengal during the period 1761-1765 was £1,786,760, *i.e.*, an average of £357,352 per annum. If it therefore be assumed that the total investment from Bengal during the period 1757-1765 was about 2·7 million pounds sterling, (*i.e.*, an average of £300,000 per annum) it will not be an over-estimate. The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal during the period 1756-1764 was £1,037,411.[2] As the Company did not import any bullion to Bengal from 1757 to 1797, the direct drain from Bengal to England, during the first nine years after the battle of Plassey, could not, therefore, exceed the difference between the total value of the investment and the total value of the merchandise imported during the same period and must have actually been smaller than this difference.

Another drain began also in 1757 from which year silver from Bengal began to be exported to China to provide funds

[1] According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) the net amount received by the Government of Bengal, for its military services to the native rulers, after making donations to the army and paying compensations, etc., was about £1,190,000 during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71.

[2] MacGregor, p. 120. The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal during the period 1756-1764 was £879,996. To this we have added £157,415 of bullion imported in 1756. But we have not considered in the above calculation the profit and loss on the Company's export and import trade.

for the Company's China investment. So far as this exported silver did not bring in exchange any import to Bengal, it resulted in a drain from Bengal to England *viâ* China. The exact amount of this drain is also difficult to calculate. The letters of the members of the Select Committee of Fort William to the Court of Directors, on the 31st January, 1766, throw some light on this subject. The members observed that that year they had set apart £300,000 for the Company's China investment. The Select Committee of 1782-83 estimates the average value of this drain at £100,000[1] per annum.

But the chief drain for which the Company was responsible, arose out of the investment of the surplus of the territorial revenues of Bengal. Such an investment began regularly from the year 1766. It arose under the following circumstances. After the grant of the Dewani, most extravagant ideas were entertained in England as to the advantages to be derived from the so-called fabulous wealth of Bengal. The enormous fortunes made by the Company's servants, were, to a great extent, responsible for the prevalence of such ideas in England. The proprietors of East India Stock and the British Government demanded a share of the territorial revenues of Bengal. "About £2,000,000 was added to the annual dividends of the proprietors; £4,000,000 was given to

[1] Ninth Report (1784), p. 16. It appears that the money sent from Bengal to the other British settlements in India was spent not only for meeting the actual territorial expenses of the Company in those parts but also for providing money for the Company's investments. Thus the Governor and his Council in their letter of the 24th March, 1768 to the Court of Directors observe "the demands made on us from the Presidency of Madras, for the support of the war, amount to 20 lacs of rupees. We have determined to supply them with 12 lacs from your treasury and have desired them to appropriate 3 lacs for that use from the sums we have remitted thither, *for the service of your China investments.*" (The italics are ours.) The exact amount of the drain from Bengal to England through China or through other British settlements in India is therefore almost impossible to calculate. According to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) the net amount of remittances from Bengal to other settlements in goods, bills and bullion during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 was £2,358,298.

the State[1] which, added to the old Dividend, brought a constant charge upon the mixt Interest of Indian Trade and Revenue, of £800,000 a year; this was to be provided for all events." Thus, the demands of the Parliament and the proprietors as well as the Company's own requirements necessitated the transfer of the surplus of the territorial revenues to England. The transfer took place in the form of exports from Bengal. According to the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of 1783, this drain finally ceased[2] in 1780. The value of this drain approximately amounted to ten million pounds[3] during the period 1766-1780.

What then was the total drain to England during the period 1757-1780? This amount cannot be accurately calculated. It appears to have been something like thirty-eight

[1] By Townshend's Act of 1767 (7 Geo. 3 Cap. 57) the East India Company undertook to pay £400,000 per annum to the British Government. This payment was continued only for 5 years. The total amount paid by the Company to the British Government from 1768 to 1775, both years inclusive, was £2,169,399. (Langton's evidence before the House of Commons, on the 21st July, 1831.)

[2] As the territorial and commercial accounts of the Company were mixed up before the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, it is difficult to say when the investment out of the surplus of territorial revenues first began and when it finally came to an end. It is however certain that the greater part of the funds for investment during the period 1766-1780 came out of the surplus of the territorial revenues of Bengal.

[3] This amount has been determined from the following calculation. The total Bengal investment during the period 1766-1780 was £12,360,261 The value of the merchandise imported to Bengal from England during the years 1765-1779 was £1,903,911 As the Company did not import any bullion to Bengal during this period, the drain of surplus revenue could not have been more than £12,360,261 minus £1,903,911. It must have been somewhat smaller than £10,456,353 because a part of the funds for investment came out of the proceeds of the sale of bills of exchange on the Directors of the Company. As the territorial and commercial accounts were mixed up, the value of the Bengal investment provided out of bond debts raised in that province cannot be calculated. But such investment really amounted to an investment out of the surplus of the next year's revenue, because bond debts created one year, were often discharged during the very next year Thus during the period 1761-62 to 1770-71 the total bond debt created by the Company in Bengal amounted to £1,337,731 and the bond debt discharged during the same period amounted to £936,196. Such debts did not amount to a large sum before the year 1780. The investment from this source was therefore small and has accordingly been neglected in our calculation. With regard to the investment out of the surplus of territorial revenues, Burke writes in the Ninth Report, "Goods from Bengal, purchased from the territorial

million[1] pounds sterling. Even if it was a few million pounds more or less than the above-mentioned sum, it must have meant a very heavy burden on the people of Bengal, because the purchasing power of money was then at least five[2] times as high in Bengal as at present. It is needless to say that this heavy drain greatly impoverished the province of Bengal.

revenues, from the sale of European goods and from the produce of monopolies, for the four years which ended with 1780, when the investment from the surplus revenue finally closed, were never less than a million sterling, and commonly nearer twelve hundred thousand pounds. This million is the lowest value of the goods sent to Europe, for which no satisfaction is made." In a footnote, Burke adds "The sale, to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds annually, of the export from Great Britain ought to be deducted from this million."

[1] We have arrived at this amount from the following calculation :—

(1) The drain to England caused by the export of silver to China by the East India Company at the average rate of £100,000 per annum (*vide* the Ninth Report, 1783) during the 24 years from 1757 to 1780 was £ 2,400,000

(2) The drain to England resulting from the purchase of bills on the foreign companies at the average rate of 1 million pounds per annum (*vide* the Ninth Report, 1783) during 24 years was ... £ 24,000,000

(3) The drain to England on account of the Company from 1757 to 1765 was approximately equal to £ 1,000,000

(4) The drain to England arising from the investment out of surplus revenue and out of the proceeds of the sale of bills on the Court of Directors during the period 1766-1780 was approximately equal to £ 10,000,000

Total ... £ 38,000,000

To this sum of £38,000,000, we should add the value of the drain to England, caused by the export of bullion (1) to China by private English individuals, and (2) to Madras and Bombay by the Government of Bengal, in providing the Company's investment from those places; this drain cannot be determined even approximately, so we have omitted it from our calculation. We have not considered also the shipping charges and other invisible items of export and import.

[2] Appendix 15 to the Sixth Report, 1782, quotes from Fort William Revenue Consultations, of 29th November, 1776, the following list of prices of necessaries of life in 1729 and in 1776 :-

Articles.	Rate per rupee at Murshidabad, in 1729.		Rate per rupee at Calcutta, in 1776.	
	Mds.	Srs.	Mds.	Srs.
Rice, fine, called Bansphool-				
1st sort ...	1	10	0	16
2nd sort ...	1	23	0	18
3rd sort ...	1	35	0	21

As has already been said, the greater part of this drain was in the form of goods. But on account of the oppression on the weavers, the monopolistic power of the Company and the unfair competition of the Company's servants in the inland trade of Bengal, the native merchants and manufacturers were little benefited by the increased export which resulted from this drain. This drain also made possible a revolution in commerce, which was partly responsible for the scarcity of silver currency in Bengal during the greater part of the period 1757-1772.

JOGIS CHANDRA SINHA

Articles.	Rate per rupee at Murshidabad, in 1729.		Rate per rupee at Calcutta, in 1776.	
	Mds.	Srs.	Mds.	Srs.
Rice, coarse, called Desna	4	15	0	32
„ „ „ Poorbie	4	25	0	37
„ „ Munsurah	5	25	1	0
„ „ Kurkashallee ...	7	20	1	10
Wheat—				
1st sort	3	0	0	32
2nd sort	3	30		37
Barley	8	0	1	13
Bhenot, a kind of grain for feeding horses ...	4	35	0	20 to 22
Oil, 1st sort	0	21	0	6
2nd sort	0	24	0	6
Ghee, 1st sort	0	10½	0	3
2nd sort	0	11½	0	4

The above list of prices in 1776 may be compared with the prices of necessaries in 1913-14 to get a rough idea of the purchasing power of the rupee during the period 1757 to 1770.

Reviews

Al-Siddiq.—By Mohiuddin Ahmad.—This monograph is an excellent piece of literary workmanship. Not only has the author used the materials available in the European languages, he has made considerable draft upon original sources. It is written in a pleasant style and does credit to him. It is free from bias or partisanship and seems marked by sound historical judgment.

His subject is an inspiring one. No Muslim can think of the Caliph Abu Bakr without a thrill of pleasure and pride. In an era of bloodshed he kept his sword stainless; in an age of moral chaos he set the example of a life pure and immaculate; in a period of time-serving he showed himself a model of unwavering love and loyalty. Glory to thee—for thine is the place among the greatest and sublimest heroes of the world! But with Abu Bakr we must associate Omar—the St. Paul of Islam, as Renan calls him. Nay more—the real Empire-builder of Islam. A consummate statesman, a finished legislator, an ardent lover of Islam, firm, unbending, intrepid, resolute—Omar has left a record of achievements behind him which challenges comparison with the achievements of the greatest rulers of mankind. Abu Bakr and Omar were the true twin-born builders of the Islamic Empire—the *par excellence* champions of the great Religion launched by the Prophet Mohamed. Their names tower far above those of all other Muslims. They are the highest peaks of Islamic wisdom and Islamic statesmanship.

I trust Mr. Ahmad will follow up this study with the study of the life of the Second Caliph.

The life of the Caliph Abu Bakr may be briefly told. It was a life of devotion to the cause of Islam—absolute, undivided, whole-hearted devotion. The cause of the Prophet was his cause, and so were his joys and sorrows. Abu Bakr lived for him and died for him. It was a life-long friendship tested by every possible variation of good and bad fortune. It was a flawless friendship, loving and romantic, enduring even unto death. His faith in Islam was perfect and complete. It was a heaven-sent religion and had the support of the Almighty behind it. No power on earth could crush or conquer it. It was sent as a blessing to mankind. Such was his belief and it was this belief which sustained him—serene

and imperturbable—amid doubts and darkness and gloom which pervaded Arabia immediately after the death of the Prophet. Amidst difficulties incredible, and troubles unending, he clung to this belief. Nothing could alter or shake or weaken his conviction. Love for the Prophet was his ruling passion—extension of Islam, his one consuming care. After the death of the Prophet when heavy banks of cloud hung over the horizon of Arabia he calmly, resolutely, pursued the path indicated by the Prophet. Neither the desertion of the Arabs, nor the fear of their threatened revolts—nothing could deflect his course. The expedition under Osama had to proceed and it did proceed and with what glorious result. It was the triumph of faith untarnished. Short was his reign but not too short to see the whole of Arabia won back to Islam and the Muslim Arms triumphant beyond the confines of his native country. He lived to hear of the conquest of Hira in May or June, 633 and of the Battle of Aijnadin in Palestine in July 634. He died on the 23rd of August 634 and was buried beside the Prophet. After a short separation the two loving friends were in death united—never more to part.

Abu Bakr's private life was as irreproachable as was his public life. Nothing indeed, could be suggested against him except that he was too indulgent to Khalid. But that was an act of political wisdom. He used the treasures, which his general sent out to him, for purposes of state and state only. He himself remained as poor as before, and continued for sometime even as Caliph, to maintain himself, by trade and farming, until his companions persuaded him to devote himself entirely to government. Then alone did he decide to accept a few thousand *dirhams* a year and a summer and winter suit. He was kind simple and pious. As the first collector of the Qur'an, to him belonged the credit of its complete preservation. As a lawgiver, he set an example to his successors, for in cases unprovided for in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet he gave decisions in consultation with the jurists; decisions which, with few exceptions, became binding authorities.[1]

Henceforward, to Islamic studies we must really turn seriously, earnestly, fervently. Therein we must seek our inspiration and thence true inspiration will assuredly come. There we shall find examples of heroism, devotion, bold thinking and fearless courage—examples which should cheer and refresh us on our toilsome path of progress and freedom and enlightenment. What has been achieved in the past—we can achieve now and more so.

[1] Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Peoples, p. 57.

perchance, in all spheres of human activity. The path is open to us—only the will is wanting. In our hands lies our future. We shall make or mar it. Should we not then gird up our loins and make a start? Is that not our obvious duty, our imperious necessity? Can there be two opinions on this question?

In the programme of our progress, I place education far above everything else. Not that false education which creates maddening discontent and fathomless sufferings of the mind, but that true education which imposes self-discipline and self-control; which teaches self-respect; which will show honour where honour is due but which will scorn and trample in the dust that false glory—the price of which is slavery and self-effacement.

Such an education naught but our own history and tradition will give. And such an education is all that we need.

Who can stir us to our depths as *Hali* can? Surely neither Shakespeare, nor Milton, nor Victor Hugo? In him we hear our most intimate thoughts, our loftiest hopes, our highest aspirations. Who can teach us and lead us to the path of wisdom as Sir Syed Ahmad can? Are not his works a source of unfailing light and revelation to us and the generations to come? With guides such as these, we shall never falter and fall and with a literature, such as the Islamic literature, we need go nowhere else, to seek light and leading.

India is slowly but surely awakening to the realities of life. Her sleep of Ages is over. Her dreams are done.

Light cometh but slowly!

S. Khuda Bukhsh

LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY

Human Needs and the Justification of Religious Beliefs—Alban. G. Widgery, M.A., Baroda, 1918.

Personality and Atonement—Alban. G. Widgery, Baroda, 1918.

Immortality and other Essays—Alban. G. Widgery, Baroda, 1919.

The prestige of religion has been so great in recent times that even trained thinkers expected to pursue truth and judge for themselves are willing to support the arbitrary deliverances of a 'revealed' scripture or a

supposed light of nature. What is to be established is already settled; philosophy comes in later to explain why it is true. Its function becomes only a proof of dogmas, if such a paradoxical expression be allowed. The destructive effect of scientific knowledge on orthodox belief has led to a suspicion of human reason in religious matters and so it is being said that the true is not that which is in harmony with reason but it is the satisfactory or that which fulfils human needs. But rational man cannot long be satisfied with intellectual indolence. It is vain to protest against thinking which, after all, combats superstition and not true religion. Prof. Widgery discusses in his work on "Human Needs" the relation of religious beliefs to the needs of man and rightly decides that the needs include the theoretical as well as the emotional and the practical ones. Religious beliefs are valid if they satisfy the needs of the human spirit as a whole. He criticises the attempts made by some recent thinkers, notably the pragmatists, to separate life from logic. Such a view has been responsible for much obscurantism and anarchy in religion. We have prophets of new religions at the present day who juggle with truth in the name of religion and mystify the simple-minded on the convenient assumption that man 'needs' mystery. Chesterton hits off the weak point of the pragmatistic notion when he says that, "pragmatism is a matter of human needs and one of the first of human needs is to be something more than a pragmatist" (Orthodoxy). The rational part of human nature is also of the divine substance of life. God is Eternal Reason as much as Eternal Love and Eternal Goodness. Ultimately no belief which is not rational can satisfy the spiritual being of man. Ritschl in spite of his intention to abjure all metaphysics in religion, never succeeded in freeing himself from metaphysical construction. It is a false theory to assume that philosophical truth is one thing and religious truth another.

It follows that religious doctrines will have to change in obedience to philosophical demands. Throughout the long history of Christianity attempts to reconcile its doctrine with the growing knowledge of the times have been very common. There were men in the days of the Apostles who advocated a Gospel without the Cross. In the 4th century, Arius taught a Christianity without the supernatural scheme of salvation. In the 15th century, the Renaissance came very near paganising Christianity. To-day we have attempts by the Liberals, the Unitarians, the Modernists, etc., to present Jesus as the most perfect man that ever lived, with a Bethlehem which saw no miracles, with a Cross which witnessed a sublime self-sacrifice but knew no atonement for sins and with a sepulchre from which no angel's

hand rolled away the stone. In the two books on Atonement and Immortality, Prof. Widgery takes up the task of restating the principles of Christianity to suit our times. In his opinion "the Churches have failed very largely because they have been and are still too concerned to spend their energy and power upon the preservation of their traditional formulation of doctrine and traditional organisation" (Immortality, p. 77). Jesus is the central hope of Christianity. His life and teaching must be kept distinct from the contributions of the apostles and the churches (*ibid*, p. 71). The author is indifferent to the miraculous element in Christianity. He explains it away on the hypothesis, that "being of extraordinary goodness and personal power, Jesus was the object of so much adoration on the part of his disciples that along lines well known in human psychology, they made for him and even put into his mouth claims he did not himself make" (Human Needs, p. 26). The physical aspect of Resurrection does not interest him. The significance of Resurrection is that the mission of Jesus did not end when he was crucified. "Atonement is a convenient term to include (1) Reconciliation, the healing of discord between persons; (2) Regeneration, the change of attitude leading the individual to a higher level of life and so into closer harmony with men and God; and (3) Redemption, from suffering" (Personality, p. 11).

After this recasting of Christian doctrine, Prof. Widgery can justly say that "with regard to the person of Jesus, enlightened non-Christian view and the liberal Christian conception tend to converge to a greater harmony" (Introd. to Human Needs). 'Enlightened non-Christian' view looks upon the life of Jesus as an illustration of the normal law of spiritual growth and victor,. It is ready to worship Jesus, peerless alike in joy and sorrow, in grief and goodness, possessed of an inward peace and a triumphant gentleness which are not possible without faith in God who knows all and sees all. His life embodies the consolation and the tragedy of spiritual effort. Liberal Christians of the type of Harnack look upon the career of Jesus as a supreme example of "eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God" (What is Christianity? p. 8). Prof. Widgery admits that "all men may become sons of God in every way that he is, by becoming morally and religiously like him, that is, by framing their lives absolutely on the principle of active love" (Immortality, p. 108).

We have in these books of Prof. Widgery a refreshingly frank statement of what is living and what is dead in Christianity. Many of our Christian friends in India may not like his rendering of the doctrines, which does away with the *uniqueness* of the Christian Gospel. But if they remember

that India is unable to accept Christianity as her own on account of the doctrinal details about the Divinity of Christ, the Virgin birth, the Resurrection, the Fall and the Atonement, they will realise the service of Prof. Widgery to the cause they have at heart. If Christianity means a kind of life which we are to share, if it consists in a moral summons to a change of heart and a spiritual prophecy of the right of all to be saved, if it is to escape from the yoke of the natural law and effect the atonement of man with God, the soul of India will respond to the call of Christianity.

The books are written in an easy style, free from technicalities and are eminently suited for a popular audience.

S. R.

Acknowledged with thanks—The *Quarterly Review* (October), the *Hindustan Review* (November), the *Indian Review* (October), the *Mysore University Magazine* (September), the *Indian Antiquary* (November), the *Indian Review of Reviews* (August, September and October), the *Labour Leader* (Weekly), the *Motherland* (Weekly), the *Searchlight* (Tri-Weekly), the *Behar Herald* (Weekly), *Report on the Administration of Bihar and Orissa* (1919 20), the *Mahabodhi Society Journal*, the *Vedic Magazine* (October), the *Devalaya Review* (November), the *Bharati* (Vernacular Monthly), the *Palli Barta* (Vernacular Weekly), the *Prabhabar* (Vernacular Daily), the *Bangabasi College* and the *Carmichael College Magazines* and various other Government Publications.



Signing the Bond.

By kind permission of Professor Abanindra Nath Tagore C. I. E., D. Litt.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1922

NEW YEAR SONG[1]

God keep us in the year to come,
Between the times of palm and yew,
Of lilac and chrysanthemum.

God send our happiest wishes true
And build our broken towers anew,
Between the times of palm and yew,
Of lilac and chrysanthemum.

God keep us all the seasons through
And give us rain and sunshine, too,
And every cloud its bit of blue,
Between the times of palm and yew
Of lilac and chrysanthemum.

[1] This unpublished poem by the talented authoress Nora Hopper who died on 11th April, 1906, has been very kindly placed at the disposal of the Calcutta University by her husband Mr. W. H Chesson

God send each singing bird his mate
And lovers all a happy fate,
A rose to every sprig of rue,
Each blade of grass its drop of dew,
Between the times of palm and yew
Of lilac and chrysanthemum.

NORA HOPPER

THE CALL

[This little poem is by Eichendorff. It was written at the beginning of the great national revival in Germany against the yoke of Napoleon.]

Hark! Do you hear the wondrous whisper sounding
Which from our glorious age-long legends springs?
Our hearts with deep unuttered hopes surrounding,
Of Love and of the clash of arms it rings,
And eke of Liberty—and all she brings
To nations. Like a mighty goddess armed,
With crash of steel on shield, as from a grave
It wakes—our nation's manhood. All the brave
And dauntless hearts thrill to the call that rings,
And face the certain future unalarmed.

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What is this call o'erpowering petty strife,
This mighty call to paupers as to kings?
The hearts of men are but the music strings,
Through which now blows the breath of God's own Life.

POST-GRADUATE

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA,—WHAT IS TRUE CULTURE?

One often hears culture spoken of as eastern culture and western culture and the like. No doubt, there are standpoints which may justify such a distinction being adopted. But is there not a culture which is fundamental and distinctionless? One surely there must be and is. And it is the culture of the *whole* man, if such an expression may be allowed. Of course, the vast multitude of humanity consists of only more or less partially developed members of the race. Yet, there are certainly *whole* men in many parts of the world even now, though their number small. I mean by whole men, those whose lower nature has been subdued and is under perfect control, while their higher nature has been fully unfolded. These comparatively rare representatives of highly evolved mankind are by no means anxious to advertise themselves. They bear no visible marks singling them out from the rest of their brethren. They are the salt of society and are content to play their part silently and unknown In these circumstances is there no means of knowing what sort of culture is that of these exceptional men? Now, one desirous of knowing what its real character is, cannot do better than turn to that book of books, the Gita, the Song Celestial, as it has been felicitously described.

Though this Hindu Scripture has enjoyed unbounded admiration and reverence on all hands, it can scarcely be taken that the exact grounds for such admiration and reverence are generally understood. What are these grounds then? Manifestly one of them is that nowhere else in the whole range of the world's literature is the culture of the *whole* man outlined and portrayed with greater accuracy and beauty than in this famous colloquy between Krishna and Arjuna.

This is, of course, but only one of its highest merits. For, it is not merely the nature of the true man, the microcosm, *i.e.*, delineated with marvellous skill in this ancient dialogue but also the infinite microcosm and the basis of both, *Brahman* the absolute. Hence the claim made with perfect warrant, that the subject matter of the Gita is the synthetic science of the Absolute, *Yogobrahmavidya*—a term as old as the Rigveda and, as I am informed, to be found in it.

Now the erroneous veiw that western education has totally undermined the religious spirit of the Hindu community cannot be more strongly rebuked than by the fact that the Gita has been studied by thousands and thousands of ardent students thereof through the medium of English translation; relatively to whose number, that of those, who had the advantage of studying it in the original Sanskrit, was utterly insignificant. The aspiration to spiritual progress, which so great an influx of such students implied, has not been without a response from the invisible custodians of *Aryavartas Para Vidya* or the Higher knowledge, who are, of course keenly alive to their responsibility to forward the work of reconstruction of the world's affairs, now so urgent and needing to be helped and instructed by the study of the treasures of that *Vidya*.

One small proof of the said response is to be found in the coming to light not long since of a great and illuminating commentary on the Gita, which when it is printed and published cannot but show how little has hitherto been generally understood of the store of spiritual wisdom which as it were, this Scripture hides within the short compass of its 745 verses. It would take much space even to draw attention cursorily to the leading points supporting so strong a statement as the above. Before, however, offering the few remarks on this point which is all that can be attempted here, a little explanation is necessary as to the



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source from which this commentary comes. It is part of a large collection of commentaries on some of the most important Upanishads and other Hindu Sacred books including the Ramayana and the Mahabharata ; the collection being spoken of as *Khanda Rahasya* by *Hamsa Yogi*, by the members of an ancient Hindu organisation called *Suddha Dharma Mandala*. It is from one of the secret libraries of this organisation situated in Northern India, that the manuscript copy of the Gita commentary, under reference, has been obtained, at my instance, by one of the members of that organisation Pandit K. T. Srinivasachariar of Madras.

Though little was heard of this organisation until a few years ago, much interesting information regarding its constitution and nature is now forthcoming in the two parts of a work named *Dharma Deepika*, published by the said *Pandit*. Suffice it to say, that guided by the eternal truths, taught by such great Hindu scriptures as the Upanishads, the tenets of the organisation are absolutely free from all sectarian narrowness and bigotry; caste, for example, being held by this organisation to be out of date altogether in the present age and women being held to be entitled to an equal place in all matters bearing on the well-being of society. And the title *Suddha Dharma Mandala* points emphatically to the catholicity of those tenets. The explanation of the phrase *Suddha Dharma* is this. As stated in another work called *Yoga Deepika*, published by the same *pandit*, the members of this organisation view the godhead in three ways : – (1) *Saguna* or possessed of forms, (2) *Nirguna* or formless, but immanent in every thing and (3) *Suddha*, or the entirely attributeless, the absolute aspect of the Deity of which all that can be predicated is what is stated in the *sruti* passage, which runs "*Sathigam jnanam Anantham Brahma*," the One Reality, the Fount of All Consciousness, the Infinite. It is this expression *Suddha* that the organisation has utilised for its title with the object of showing that its tenets have

the very best spiritual basis; or, in other words, that those tenets are the reflections of the pure and eternal Law so far as any reflection of it, down here in this mundane plane, is possible.

Now reverting to the collection of the commentaries above referred to, the name *Khanda Rahasya* connotes that the commentaries in question explain the esoteric teachings to be found scattered in the leading Hindu Sacred books dealt with in the commentaries. As to the authorship of these commentaries, there is one peculiarity to be mentioned. The name *Hamsa Yogi* is not the proper name of any specific writer but the title of an office in the organisation, filled, from time to time, by one or more of the most learned among the members thereof; these office holders being charged with the duty of elucidating esoteric teachings contained in the chief Hindu Sacred books.

The reason for the selection of the phrase *Hamsa* is two-fold. Firstly, the work of these commentators is very much like that of the fabulous bird *Hamsa* which separates and imbibes the milk mixed with water. The next and truer ground for the name is that the great and main aim of these commentators is to inculcate the supreme lesson that the Spirit in man is no other than a fragment of the universal Divine Spirit; tellingly expressed by this phrase *Hamsa* which is literally "I am that," "I am Brahman."

I now proceed to offer a few remarks as to the invaluable light in which the Gita is presented in the commentary under reference. To begin with, the recension used for the commentary, is not the one commonly current. It is pointed out that the contents of the letter are not quite consistent with what they should be with reference to the verse which occurs in the last chapter, called the Bhagavad Gita Parva, forming part of the Bhishma Parva, of the Mahabharata. The verse lays down the exact number of the slokas containing the speeches of the four speakers in the *Gita*—Kris a

and Arjuna, Sanjaya and Dhritarashtra. The verse runs thus:

Ṣaṭśatāni Sarimśāni
ślokānām prāha Keśavaḥ,
Arjunaḥ saptapañcāśat
saptaṣaṣṭim tu Sanjayaḥ:
Dhṛtarāṣṭra ślokamekam
Gītāyā mānam uchyate.

Now, the total number of verses in the current editions is either 700 or 701 only instead of 745, as the total number should be, according to the above verse of the Mahabharata. Again, Arjuna's real contribution to the Scripture amounted to only 57 verses, while those put into his mouth in the current editions are more than 100. Turning to Sanjaya, he gets the credit in the old editions for only about half the number of his legitimate share of 57 slokas. As to Krishna himself, the old editions, strongly enough, omit no less than 34 verses appertaining to his share, though the whole of them as was to be expected are quite important, as *Hamsa Yogi* points out.

Putting aside the comparatively small discrepancies noticed above, it is important to point out that in the matter of the division and the arrangement of the chapters, there is a radical difference between the recension, followed generally, and that used by *Hamsa Yogi* for his commentary. Without denying that the division and the arrangement in the former recension have their warrant, *Hamsa Yogi* maintains, with ample grounds, that the more authoritative and acceptable arrangement is that of the *Suddha Dharma Mandala* recension. According to this latter the *Gita* proper consists of 4 sections containing six chapters each, with two additional chapters, one at the beginning and the other at the end, thus making up the total of 26 chapters. The reason for this arrangement is shortly as follows: The manifested

cosmos which, issues out of Brahman and is merged again in it, is made up of 24 elements, as taught, in the Gita itself, *viz.* 5 *Maha Bhuthas*, 5 *Thanmatras*, 5 *Karmendriyas*, 5 *Jnanendriyas Manas, Budhi, Ahankara and Avyakta*. It is this constitution of the cosmos, that is symbolised by the *Gayatri* of 24 letters with the *Pranava* both as a prefix and a suffix. Now the Gita as an exposition of the Synthetic Science of *Brahman* has to follow the analogy of the said symbol as many great ancient teachers have held. Hence the division into four sections preceded and followed by two chapters as just stated. What is vital, however, in this four-fold arrangement, is its conformity with the fundamental character of human nature, which it is one of the main purposes of the Gita to explain for the benefit of all aspirants to Spiritual Knowledge and the attainment of the goal of *moksha*, Nirvana, or liberation. It is scarcely necessary to say that nature, from the life side or the consciousness point of view, has three aspects, viz :— *Jnana* or Wisdom, *Iccha* or Will, Desire and *Kriya* activity: Conscionsness itself being the unity, the Summation. It is these three aspects of Consciousness, that the 1st, 2nd and 3rd sections in the *Suddha Dharma Mandala* recension bear upon respectively; the 4th or the yoga section being devoted to their synthesis.

Next turning to the order in which the chapters follow each other in every one of the 4 sections, it is to be observed that the sequence is equally noteworthy and highly suggestive. In illustration of this statement a brief reference to the order in the first section may be relevant. The first chapter here adverts to the Spiritual Hierarchy in charge of our globe. Its title *Nara-Narayana Gita* points to the supreme head of that Hierarchy, Narayana, so called by reason of His being, on the globe, the representative of the *Ishvara* of our solar system, who is also known as Narayana; whilst *Nara* is the Hierarch in special charge of all that concerns our humanity. The second chapter, called, *Arataru Gita*,



T. Vijayaraghavachariar, K. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai—17th December 1921

rightly follows and explains the rule of world government, providing for the appearance in our midst at the instance and under the authority of the Hierarchy, of mighty Beings in order to restore righteousness when it has waned through lapse of time and to inaugurate new civilisations suited for the particular age. The third chapter, called, *Adhikara Gita*, makes mention of the fact that the several departments of the Spiritual Government of the world by the Hierarchy is presided over and administered by those Hierarchs who are known as the Seven Rishis and the Four Manus and so on. The fourth chapter, called, *Siksha Gita*, indicates that such administration has its rules and regulations applicable to its procedure. The fifth chapter, called, *Karana Gita*, calls emphatic attention to the one cause of the Phenomenal universe, namely Brahman in its *Atomic* aspect. And the sixth and the last chapter, called, *Kaivalya Gita*, declares that the end of man's evolution is *Kaivalya* or liberation which inures not merely to the individual benefit of the liberated soul but serves that soul using the exalted wisdom, power and capacity which accompany the state of liberation towards forwarding the mighty work of creation and preservation of worlds and world systems undertaken and carried on by the Divine Trinity known to all great religions under varied names, Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, Father, Son and Holy Ghost and the like. In passing, it is to be observed, that the culture of which such liberation is the highest fruition is that fundamental culture alluded to by me in the beginning of this article, the culture of the *whole* men explained in the Gita in all its bearings.

Passing to *Hamsa Yogi's* explanations of the verses themselves it is certain that he is at his best in this respect. By way of illustrating this remark it is now only possible to touch upon a striking point made by him with reference to the opening pregnant verse of the Gita and to another point made with reference to the verse

beginning with the words *Thath cithi*, possessing considerable significance.

The first of the said two verses, the commentator states, has been introduced in its place, in accordance with the well established rule, recognised in Sanskrit literature, that every great treatise should indicate at its very beginning either by express words or by the sense (*Sabthatho Arthathova*) what the subject-matter of the treatise is. He proceeds to show that by means of this verse, the Gita complies with such rule, and the subject-matter of the scripture is, as the language of the verse in terms explains, the nature of man, the microcosm. This position of the commentator is proved by bringing out, in strict accordance with Grammar, the inner meaning of the leading words in the verse; those words themselves being what were skilfully chosen to convey esoteric truths under the guise of an allegory. In this view the blind king and his party stand for the lower and the dark side of man and *Dharma-kshetra* for his dense body in which that part of his nature finds expression; whilst *Pandavas* stand for his higher and bright side, *Kurukshetra* being the fine and subtle bodies wherein this higher part works. In short the question, put in the verse, is one which every man has to put to himself sometime or other, *viz.*: —"what am I this seeming bundle of warring elements?" Thus explaining the verse, *Hamsa Yogi* maintains that the whole of the rest of the Gita is an exhaustive answer to this inevitable and all important question,—an answer that would enable all true aspirants after spiritual progress to furnish themselves with all the requisites needed for their carrying out the injunction of the Delphic Oracle, "know thyself." Now here it is necessary to note that the position taken by *Hamsa Yogi* that the subject-matter of the Gita is the nature of the microcosm does not conflict with the broader view that that subject-matter is, likewise, the synthetic science of Brahman. For both views are reconcilable having regard to the Hermetic maxim—"as above so below"; from

which it follows that the comprehension of the lower is impossible without the comprehension of the higher. The connection between the lower and the higher is so inseparable as to make it unavoidable that the Gita should treat of both. And it goes without saying that the scripture does treat of both the microcosm and the macrocosm with unparalleled clarity and fullness. Nor does *Hamsa Yogi* fail to show that this is in fact the case. For he discusses the point at length in his masterly introduction. He there cites the erudite *Tankacharya's* comprehensive definition of *Yoga Brahma Vidya* and proceeds to establish that the requirements of this definition are fully complied with in the Gita; relying, in effect, upon the passages referring to (1) the great *Avyakta*—the Unmanifest, the Absolute; (2) the all pervading *Atman*, the Universal Self; (3) the *Para* or *Daivi Prakriti*, the *Mahachaitanyam*, or the One Life of the infinite cosmos and (4) the *Mulaprakriti* the one root of all that is spoken of as matter and the one seat of all forms.

Lastly, as to the second of the said two verses under explanation, the importance of the verse is that it refers to the existence of the provision in our world, without which humanity would be really helpless in regard to the all essential matter of the acquisition of the knowledge of the Sacred Science, the highest of all Sciences, that of the Self, *Atma Vidya*. The provision, in question, consists of the presence, in the world, of that Supreme body of Teachers who form an integral part of the machinery of the Spiritual Government of the globe, referred to in Chapters I to IV of the first section of the Gita as explained in the last paragraph. These teachers are spoken of in the verse as masters of Wisdom and the Seers of the Truth *Jnanani Thatwadarshi* who alone are competent to impart knowledge of Brahman. As *Hamsa Yogi* luminously points out, the verse indicates the course of discipline open to those aspirants desirous of obtaining such knowledge and training at the hands of the

masters; and this it does by the three well known aphoristic phrases used in the verse, *viz.*, (1) Prasna, (2) Prani Patha, (3) Sevaya.—These phrases show that the disciples of the Great Masters are of three grades. Those of the lowest grades are in the stage of enquiry and study. The next grade disciples are those, who having passed this first stage, offer themselves unreservedly from practical training under the guidance of the master and try to live the life of purification and self restraint indispensable to the treading of the Path of Holiness described in the Scripture as a Path as narrow and sharp as the edge of a razor *Kshurasya dhara*. The highest grade of disciples are those who are more or less treading that Path and serves their teacher by Service to God and Humanity.

It is finally pointed out that Arjuna exemplified in himself the said three stages: first, by his confession of his ignorance of his duty and the desire to learn more about it; next by offering himself as a disciple to Krishna and lastly as the result of the teachings vouchsafed to him by his Divine Guru, he entered into the battle and fought it to the finish, in obedience to the Divine Command that it was his duty to do so utterly unmindful of its consequences to himself for the reason that such unflinching performance of duty, unaffected by personal motives, was necessary in the interests of the world whose *Karma* rendered the war.

I trust I have said enough to justify the high opinion that has been formed of the merits of the commentary which has come to light so recently. And I conclude with the expression of the hope that the discriminating support, needed for the publication of this latest valuable addition to the literature of India's greatest Scripture, likely to make a handsome volume of about 1,000 pages, will be forthcoming and thus make it accessible to the earnest students of the Scripture, whose number is happily and steadily on the increase day by day.

S. SUBRAMANIYA AIYAR

THE THREATENED DISSOLUTION

(The first great fruit of the Reforms)

The Calcutta University is on the throes of a grave financial crisis and unless relief is forthcoming during the next few months, it will relapse into its former status of an examining and a degree-conferring corporation, with no teaching functions which characterise all modern universities. It will be remembered that the Indian Universities Act of 1904, empowered the then existing universities of India to undertake teaching functions, and the Calcutta University was the foremost to enter on this undertaking with a courage, determination and purpose which were singular of their kind in India, and for which, I am afraid, she is now going to pay the penalty. They were singular inasmuch as they were, it now seems, far in advance of the times; for, if the University now died from lack of public support it would justify the only conclusion that was possible, *viz.*, that it had become a social excrescence, a diseased limb or atrophied organ of the body-social, which the Bengal society had better got rid of, if the life of the society had to be preserved. It had, in short, ceased to be a part of the social organism, and it could not draw its nourishment from society, because society had ceased to be nourished and invigorated by it.

To interpret clearly the situation which this unnatural state of things presents itself to the social mind in general, and to the mind of the social reformer and the politician in particular, it would be necessary to survey, in brief, the lines along which the Calcutta University has developed and to discuss how far these activities are likely to contribute to social progess, how far they are out of harmony with the needs and the spirit of society, or whether a university is an integral

part of a modern society and must be maintained if society has to thrive and advance.

It will be recognised that a well-equipped university, dominated by a high purpose, represents many-sided activities, co-extensive with the activities of society. Its function is to direct and encourage cultural and utilitarian education in all its aspects so as to fit the citizens for every sphere of good and useful life. The subjects of study and research are accordingly manifold and indefinite and a university would not be worth the name if it failed or neglected to make adequate arrangements for the study and research in all branches of humanistic and naturalistic thought and culture. We need not, therefore, be surprised if the Calcutta University has provided for the study of subjects like Anthropology, Phonetics, Fine Arts, Ancient Indian Culture and History, Indian Vernaculars, and languages like Sanskrit, Pali, German, French, Japanese, Chinese and Tibetan in addition to such subjects as Philosophy, History, Economics, English, etc. The object of providing for these languages is obvious to all who have some fascination for the cultural internationalism of the civilised world. Pali, Tibetan, Japanese, and Chinese—the principal languages of the East—are necessary for the intensive and extensive study of Indian culture in its various stages of development from ancient times. German and French are necessary to bring the students into touch with the vast lore of scientific and philosophic thoughts of the West. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the Queen of Asiatic languages—Sanskrit—with the philosophy, drama, poetry, history, law, mathematics and the dialectics of this ancient land which it unfolds to the explorer. The scope and sources of anthropological and sociological studies are nowhere more fruitful and wide than in this country with its many languages and dialects, its manifold races in various stages of civilisation, its religious sects, its customs, rituals, faiths and festivals. As regards the naturalistic studies, there can be no question of their

immense utility and value in a country which has been characterised as scientifically backward. That this bad reputation has been somewhat retrieved by the magnificent work done by the College of Science within a short time of its establishment is a sufficient justification of its necessity. The University has appointed just a sufficient number of teachers and not more than is necessary, for the vast field of work covered by the above analysis. It has only *partially* supplied the needs of a diversifying system of higher education so as to suit individual tastes and capacities and to avoid the vast waste of human talent which the pre-postgraduate system involved. It has undertaken the teaching of various branches of Eastern and Western culture which a scheme of liberal education ought to encourage and provide for, and it has endeavoured to adapt both the naturalistic and humanistic branches to the insistent needs of the craving soul and a developing society. It has attempted to develop a vast organisation, to be sure, with very slender resources in men and money. The attempt was beset with insuperable difficulties; but it proceeded to solve and dissolve them with courage and foresight and not to shirk them because of their magnitude. The difficulty about *men* was greater than that about money. The whole country had to be ransacked to discover suitable men; and, as western scholars could not be imported owing to financial considerations, the University adopted the only practicable and economical course, *viz.*, to appoint and train intelligent and promising Indian graduates. Assuming, on a very moderate estimate, that a young man fresh from the University takes between five to ten years to qualify himself for the teaching work of a university type, and considering that the teaching department was organised only about eight years ago, we cannot expect startling results during the comparatively brief period of its onward development. Neither can it be asserted with a clear conscience that their training is complete. But the sceptic and the pessimist may be assured that the University has secured

good material and that the men are doing admirable work and better work is certainly expected from them as they grow in maturity and knowledge. Some of the results of their academic investigations have been published and have received recognition in other Indian universities as well as abroad; while their lectures cannot be said to be altogether barren of interest and fruitfulness. The lecturers have displayed greater interest and enthusiasm in their chosen and favourite subjects than had even been displayed in the olden days. Unfortunately our University has not enjoyed that measure of public and state sympathy and support which have been the mainstay of the universities of Europe and America. The lecturers are given the minimum salaries which may be said to be fixed on a competitive basis. To free them from domestic anxieties, to enable them to get up a workable private library of their own, and to prevent them from being attracted to government and other services, they are given the lowest salaries commensurate with their educational attainments. In no case can the salaries—which amount on an average to say Rs 240 per head—be called excessive; and cases are not rare in which they are on a much lower scale than that which prevails elsewhere for men of similar qualifications. Exception has been taken in certain quarters that their work is not proportionate to the remuneration they get. This has been done with a purpose. Leisure and opportunities have been provided for each teacher for free and unarrested pursuit of study and research. Some have, no doubt, profited by them; others could not, unfortunately, turn them to good account. But it is undeniable that if these facilities had been denied and all men worked under uniform and onerous conditions, there could not emerge out of the field a differentiation which sifted the researcher from the student, the man of originality and inquiring spirit from the man of industry, capacity and love of study. These facilities have thus separated certain natural differences



JOHN LEDYARD DUNCOMB, EARL OF ROSSLYN. *To face p.*

of talent which are not only valuable, and useful, but which work toward an essential harmony of purpose, *viz.* the highest end of the University.

The University is only performing nothing more than a legitimate function by providing for a multiform system of education necessary to revive the ancient culture, of India and thereby to give Indians a status in the academic world, to increase their self-respect in the eyes of the West, to accomplish a synthesis between the cultures of the East and the West, and lastly, to supply intelligent guidance to the varied spheres of social and industrial life. In the comparative scarcity of gifts and endowments as well as in the stinted support of the state, the University has adopted such measures as have been found to be well-adapted to fulfil its self-imposed. but none the less, legitimate obligations to the public and to the state. It has, even at the risk of being charged with extravagance, done all that is possible to provide facilities for study and advancement of learning. What is called extravagance by outside critics, may justly be called sound, productive and judicious investment of funds in the organisation, development and utilisation of the latent resources in talent, capacity and intelligence of the country. It may be admitted that its teachers compare unfavourably in quality with the teachers in western universities; but this is an unavoidable accident which cannot be dispensed with without serious loss to the nation. The post-graduate department of the University is now in its infancy: it is performing the dual function of educating the youths of the country and of training teachers for higher work by investing them with a responsiblity. The organisation of a large teaching staff carefully selected from among the flowers of its *alumni* with a view to develop a group of eminent teachers in all departments of human culture, is a national ideal. The potential value of such an organisation in the social and cultural life of India is stupendous. It is accumulating and

conserving a great national asset and reserve of immense intellectual value and power. No Indian, so long as the faintest spark of patriotism smoulders in his breast, should grudge the expense which is incurred by the University in building up this valuable asset which is destined to be the common property of the nation. Already some of its stars are shedding their lustre in Dacca, Lucknow, Lahore and other parts of India; and the time is not far off, when the young lions of the University will constitute a strong and vigorous band of scholars in their respective branches of study. Experience of the last forty years it is said, has shown that English graduates do not invariably develop a talent either for study or research in this country. They usually begin to take interest in its politics and they take interest in it because they find in it a happy field for the free exercise of their faculties as members of a ruling race. Study and scholarship are merged in a passion for power; and administrative work is preferred to teaching work which possesses no fascination for the instincts of a ruling race. There have been of course, exceptions to this rule: but they rather prove the rule. The University itself, has, as most people are aware, also learnt the bitter lesson of the consequences of importing Europeans for teaching work: but no person has so far condemned that policy inspite of its obvious weakness. If that policy is discarded as impracticable and extravagant, the alternative policy, which the University is at present pursuing, is the only sound and practicable one, both from a financial and from a national point of view. How much more essential then is it, in the interest of finance, nationalism and efficiency to train young men for the work of higher teaching. Superficially viewed, the expenditure may appear to be extravagant and fruitless, but if one goes deeper into the ultimate cause, one will be gratified at the ultimate saving in money and the addition to national talent, capacity and culture which the system will produce. The teaching department of our University should be regarded as a national

concern of great productive value and should not be lightly condemned on narrow grounds. It is an institution which depends for its sustenance on the desire for satisfaction of the higher and nobler impulses of human nature, to create and distribute learning in pursuit of the mission of a really progressive and many-sided organisation. No institution or organisation having, or professing, a high national purpose should be judged by the sordid test of pounds, shillings and pence; but by the test of the higher purposes of the state and national life. Higher national values, any more than human values, cannot be measured by money. The teaching department of the University, inspite of its "praiseworthy faults," has, it must be confessed, emancipated the latent intelligence and capacity of our graduates which would have remained quiescent and in bondage in any other atmosphere. It has given scope to intellectual freedom, and stimulated a degree of intellectual curiosity and activity which is unprecedented in the history of this University.

A very unjust demand is made by certain enthusiastic scholars that all the teachers in a university should be researchers. This demand is not only unrealisable in practice but inconsistent with the fundamental differences in human nature. The primary function of a university is no doubt to extend the bounds of knowledge and to discover the Truth in every department of human activity but to adequately fulfil this function presupposes an approach to the frontier of knowledge. Indeed, university work consists of the co-operation of two distinct classes of workers—teachers and researchers. The former work within the limits of existing human knowledge leading their pupils by sure paths towards the frontier. Not before reaching the frontier are they stimulated with a hankering for what lies beyond. At this stage, the function of the researcher begins. He tries to show them the way to a distant and glorious vista of knowledge and truth, by the light of which existing

knowledge can be tested or enriched. The function of the teacher is to interpret or expound existing knowledge: the function of the researcher is either to increase or re-interpret existing knowledge. Thus, the former cares for his students; the latter cares for his subjects. Researchers are not made but born—persons gifted with originality, imagination, an almost intuitive perception of truth, a faith akin to knowledge, and an intuition almost bordering on reason. A teacher imparts knowledge to a student; a researcher inspires him with a desire for knowledge. A university performs its functions incompletely if there is no co-operation between the teacher and the researcher. It would be advisable that both should work co-operatively, but that their functions should be kept distinct. Their association in a university is necessary to train the mind and the character, the head and the heart of the young, and to teach them the inner and deeper meaning of life and Nature.

Another charge that is often made against the University is that it is governed by an autocrat. An autocrat has been a prominent figure in the histories of nations. It is autocrats who have, in every age and in every country, directed and shaped the destinies of people at times of religious, political and educational upheavals. Great ideas originate in the reformer: a reformer who achieves his ideal against popular prejudice, popular sentiments and popular opposition, is, in one sense, an autocrat. Where is that reformer who has not, in some stage of his activities, played the part of an autocrat among the people whose hoary and unsuitable institutions he is bent upon reforming? For a time, he must go against popular opinion until events and results demonstrate the value of the reform when the people acclaim it as a boon and the reformer as their hero. A reformer's lot is to encounter persistent and sometimes violent opposition: but no reformer is true to his faith unless he makes sacrifices, and is capable of convincing by logic, by persuasion, by facts, and, if need be,



Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Earl of Reading, Doctor of Law.

INDIAN ART SCHOOL
CALCUTTA.

by example, the truth and altitude of his ideal, and brings the people round ultimately to his way of thinking. The 'despot' of the University has been animated by such an ideal—he has faith in its truth, and he has faith in the right way of approaching it: his vision is far-sighted and clear: but unfortunately he cannot show others what he sees so clearly himself. If he could discover a machine like the crescograph he could demonstrate by a scientific operation the goal of his vision—his ideal. But, unfortunately ideals, cannot be visualised—they are not material objects. They can only be felt—and felt only by those who feel as the reformer feels.

Now, how do the people of Bengal feel about the functions of the Calcutta University—what according to them is an ideal university for Bengal? The answer is furnished by the spirit of commercialism and industrialism which dominates the world—the spirit which bestrides all nations like a colossus. It is the domination of matter over the spirit, of wealth over morals, and of utility over culture. The inevitable result of this world-force is to set the less materially progressive nations in competitions with those more progressive. And we behold among the people of Bengal, as in people of other provinces, a demand for a utilitarian type of education which they claim will fit them for the practical pursuits of life. A utilitarian education is a narrow type of education; and it tends to be personal and pecuniary, if it is divorced from the cultural type. A utilitarian education without cultural education is not complete education and a society without cultural education is not a complete society. It lacks the brain centre which supplies intelligence to all social activities requiring intelligent performance and direction. The University in a social organism is the centre of intellect and freedom of thought—the *fons et origo* of ideas and ideals which mould social phenomena and advance social progress. Whatever social activity requires intelligence for its initiation or guidance, must owe its

debt to the university from which flows the intellectual stream which is distributed as if by innumerable channels to innumerable fields of action, fertilising them by its freshness, its originality and its power. No social activity requiring intelligence can thrive without the vitalising influence of the fountain of thought and culture: and they will wither and decay if the source dries up, of the stream it cut off from the source. In other words, there must be a co-ordination and perpetual connection between the university and the diverse activities of man. Cultural and utilitarian education are both necessary in society—the former, to supply motive force and inspiration to the latter; the latter to realise in practice and to apply to social good the principles and ideas inculcated by the former. The former is required by the leisured class, the latter by those who must labour for their living. A university is therefore, directly necessary for the former and indirectly, for the latter. Labour is coming into power in the modern world and peremptorily demands utilitarian education to be provided by the state: at the same time, labour should not be permitted to be despotic. Some amount of moral restraint is necessary against the onrush of labour movements. This restraint is furnished by the cultural element in society which tries to maintain a healthy balance between culture and utility. Liberal or cultural education cannot therefore be altogether discarded especially when labour threatens to dominate society. On the contrary, the two types of education should be synthetised and co-ordinated in the organic framework of society. Europe and America became intensely industrialised and commercialised long before India promised to be—but there is demand there for more, rather than less, cultural education than before. There is a growing demand for newer types of universities no doubt—but demand there is.

It may be argued that our University is an ideal. It is: and probably it is unattainable like all ideals. But the ideal requires continuous inspiration and motive power for action and

is never a cause for inaction. It is still in the stage of ideas—it is a great and potential idea. It is still, in Herbert Spencer's phraseology, an "undifferentiated jelly" just emerging into form, life and shape, and requires careful handling and sedulous and constant nurture for its growth. This idea is the germ of a great institution promising to be materialised and fully developed in all its branches. But till then, the public had not only better suspend its judgment, but carefully nurture it. No great change, political, religious or educational, has been achieved immediately in response to a public demand: and the path towards an ideal is long devious and arduous. The life of the teaching department of the University has been too brief to warrant a final judgment on its achievement or its fruitfulness. The seed of a great tree has been sown on very good soil; and time alone will show its many-sided ramifications and utilities. As has been said before, the public must feel as the reformer feels to perceive the ideal which he has kept in view; and the reflection of this ideal will be visible and distinct in proportion as the social mind is unruffled by doubts and prejudices and is pervaded by a clearness of imagination and serenity of thought. It would be an evil day for Bengal if the public were to dethrone the existing University from the high pedestal it has occupied so long and so worthily, and enthrone in its place a purely utilitarian institution. Let there be, by all means, an extension of the present structure by the addition of one or more utilitarian wings; but there can be no greater disaster to the cause of intellectual progress in Bengal than to build a new structure based on the narrow principles of wealth—production on the ruins of the existing fabric which rests on the higher principles of culture, nationalism and other spiritual factors connected with the EMANCIPATION AND REALISATION OF THE SOUL OF OUR NATION.

SATISCHANDRA RAY

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER VII

WHICH SHOWS THAT EVEN AN ASTUTE DIPLOMAT MIGHT POSSESS A HUMAN HEART

Jagat's happiness was but short-lived. Within a couple of days Harilal got his orders for the transfer and made ready to get away. The first dark cloud had arisen in the lives of the two children: at present it was no bigger than the palm of one's hand, but none could foretell whether it would pour forth a destructive flood or would disperse harmlessly. He talked as if sure of meeting again some day, but often they came very near tears at the grievous idea that it may be never again. At last the day of parting came. Jagat insisted upon going to the station to see them off. Harilal put a rupee in his hand as a parting gift: but there was no smile on Jagat's face nor did his heart for one moment cease shedding bitter tears. He gazed and gazed at the receding train until he could no longer see Tanman's face. And when the train had gone quite out of sight nothing was left but the tears in his eyes From that time Jagat thought that light had faded out of the sun. He roamed about the house all day with a long face.

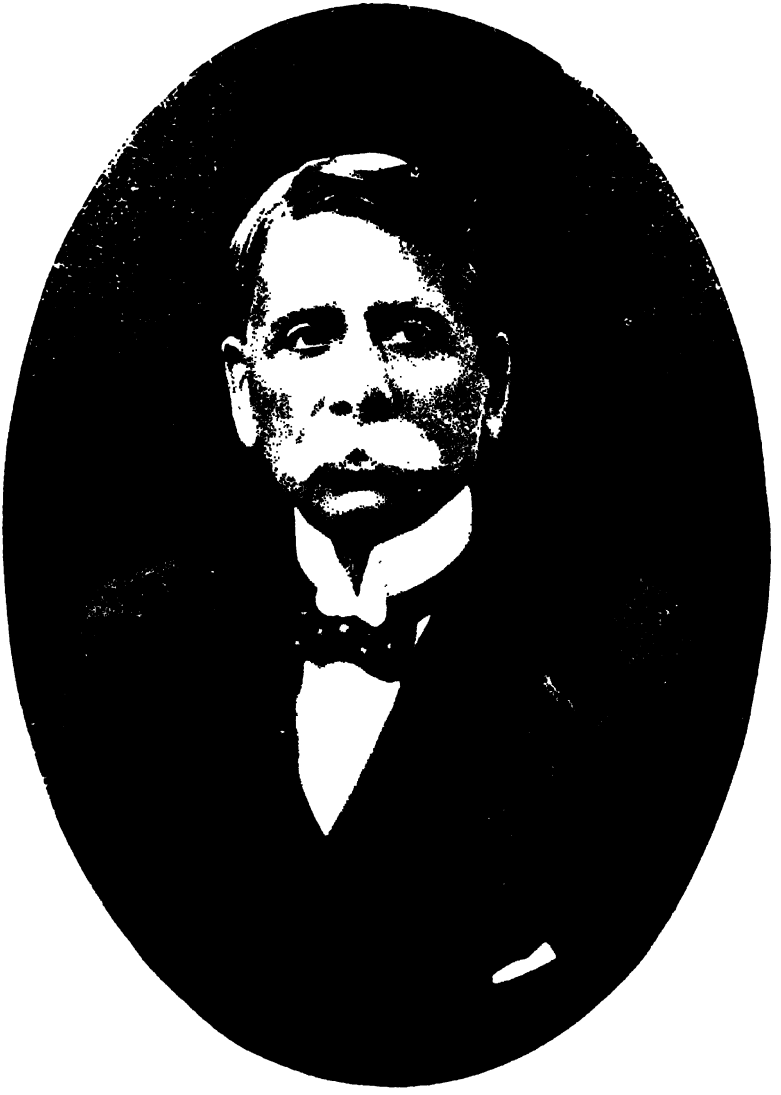
"Oh, mummy dear, I feel very sad indeed," Jagat cried to Gunavanti at noon.

"My dear, all will be well soon. Do have a little patience."

"But, mother, when will Tanman come back?"

"How do I know, dearie? But she shall come back. It will not do to worry yourself thus. There are to be many such meetings and partings in life. In a little while you will understand it all."

"What will he understand, sister-in-law," chimed in the honied voice of Raghubhai. He had just come in.



SYED AMEER ALI—*Judge of the*

"Oh, I was only explaining to Jagat about pleasure and pain."

"Then please explain it to me as well." Sometimes Raghubhai used to be a bit free with Gunavanti. At first this seemed rather strange for a grave man like Raghubhai. In the words and in the voice there was the faintest trace of some terrible ulterior motive. But it might be nothing; being always together under one roof such little liberties might be permitted—thus did the simple honest-minded Gunavanti quiet her disturbed imagination.

"What can I explain to you? You are so very learned."

"Not at all by a great deal. But, sister-in-law, you are always so grave and solemn, that is not quite proper. You are at perfect liberty and should be quite free here, you should feel quite at home here."

"Of course, I do feel quite at home. But is that Rama crying? Is Kamala out?" and Gunavanti hastened away from his presence.

Raghubhai walked upstairs and sat upon the swing. His mind was swinging in time to its motion. One sentence of Anantanandji last night coming on the top of all, had kindled every base desire in him. Raghubhai had derived quite another sort of inspiration from those few words. He saw the Divanship within his grasp. The Swami seemed popular and clever; of course, it was impossible for any one else to be more clever than himself—of this latter proposition Raghubhai was quite sure. Why should not the Swami, Ranubha, Champa—everyone—serve as pawns in his little game of chess? And the result—Revashankar checkmated and Raghubhai victorious.

Two days passed away. Raghubhai woke up one day with joy in his heart. In a few days from now, he would get the assistant Divanship, he would climb one more rung of the intended ladder; hence his mind was full of joy. Raghubhai's mind, however, was different from ordinary minds; his joy

and his sorrows were peculiarly his own. In his mind--in his heart—everything moved according to fixed rules. There was no place in it for useless anxieties, for love not understandable, for yearnings not to be expressed—for trifles as these. His brain was playing merely a game of chess or was working out a sum in mental arithmetic. His Highness, the Divanship, Kamala, Rama all these were the various terms written down one after the other and the sum total was to be "Raghubhai"—not put down in ordinary type but in capitals RAGHUBHAI. To live well, to dress well and above all, that people should speak well of him—this was the test of the correctness of the answer. If, in order to get the answer correct, a minus quantity—a murder, for instance—had to be introduced, it did not matter in the least; but the answer *must* come out as indicated.

But in this an indeterminate term had now crept in—Gunavanti. The queen in the game of chess had got beyond the chance of capture[1]—had, so to say, run amok. To appear thoroughly respectable *and* to make Gunavanti his own,—to reconcile these apparently opposed objects was now the game. He was now preparing to aim simultaneously at both these targets without caring for their opposite directions. His preparations were worthy of a great commander like Napoleon. People believed that Raghubhai took care of the wife and child of his old patron out of pure friendship, and so they admired his generosity. Endless favours were being heaped upon Gunavanti, so it was just possible that she might look kindly upon him. All might be arranged privately at home in three or four years' time, without any one else being the wiser. Haste makes waste. Kamala had not sense enough to see what was going on, nor had she the strength to speak out even if she saw and understood. "Well, well, the tender leaves of my fate are now beginning to put forth blossoms."

[1] In the Indian game the last piece left, besides the King, may not be taken.

muttered Raghubhai often to himself complacently stroking his forehead.

Raghubhai got out of bed and opened the window. The sun had not yet risen. In the growing light of the dawn Gunavanti was drying her clothes after her bath and was singing a morning hymn by Narasingha Mehta[1] in a low melodious voice. The eyes of Raghubhai shone with a new savage lustre. A new problem of chess had arranged itself in his mind. But a strange irregularity had forced itself into the hitherto well regulated game; one piece had got beyond control and beyond all rules of the game. He breathed a little more quickly, in his heart he felt an unexplained warmth, his quiet undisturbed emotions felt a strange ruffling; the veteran arithmetician discovered an unknown algebraic *x* among the columns he was adding up. Fortunately (or unfortunately) Gunavanti was walking about with her eyes cast down. Had she looked up,—she might have seen a pair of hungry, menacing eyes, lusting for each graceful curve of her pure body, devouring her limb by limb; and she might have at once escaped from their unholy presence.

When Raghubhai came down there was a trace of warmth in his cold tones, just a tremor in his usually steady hands;—except for this, there was no indication of the instrusion of that unknown *x*. When at breakfast Gunavanti was serving him, every approach of her hand fanned his heated senses like a wonderous coasting breeze. After breakfast Raghubhai went to the prince's *durbar*.

In the evening Raghubhai was back early. His usually steady feet were almost dancing with joy, his eyes sparkled with joy. He had won something that day: he seemed to see his desired object within easy reach now.

[1] The Father of Gujarati poetry and perhaps the most popular of Gujarati lived from A.D. 1415 to 1481

"Sister-in-law," cried Raghubhai as he entered the house, "my star is in the ascendant to-day."

"Is it? Have you become the Assistant-Divan?" asked Kamala.

"No. It is something else. What will you give me? Give me something and I shall tell you; I want my reward."

Gunavanti looked up. Such tender tones, such youthful jests from Raghubhai were as strange as the rising of the sun in the west. His eyes were glaring at Gunavanti with a strange passion. Gunavanti was by nature most unsuspecting. Possibly people in their joy look strange out of their eyes, she thought.

"What is it? Speak out, please," said Kamala.

"No. It concerns the welfare of our sister-in-law. What price will you give, what reward? Speak."

"What can I give? But what is it?"

"To-day I spoke to His Highness about Jagat and he has ordered an allowance for him untill he comes of age."

"Indeed! Is it really true?" The love-crazed mother pressed Jagat, who was sitting by her side, close to her heart.

"Yes, twenty-five rupees a month."

"Really! Thank God, He has at last had pity on the poor. I need not have any more anxiety about Jagat's education now. Raghubhai, we have to be deeply grateful to you: indeed, we have."

"Why should you thank me? It was but my duty and I did it. Who else would have done this if not I?

"Of course, who else? But, Raghubhai, I have had a letter from my brother-in-law and he has sent a pressing invitation to us to go to him at Surat." Gunavanti handed over the letter to him. As Raghubhai took it a tremor shook his frame, he felt a shock as the letter made the electric contact with her hand, he could hear the beats of his own heart the joy-bells of victory. The spark fell upon the fuel ready laid and the flame burst forth. The chess problem was all forgotten,

but one piece remained—the queen. "Very well, we shall send the reply in a few days," he said and went upstairs.

After some time Jagat roused himself from a deep reverie and asked, "Mummy, can three people live comfortably on twenty five rupees ?"

"Why ?"

"Oh, I merely want to know."

Jagat's young head was thinking of something. Gunavanti could easily understand who the three were and said with a smile "Yes, three can easily live on that sum."

In Jagat's brain the words were re-echoing—"Mummy, you and I."

CHAPTER VIII

Raghubhai or Devil

The conflagration had started in right earnest and Raghubhai felt as if being choked. He could scarcely un erstand. Every fibre of his being was echoing. "Gunavanti, Gunavanti." He changed his dress and reclined upon the *gadi*, shut his eyes and tried to be calm—but he failed. He got up and had some dinner. One or two flatterers had come to see him, but he sent them away. They were surprised to find the sweet-tongued diplomatic Raghubhai with his mind thus strangely befogged. One of them remarked, "Oh yes, this mental fog will increase as he goes on." To-day he was befogged indeed, but the fog was not the sort they thought it was. Excusing himself Raghubhai went to his room to write. Poor innocent Kamala had put little Rama to bed and then retired herself without suspecting anything The noises of the day were stilled; quiet reigned over the whole house. The Kotwal Saheb was not counting the steps to the Divanship. His befogged mind was busy with other calculations; he was trying to add up the unknown algebraic x as if it

were a determinate arithmetical figure and his sums were all going wrong. But the day had been auspicious; he had greatly obliged Gunavanti. She would surely hesitate to reject his advances. Raghubhai got up not knowing what to do.

He heard the hour of midnight clashing out from afar. Outside all was still. Only in Raghubhai's heart a tempest was raging. There was a brute, lustre in his eyes. Outwardly there was no ripple on the surface, but a submarine eruption was in progress in the depths below. He got up, went to the staircase, stood still. Wisdom whispered caution. What if she spurned him? What if he were exposed? Raghubhai was accustomed to overcome every obstacle by his doggedness and his tact. Even His Highness had been subdued, and who was this?—a mere fickle frail woman!

He came down the stairs slowly. A dim oil wick was burning in the next room. Gunavanti had not yet retired. She was sitting on the swing doing her needlework. Jagat was fast asleep in his bed. There is a special characteristic of hearts which are habitually cold, without a spark of love to warm them;—there is ice eternal around them and when that thaws there is naught left but cold water. Raghubhai's heart stopped beating,—at any rate he thought so. He waited a while behind the door, then advanced one step. The swing was going gently, slowly; Gunavanti was bent upon her needlework. He went in and stood behind her. Sometimes we become aware even of an unseen presence. Gunavanti felt some such thing and looked up; she got down from the swing and faced him.

"What do you want?" she demanded sternly.

She had read his thoughts from his face. The dim light of the oil wick fell on the tall, graceful form of Gunavanti. He thought at that moment that the dazzling beauty of heavenly *Apsaras* was investing her; she had grown a thousandfold more beautiful in his eyes. Raghubhai was

trembling in every limb. His coward lips could frame no answer to her question.

"The headache cure—is it here? I could not find it upstairs."

"No. It is not here. It must be upstairs. Go," ordered Gunavanti with dignity. Raghubhai's head was whirling. He might have obeyed her at once, but his limbs refused to budge from there. Unfortunately the tender heart of Gunavanti could not suppress a surge of pity; she was overcome by the distress in Raghubhai's looks. "Have you really got a headache?"

These kind words made matters worse. The shame and fear of Raghubhai grew less— his mind went back to its usual calculations. She shall submit or he shall know the reason why. For a couple of minutes they stood gazing at each other. "Gunavanti," Raghubhai's voice was unrecognisable, "Gunavanti! What shall I do? How can I manage this?"

"Manage what?" Poor Gunavanti did not know what to say nor how to get out of this trouble.

"What? Oh, Gunavanti, do you not understand, I am dying? Do you not know? Why do you torture me? Without you life is but dust and ashes," and he stretched forth his arm. As already mentioned, Raghubhai was a special type of person. At this moment, for once in his life, he had forgotten himself, had failed to rein in his emotions. If just at this moment Gunavanti had spurned him, had addressed him a few harsh words, Raghubhai might have gone away, for he had but little courage. He was terribly afraid of public exposure; he would have made every effort to avoid a scandalous scene. But Gunavanti went about it the wrong way. She entreated in a pleading tone, "Raghubhai, your mind is not clear at this moment, so you are talking all manner of nonsense. Go now to bed and sleep" With her eyes open, Gunavanti still refused to see the devil within that man.

"Sleep? How can I sleep? my heart is on fire. You alone can cool it. Gunavanti! Gunavanti! I am your slave,—come to me, come to my arms." Raghubhai came a step nearer. Gunavanti retreated a bit.

"What do you mean, Raghubhai? You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Just remember with whom you are talking. Remember your dead friend and brother. I am utterly helpless and you behave thus!"

Gunavanti was only wasting precious moments. These entreating words had but one effect on Raghubhai. The fierce flame of passion had already begun to cool, worldly wisdom had come to the aid of his brain. As a result fresh figures were put down, fresh calculations were started. She was a mere woman, her youth and the proverbial frailty of woman would also be helping factors, she would remember the obligation of to-day, and to retreat after coming so far would be mere folly—bidding eternal farewell to all hopes. As shame retreated in the background he began to speak more freely.

"I have thought all about it. The conclusion is—only you. Without you all else is worthless. You shall have to yield. Why waste time in useless talk? Don't be foolish. The days of chaste matrons and woman-saints are gone," he said with a faint smile. Raghubhai's true nature was now slowly asserting itself. Gunavanti was completely roused by these words. She could never even have dreamt that such animals were known—nay, were respected,—in this world as "men."

"Raghubhai! Raghubhai!" burst out Gunavanti passionately, "What are you saying? Do you think that because I am helpless, that because I live in your house, you might propose to me anything you like? Saint or no saint is no concern of yours. Is this your gratitude? Have you forgotten that you promised to treat me as your own mother? Was it for this you brought me here?" Gunavanti's eyes filled with tears.



A cool person enjoys very much the sight of his opponent getting hot. Raghubhai, the ardent lover had disappeared, in his place only the clever rogue remained.

"For what else then? Had I food stored in my house that I could feed two extra mouths gratis? Gunavanti! Why bandy words? You will merely awaken the boy."

How base, how treacherous, how shameless! Gunavanti felt every nerve tingling with shame and rage. She wanted to rouse Jagat by shouting, but on second thoughts she did not deem it wise. She desired to spare her son even a fleeting glance of this shameful scene created by Raghubhai.

"Is it Raghubhai speaking or a devil? So you brought me here for this? And you think I will yield—that I will be the partner of your hellish passions? You do not know me well yet."

Raghubhai repented his last words uttered hastily. He felt they might have been better pitched in a humbler tone. So he said, "I do know you, Gunavanti, I do know you. These last four months every moment of my waking hours, every thought of my brain has been striving to know you—has been absorbed in you alone. Come, Gunavanti, come to me." He came near Gunavanti with a theatrical air, thinking to win her over. He tried to kneel and take hold of Gunavanti's hand. At his mere touch, all the fury in Gunavanti's heart burst out unchecked; her eyes grew fiery red with passion and hatred; her face, her whole body glowed with the terrific rage of a warrior-queen. With her open hand she dealt a resounding blow on Raghubhai's face.

Raghubhai got up, rubbing his cheek, cowed down, but still growling like a cur that has been kicked. Facing him was the furious lioness beautiful even in her rage; the flame of passion leapt higher. Biting his lips and with bloodshot eyes he glared at her for a few moments. His resolve was firm, his brain was cool. The blow had merely hurt his pride a little. His voice was hoarse and low, his words came hissing

through his clenched teeth. "So you mean to resist? You will not obey my wishes? You will not be my slave? Remember, you *shall* accept me as your master. I am accustomed to having my own way."

"Coward! Villain! Traitor! Do your worst. If you remain here a moment longer I will shout for help."

Raghubhai thought rapidly. If Gunavanti could not be persuaded there would be a terrible exposure and he would completely lose his position in society. Better it were to force her to be his partner in sin and thus stop her mouth. If not by persuasion, he could still use force. He rushed upon her and before Gunavanti could understand anything held her firmly in his arms. Then like a serpent entwined round her he removed the *sari* from her face ready to sting her.

In an extremity of grief and rage Gunavanti pushed back his arms with all her might. She looked behind and saw the window half open. In a moment she had flung herself out of it.

With the noise of her fall Jagat woke up. He saw a dim light, and suddenly it went out. He thought it was all a dream and turning over on his side he fell again into a deep slumber.

CHAPTER IX

PITY THE POOR KOTWAL!

Even the ground floor of some of the old fashioned houses is about ten feet from the ground. Gunavanti fell heavily down and as she got up she saw the window suddenly getting dark. What was she to do? On every side there seemed only confusion and dishonour. She remembered Ramkisandasji. He alone could help. Through the silent gloom,—through the main square of the city so dreadful in its midnight

solitude—past the darkened houses, Gunavanti sped on. It was one o'clock when she reached the temple of Ramachandraji and knocked at the gate. After some time a neophyte got up and rubbing his eyes, came to the gate using the choicest language at his command. He opened it and shouted, "Damn you! Who the devil is that?"

The young man suddenly saw the face of the person outside, recognised her and asked shamefacedly: "You, mother! This time of night!"

"Yes, Lakshman. Please awaken the Bawaji."

Lakshmandas yawned and lit a lamp. Confused with various kinds of surmises, doubts and suspicions, he went in and awakened Ramkisandasji. At the mere mention of Gunavanti the Bawaji roared out "What!" and jumped up. Coming out he saw Gunavanti panting and out of breath and understood it all.

"Boy, bring me staff," said he to Lakshman. "Well, child," this to Gunavanti, "step outside. There are many ears listening here."

Gunavanti had as yet no idea what to say.

"Did the hell hound rascal do anything?" Gunavanti nodded her head in reply.

"I knew it from the beginning. Very well, where is Jagat?"

"He has been left behind. The wretch will kill Jagat."

"Oh, never fear! That coward dog dare not."

Bawaji at this time was worth a million, he never spoke one useless word. Quietly they both walked back to Raghubhai's house.

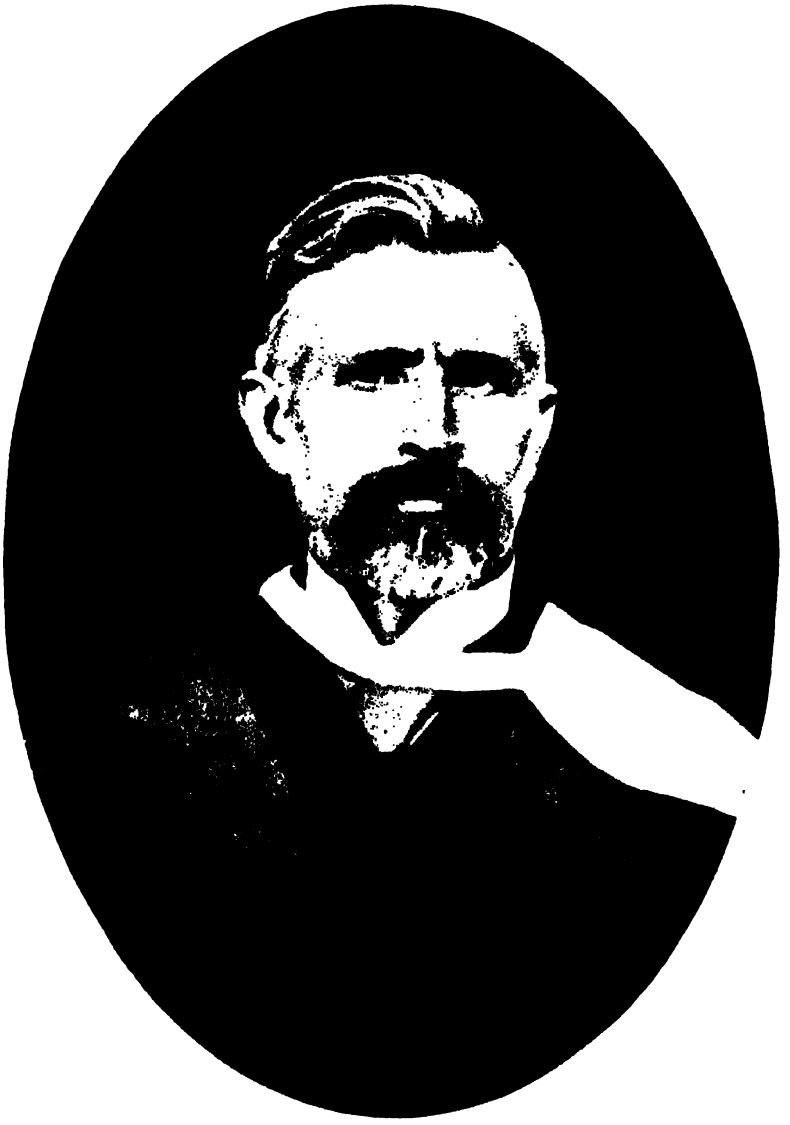
"Bawaji, please see that there is no open scandal."

"Never fear."

They went to the back of the house, "You stand here. I will be back presently," said the Bawaji and with the agility of a young man of twenty he jumped over the hedge and went in. He knew Jagat's bed-room but instead of going in there

he turned to the left and went upstairs. Shamefaced and afraid of the idea of exposure, Raghubhai lay trembling in his bed thinking only of what would happen to-morrow. He was making and rejecting all sorts of conjectures and plans. Sometimes he believed himself hopelessly hemmed in and sometimes he thought he might yet escape scot-free. He had been quite certain that Gunavanti would run to Ramkisandasji, but he had not expected that the Bawaji would arrive within an hour and would come upstairs. And hearing the Bawaji come into his room Raghubhai shivered from head to foot. If he shouted for help, he might be publicly disgraced. Better lie quiet in bed even at the risk of being killed, thus decided Raghubhai. He could see even in the gloom through his half-closed eyelids that the Bawaji came slowly up to his bed. "Oh, God!" muttered he under his breath.

A heavy hand fell upon Raghubhai's neck and iron thumb and fingers closed upon his throat. Raghubhai felt as if life was being choked out of him. He was forced into a sitting posture. "Silence," came the terrible whisper of Ramkisandasji in his ear. Raghubhai loved his life as much as he was afraid of losing his respectability. So he did not know whether he should shout out to save his life or be dumb and save his honour. Coward that he was, fear choked every word in his throat. In the darkness he obeyed the command of that iron grip and got up: with knocking knees he was dragged forcibly to the staircase and descended the steps without any exertion on his part and came out into the yard below. The heavy hand still pressing his throat dragged him to the well. "Surely the Bawaji will now drown me," he began to fear. If the Bawaji had but uttered one syllable while doing all this, if there had passed any words between them the pieces on the chess-board might have been set in their proper positions and Raghubhai's active brain might have found a way out. But the situation was very peculiar; there was neither time for quiet thought, nor courage to utter



WILLIAM ALEXANDER CRAIGIE, *Dean of Divinity*

a word. He had tried once or twice to say something but the cruel fingers had closed in upon the windpipe almost squeezing the life out. It was better to keep quite quiet. Raghubhai heard the Bawaji taking out the rope from the pulley, he was enlarging the running noose to which the water jars were attached. In a few moments the noose was round his neck. Was he going to be strung up? Raghubhai screamed—tried to scream; but even before the sound had left his throat a terrible blow fell upon his back. Every nerve of his body quivered with the agony, he felt a flaming welt rising along his back as if he had been branded with burning wood. A moment more—even before he fully realised the agony of that blow—the noose came lower and fastened itself round Raghubhai's waist. He became immediately aware of being lifted up and found himself hanging at that end of the rope where a jar is usually to be found, and the free end was in the hands of Ramkisandasji.

"Oh Bawaji!"—hardly had these words come out of his mouth when the sky disappeared and he saw the sides of the well all round him and the circle of open sky with twinkling stars above him and the same circle reflected below in the water. Raghubhai was now frightened out of all his wits; he shouted once or twice but only the echo from the cold water below answered him. The Kotwal Saheb began to dance and wriggle at the end of the rope. Raghubhai showered abuse upon Gunavanti and her beauty, upon the Bawaji and Jagat. But even at such shameful pass the coward loved his life, he stopped wriggling for he remembered that the noose might slip and he might drop down. He was now afraid lest some policeman on beat near by, might have heard his shouts and might come up to witness this wonderous dance of the Head of his department. And he also thought with trembling of some servant, who might come in the morning to draw water and discover his master at the other end of the rope.

The Bawaji made the rope fast to the beam of the pulley and hurried away to where Jagat was sleeping. He lifted him out of his bed.

"Who's that? Mummy!"

"No, my boy, it's me."

"Bawaji? Where is mother?"

"Outside, my boy, now keep quiet."

The intelligent boy knew that something extraordinary had happened; he had full faith in the Bawaji, so he held his place. The old man opened the wicket gate of the garden and handed over Jagat to Gunavanti. The boy rubbed his eyes and looked round, but he could not understand anything. But so long as Gunavanti and the Bawaji were there he had no reason to fear.

"Wait a bit, my child, I will be back in a moment" said the Bawaji and went back into the garden. He had no intention of keeping Raghubhai dangling there in space. He had taken all this trouble because he saw in it an opportunity to settle old scores and also because he thought that if Raghubhai were to feel the shame of this night's doings the secret would be quite safe with him. He went up to the well and pulled up the rope. Finding himself pulled upwards, Raghubhai felt satisfied. To be dishonoured by himself was no shame to him—he was only afraid of a third party witnessing the scene. He scarcely felt a blow in the dark. Pale as a sheet and half dead with fright the Kotwal Saheb came up and the Bawaji flung him aside with scant respect. Raghubhai lay there like one dead. The Bawaji bestowed a parting kick and muttered, "You d—d dog!"

Raghubhai swore to have the Bawaji deported the very next morning.

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

HOW LEARNING WAS HONOURED AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS

It is generally acknowledged that learning was held in high esteem in Ancient India and it was the possession of this much priced qualification that gave the Brahman his position of ascendency in Indian Society. It is not, however, so clearly understood that the learning, such as it was in Ancient India, could not have been as general, especially in the higher branches of it, as it can be in modern times. This was owing entirely to the absence of those mechanical facilities which make the acquisition of even the most abstruse branch of learning a comparatively easy matter, if regard be had to the necessity for mastering every branch of the subject to attain to any degree of proficiency in any one of the specially recognised branches of higher learning in Ancient India. It was necessary in those days for learned men to be "walking dictionaries and breathing libraries" almost in the literal sense of the term, and this supreme necessity accounts for the feature that the Chinese traveller I-tsing noticed among the chief professors in the University of Nalanda where he resided for over ten years as an advanced student. The feature that is referred to is that the more advanced among the professors could, at one hearing of a small work of six hundred verses of thirty-two syllables, learn the work by heart, discuss and deal with it as though they had conned it by rote. It was neither a freak of Indian learned men, not a partiality of the Indian savant to do this; but was clearly a necessity of the times when dictionaries and reference books carefully indexed and properly provided with the other requirements of reference were not in existence. Learning, therefore, then in the sciences, as well as in the humanities was far more painful, and a great deal more precise in those days than it is at present, and if

at times we come upon references that lead us to the inference that learning as such was held in extraordinarily high veneration, the explanation is clearly to hand that that veneration was in proportion to the labour and single-minded devotion that it called for in its acquisition. These difficulties notwithstanding, learning seems to have been far more wide-spread, and literacy much more general than it is usually taken to have been.

Our knowledge as to how learning and learned men were treated then has hitherto been somewhat meagre. All that we had hitherto known from literary and other sources had reference only to individual learned men and the great, if somewhat inordinate, esteem in which they were held by individual patrons. Anything like an organised effort at recognition of learning and learned men, and what exactly the kind of recognition actually was, were matters of which our knowledge was but little except for a single instance. This exception had reference to the Tamil land and the southernmost part of India. Tradition had long known of bodies of learned men called the Śangams in the Tamil country. The same tradition describes of three such bodies that existed, if the tradition is to be given its full value, at different times, nay in different ages, and in different places. The traditional account, as it is given by the later commentators, in regard to the three Sangams is as follows :

The Three Sangams :

The First Śangam was held in "Southern Madura," and consisted of a body of four hundred and forty-nine members in all, including Śiva, Subramanya (Skanda), Agastya, Muranjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar, Nidhiyan Kiḷavan, (Kubhera) etc. The number of authors who came to the notice of this academy was sixteen thousand one hundred and forty-nine. The most remarkable works pertaining to this Śangam were Perum-Paripāḍal, Mudu-Kuruhu, Mudu-Nārai, Kaḷariyāvirai, etc.



Eighty-nine Pāṇḍya kings patronised this Śangam beginning with Kāyśina-Vāḻudi and ending with Kaḍungōn. Of these eighty-nine, seven distinguished themselves as scholars. The authoritative grammatical work for this age was Agattiyam, the grammar of Agastiya. The period of existence of this academy is said to have been sixteen thousand one hundred and forty-nine years. *The Second Śangam* had a total membership of fifty-nine including in it Agastya, Tolkāppiyar, Irundaiyur Kaṟungoḻi-Mośiyār, Veḷḷūr Kāppiyanar Śiru-Pāṇḍaragan, Madurai Aśiriyan Māran, Tuvaraik-Kōmān, Kīrandai, and others. Three thousand seven hundred authors came to the notice of this academy. The works relating to this academy which survived to the age of the commentators were Perum Kalittogai, Kuruhu, Veṇ-Tāḻi, Vyāḻamālai, etc. The authoritative grammars were Agattiyam and later Tolkāpiyam. The other works were Māpurāṇam, Bhūta Purāṇam, Iśai Nuṇukkamor. The number of Pāṇḍyas that patronised it was fifty-nine, beginning with Veṇ-Ter-Śeḻiyan and ending with Muḍattirumāran. Of this number five distinguished themselves as scholars. The place where the academy sat was Kapāṭapuram, and the period of its existence was three thousand seven hundred years. *The Third Śangam* consisted of forty-nine members including names like Perum-Kuṇṟūr-Kiḻār, Ḷam-Tirumāran, Nallanduvanār, Marudan-Ḷanāgan, Narkīrar, etc. The total number of authors that came to the notice of the academy, were four hundred and forty-nine. The chief works ascribed to this Śangam were Muttoḻḻāyiram, Naṟṟiṇai, Neḍumtogai, Puṟanānūṟu, Kurumtogai, Śiṟṟiśai, Periśai, Padiṟṟupattu, Paripāḍal, Kurungali, etc. The authoritative grammars were Agattiyam and Tolkāppiyam. Forty-nine kings patronised it, beginning with Muḍattirumāran and ending with Ugrapperuvaḻudi. Of these three achieved distinction as scholars. The academy sat in the present-day Madura and lasted for a period of one thousand eight hundred and fifty years.

THEIR CHARACTER. It will be seen from this that the period of time ascribed to these Śangams is fabulously long. The number of authors ascribed to the first and second seem also very highly exaggerated. These discrepancies would cast grave doubts upon the historical character of these bodies, though in respect of these particulars, the third stands out as being more likely to be historical. The only explanation for this unsatisfactory feature is that at the time these traditional accounts happened to be put in the form in which they have come down to us, all information relating to these Śangams had either become too vague or altogether forgotten. But there is one feature which seems rather striking. Some of the names of the active members of these academies continue from one end to the other. The name Agastya figures in the lists of both the first and the second Śangams. Even if we should pass over this name as that of a "superhuman Rishi who lives in perpetuity," the fact that his disciple Tolkāppiyar was a leading figure in the second Śangam would bring the age of the first and the second not far apart. The works of one of the members of the second, Kīrondai, are referred to in works of the third Śangam, and he may, therefore, be regarded as a poet who lived and wrote actually. The list of Pāndyas that patronised the second Śangam ends with Mudattirumāran with whose name the third Śangam begins. It, therefore, seems likely that these academies were a body of scholars existing permanently for a certain number of centuries continuously. The work of this body of scholars showed alternations of periods of great output and of comparative barrenness. What exactly might have been the cause of this alternation we are unable to explain. But it seems clear that it is these brilliant epochs that got to be called the first, the second, and the third Śangams in the tradition regarding them.

Their functions as learned bodies:

As these are described to us in the traditional accounts these three are of the nature of the academies of learned men set up to examine works written with a view to publication by their authors. Their Imprimatur as a result of this examination gave the publication an authority which it did not otherwise possess. In their nature these bodies may be regarded as examining bodies, the examinees being authors, and the examination being through their works intended for publication. Those authors that agreed to submit their works for this examination had to run a very severe gauntlet of criticism and as the story has it, even the performance of God Siva himself was called seriously into question on a point of rhetorical propriety. The great and unique work "Kuṛal," a work of the greatest eminence in the estimation of the Tamils, had to pass through this furnace of criticism and came out of it in all its purity. There are two features in regard to these assemblies that call for special remark. The first, the academies were standing bodies of the most eminent among the learned men of the time in all branches of knowledge. The next, it was the approval of this learned body as a whole that set the seal of authority on the works presented to it.

These academies not peculiar to the Tamil land alone:

If these academies were peculiar to the Tamil land and were associated only with the dynasties of Pāṇḍyas who held rule in the South, why should such learned assemblies be called by the Sanskrit name *Saṅgha* (Tam. Śaṅgam)? The word *saṅgha* has the ordinary meaning, an assembly, and was the term chosen by the Buddhists for their religious community as a whole. It is just possible that the Buddhists did not invent this application of the word, and, as in so many

other instances in the vocabulary of their religious language, they might have turned an old word in one of its many applications to their own purpose. If such had been the case, the use of a well-worn Sanskrit term for representing academies of Tamil learned men even would not be difficult to understand. That it was probably so and that the Tamils of that age did not cherish the squeamish objection to foreign "ink-horn" terms is illustrated by the Sanskrit word *kārya* being used for literary compositions generally in Tamil, no doubt in the somewhat modified form *Kappiyam*.

Assemblies of Learning in other Capitals:

If the Tamils took up the word that came ready to hand in this application, the word must have had some anterior vogue in that sense and that seems to have been the case from what we learn of assemblies of learned men referred to in the work Kāvya Mimāṁsa of Rājaśekhara, who flourished in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, and enjoyed the patronage of the Gūrjara monarchs Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla of Kanauj. He refers to literary examinations having been held by royal presidents of these learned assemblies and quotes in illustration a *Śāstra* assembly at Pāṭaliputra and a *Kāvya* assembly in Ujjaini. To these assemblies of learned men he gives the name "*Brahma Sabhas*," not assemblies of Brahmans, but assemblies of men of learning. Those that on examination of their works or otherwise proved successful received honour and donations from the monarch whether he was actually president or not. The highest honour that could be done to a man of learning was the tying of a fillet of recognition and being carried along the royal roads of the city in the "*Brahma Ratha*" style. That the term "*Brahma Ratha*" is not very well understood is clear from the explanation given to it in Sir Monier William's Sanskrit dictionary. The dictionary breaks up the word into *Brahma*

and *Ratha*, and renders it to be a Brahman's carriage. This may be quite right philologically, but that is not the significance of the term. It is a term of common usage in South India and is associated with the history of many a learned man, religious and secular, more generally the former than the latter, and always involves the placing of the successful man with the fillet tied round his head on a small rectangular platform provided with two beams beneath the platform for being carried. It is generally open but might have a canopy. The successful scholar, placed on a vehicle like this with the fillet tied round his head and wearing other ornaments that he might have received by way of reward for his learning, is carried round in procession *by other learned men*. This last item is what constitutes the "*Brahma Ratha*." In the absence of a vehicle, and when this kind of honour is to be done on the spur of the moment, such a learned man used to be carried round on the shoulders of other learned men. This kind of a procession for learning is performed annually in the great temple of Śrīrangam, where in the month of December-January a festival is celebrated for changing the "*Tamil Prabandha*" and the leader of the chorus, which by the way, is a hereditary distinction now, is carried round in procession at the end, with this difference that the vehicle is carried not by learned Brahmans, but by the professional temple servants.

Instances of Royal Presidents:

Four ancient kings are specifically referred to as having presided over such learned assemblies. These are according to Rājaśekhara, Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, and Sāhasānka. We know of Sātavāhana as an author and a man of learning. Śūdraka is the well-known author of the drama "Little Clay Cart" 'Mrichchakatika.' Sāhasānka is one among the many names of the Vikramāditya of the Indian

tales. Who Vāsudeva is would be difficult to decide, unless it were the Brahman minister of the last of the Sunga monarchs. But we know of no literary tradition to connect him with learning in this intimate fashion. Rājaśekhara speaks of two such assemblies. The first was an assembly for examination in the sciences at Pāṭaliputra as was mentioned already. From out of this assembly passed Upavarsha, Varsha, Vyādi, Vararuchi, and Patanjali. These scholars went forth into the world as *Śāstrakāras* (experts in the sciences) as a result of this examination. It is impossible to regard these names as given in the order of chronology as we know that Varsha was the elder and Upavarsha was the younger brother, contemporaries of each other, and, if the tradition regarding them happen to be correct, Vararuchi could not have followed much after these two. But the mention of these three names and of Patanjali who flourished almost certainly about the middle of the second century B.C. is a clear indication that the assembly was something like a standing body, the personnel of which might change while the body as a whole continued to remain.

The assembly at Ujjaini was one for examination in poetry and from out of this passed into the world the poets Kāḷidāsa, Mentha, Amara, Rūpa, Sūra, Bhāravi, Harichandra, and Chandragupta. The four presidents referred to above were apparently presidents over this assembly at Ujjaini.

Assemblies of learned men, a general institution :

From the prescription that such learned assemblies should be held in all large towns we have to infer that assemblies of learned men for such a purpose were an ordinary institution in Ancient India. Kings that aspired for a literary reputation as patrons of letters, or in rarer cases, men of letters themselves had to make provision for holding a learned assembly. Such assemblies were held in a hall containing a chamber with sixteen pillars and four doors, surmounted by eight

turrets. The hall was located in a place attached to the pleasure house. In the middle of the chamber was placed an altar one hand high with four pillars and a jewelled floor and rim. As president of the assembly the king had to take his seat here. Men of learning in all the sciences and the humanities as well as men of letters and proficient in the various arts were called together and arranged in this way Sanskrit poets were seated on the northern side of the chamber occupied by the president. Behind these poets sat Vaidikas (those learned in the Vedas), logicians, Paurāṇikas (those well-read in the Purāṇas), Smārtas (experts in the Smriti), physicians, astrologers, and such others. On the eastern side sat Prakrit poets, and behind them sat actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards, and such others. On the western side sat the vernacular poets and behind them were placed painters, jewel setters, jewellers, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths and such others. On the southern side sat the Paiśācha poets, and behind them gallants, courtezans, rope-dancers, jugglers, wrestlers, and professional soldiers. This array of subjects relating to arts and letters is a clear indication of the comprehensive character of the learning which would entitle the assemblies to the name universities. It is not merely the learned men in the various languages, but the experts in the various arts also came in for reward on satisfactory exhibition of their skill in the particular art to which they have devoted themselves.

Early Association of the Institutions with the Tamil Lands:

There is one detail in this account that seems to bring these assemblies of the north into connection with the Tamil land. The great early Chola king Karikāla is said, in the work Śilappadhkāram to have gone on an expedition to Northern India, and came into alliance with the rulers of three kingdoms in Hindustan. These were respectively Vajra

Nāḍu on the banks of the Sone, Magadha, and Avanti. Of these three one was an enemy who became a friend, another was an ally already and the third was a neutral who became a friend. All the three of them gave him presents as a mark of their esteem. The king of the Vajra country gave him a triumphal arch, the king of Avanti gave him a canopy of pearls; but the king of Magadha is said on the contrary to have given him a "Faṭṭimaṇṭapam" which means a pavilion of learning. The question at once arises how a pavilion could be carried by a man to whom it was presented. It must have been of such a structure as could be put together and taken to pieces as that when needed it could be dismantled and carried about. There are indications in the course of the work to show that it was set up in one of the halls at Karikāla's palace at Kaveripaṭṭinam. The inference seems possible from this that even if the institutions of learned assemblies itself had not been carried from the north into the south, certain important features of it were. The description that is generally given of what the Tamils called *Śaṅgappalakai* (the plank or the seat of the Śangam) seems reminiscent of the seat of the president described by Rājaśekhara. If such assemblies were common in the middle of the 4th century B.C. under the last Nandas and the early Mauryas as the names Varsha, Upavarsha and Vararuchi would indicate, there is nothing to prevent the institution travelling to the south at least from that period onwards. The donations made, took the forms generally of rings, bracelets, anklets, pendants of various sorts, in addition to the fillet and the shawls and clothing that formed an essential feature of it. Oftentimes titles also followed. Occasionally very large gifts were made for very remarkable performance by the institution Tulā-bhāra, (weighment against gold) and Kanakābhisheka (literally burying the author in gold coin, etc). We have accounts of a remarkable university for students having been founded in days of the great Chola Rājendra I, and those students who



Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye—*Doctor of Science*

were fed and educated at the expense of the institution and came out of their examination successfully were rewarded with rings in token of their success on the 'Jayanti Ashṭami Day,' the eighth of the waning moon in the months of August, September, the birth-day of Krishna. The great king Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar, did his poet laureate and intimate friend Allasāni Peddana the extraordinary honour of placing him in the state palanquin, and himself carrying him in procession along with others. It must be remembered that this king was himself a poet of no mean order and equally a patron of learning. Later on a ruler of Tanjore, poet, musician, warrior and administrator did extraordinary honour to a lady of the court by name Rāmachandrāmba who composed an epic on the achievements of her patron Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. It appears she was a poetess of extraordinary powers who could compose with equal facility in eight languages, and was accorded the honour of Kanaka-Ratna Abhishēka (bath in gold and gems). She was, by assent of the court, made to occupy the position of the "emperor of learning," *Kavitā Sārvabhauma*. Such was the regard in which learning was held in Hindu India, and the organisation referred to above associated intimately with royal courts could, several of them, be regarded as of the nature of universities. We have omitted in this account any reference to the regular universities as being somewhat out of our scope at present. This way of honouring learning is not yet quite dead and exists at any rate in the courts of South India where such assemblies are held, and deserved recognition is granted.

It is very appropriate then that the University of Madras should have decided to celebrate the visit of His Royal Highness by holding a "Brahma Sadas," an assembly of learned men, and making the royal guest present "*khillats*" to some few men of learning.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar

HIGH PRICES

There has been an abrupt rise in the prices of almost all commodities since the world war; and this has caused much distress to the consumers in every country, and India has not been an exception.

Sometime ago, the provincial Government of Bengal were induced to institute a committee to enquire into the phenomenon. The committee had two objects in view:—(1) to enquire into the causes of the high prices; and (2) to suggest remedies for the supposed evil of the high prices.

In the report that has been issued, the committee have taken up the important articles of consumption separately, and in each case, have traced the causes of rise in price. For example, in the case of rice, it has been ascertained that the causes are:—(*a*) Shortage of supply, (*b*) Export, (*c*) Profiteering and (*d*) Lengthening the chain of middlemen.

The remedies, suggested, are: Increase of supply by prohibiting export, facilitating import, and increasing the area of cultivation and out-turn of production; prevention of waste and better distribution to secure the highest possible marginal utility by co-operation in storing and consumption; and abolition of profiteering by controlling the internal trade so as to reduce the length of the chain of dealers, intermediate between the producers and the consumers.

With regard to a few other articles of consumption, Cloth, Sugar and Milk, the suggested remedies are the same as for rice. So it is not necessary to take them separately for consideration.

No doubt the above conclusions with regard to the causes seem to be plausible enough at the first sight, but, in fact, a deeper analysis, will disclose one root cause, which is so all-pervading and so unmistakably connected with the present

phenomenon of the high prices, that with due deference to the authority of the committee, one may be permitted to say that they have not laid appropriate stress on it, nor have they studied the question freely, as a problem of Indian Economics.

As regards the suggested remedies, there may be fundamental difference of opinion—at least so far as the control of price and export of the Indian produce, and also the interference in the freedom of trade generally, are concerned. The committee have considered the question from the points of view of the consumers only, and have altogether neglected the interests of the producers.

In fact, it is rather difficult to comprehend the necessity of a committee of enquiry to find out the causes of the existing high prices, which could have been easily detected from the study of the statistics of the various departments of the Government of India.

But before entering into such a study, it should be clearly understood that the present high prices are due to the world war, and any enquiry into the causes of the phenomenon, means the study of the new economic forces brought into existence by the last war, namely, altered circumstances of production and consumption—demand and supply of commodities,—alterations and innovations regarding the medium of exchange, adoption of new trade policies by various nations resulting in new restrictions and development of new trade relations, destruction of capital and labour power, etc.

(1) A historical *résumé* of the rise and fall of prices will indicate that though the index number of prices has shown both upward and downward tendencies in Europe and America, in India it has indicated a persistent upward tendency for the last half a century.

From Sauerbeck's Index number it is found that the English prices fell during the period 1873-96, and then began

to rise in 1896, and continued their upward tendency up to the declaration of the war when new and unforeseen forces caused an unprecedented and abrupt rise.

When silver was demonetised in the European countries, the price movement in the silver countries like India, ran somewhat antithetically to that in the gold countries; but when in 1893, India accepted the Gold exchange standard, the price-movement began to run parallel to that in Europe and America; and thus, it may be said, in good accord with the world prices.

During the period 1873-96, prices in India rose roughly speaking from 107 to 140, and during the period 1896-1913, the same tendency to rise continued, as will be found from the table below:—

Article.	1896.	1913.	Approximate Percentage of rise in 17 years.
Rice	84	92	... 10
Wheat	84	106	... 25
Cotton	76	108	... 44
Jute	69	98	... 42

In 1910 Mr. K. L. Dutt of the Finance Department was placed in charge of enquiring into the rise of prices, and arrived at certain general conclusions as to the causes of the rise which were (*a*) a comparative shortage in the production of the food-stuffs, (*b*) increased demand for India's food-products and raw materials, both at home and abroad, (*c*) transporting, banking and other trade facilities, (*d*) increased supply of gold throughout the world and development of credit, and (*f*) destruction of wealth in recent war and increase of expenditure in armaments.

Thus, the extent of the rise in the pre-war prices has been estimated and the causes have been ascertained. So the study of the present problem should be confined to the period which begins with the war; and from the comparative table given below it will be easily perceived that the characteristic

feature of the Indian prices since the war, has been an unprecedented and abrupt upward velocity of their index numbers.

Article.	1913.	1917.	Approximate Percentage of rise during a period of four years.
Rice	97	107	10
Wheat	109	140	29
Cotton	110	171	55
Jute	102	112	11

Now we may enter into the enquiry of the causes of the abrupt rise of prices in a scientific way. "Price is money consideration given in exchange of commodities"; and for estimating it, various devices have been invented by economists; and "it is generally believed that the amount of monetary circulation exercises an important influence on the level of prices" Mr. Irving Fisher, in his famous work "The Purchasing Power of Money," has promulgated an excellent formula for equation of Exchange ($MV+M'V'=E\ p\ q$ or P. T.), which may be regarded as a valuable instrument for solving the present problem. Even those who do not fully believe in the above quantity Theory of Money do not hesitate to admit that the price level is the resultant of the inter-action of the following variables: (*a*) the quantity of money in circulation; (*b*) the quantity of commodities to be exchanged; (*c*) the proportion of credit to cash transactions; (*d*) the velocity of money circulation; and (*e*) the average level of prices. Of these conditions, all but the last which has, according to Fisher's critics, some influence also upon the quantity of money in circulation, are included in Fisher's formula. So the application of the formula to test the causes of the present high prices may be expected to give approximately correct results even from the points of view of those who have no absolute faith in the formula itself.

The symbols of the formula $MV+M'V'=E\ p\ q$ or $P\ T$ are abbreviations for money $\times$ velocity of circulation + credit

money (Bank deposits acting as currency through the use of the cheques) × velocity of circulation = price level × volume of trade. Thus $P = \frac{MV + M'V'}{T}$ that is, the price level expresses the relation between the volume of trade (commodities sold) and the amount of the media of exchange in circulation.

The war has affected both sides of the equation by increasing the quantity of money in circulation and by reducing the volume of trade in various ways. So there cannot be any wonder about the abrupt upward rising of the index line of prices. During the decade from 1910, to 1919 the currency in active circulation in India increased from Rs. 226 crores to Rs. 362 crores. If the amount of cheques cleared is added to this, the total shows an enormous increase from Rs. 691 crores in 1910 to Rs. 1700 crores in 1919. According to Mr. Fisher's formula this fact alone is sufficient to explain the rise of prices so high.

Looking on the other side of the equation of exchange it may be found out that "total active rupee and active note circulation and cheque currency.....since the war outstripped.....growth in business to a marked extent" (Indian Currency and Banking, G. F. Shirras).

The volume of the internal business in India may be found from (Imports + Production) - (Exports + Re-exports); and it may be easily perceived from the published statistical tables that there was an all-round diminution of imports, on the whole, an increase in exports and perhaps slight increase in production. The diminution of imports is due to the increase in the cost of production of the imported goods, reduction in the quantity produced, diminution in the volume of efficient demand, and the exchange muddle. The increase in the exports and re-exports is due to the increase of demand in the foreign countries for the Indian foodstuffs and raw products which were needed for filling up the gaps

caused by the war in the European fields of production and consumption, and the consequent offer of high prices. The increase in production is due to the impetus of the high prices offered and the check on foreign competition which has enabled certain moribund Indian industries and firms to work on profit, and made for certain other firms, extra-exertion for greater output profitable, and also caused the development of a few new industries and firms.

It may be noted here that the foreign sea-borne trade of India, of which the Index number in 1899 had been about 100 (108) and which had risen up above 280 in 1914, fell below 200 just after the declaration of the war, and by a slow recovery stood at about 273 in 1918.

Thus, we find that the general level of high prices may be explained from the inflation of currency as well as diminution in the volume of trade, the former item being much more significant than the latter: because, the volume of trade though affected by the war, has varied in a much lesser degree than the amount of currency. To be more explicit, the present high level of prices is due mainly to the increase in the money circulation, but also, to a certain extent, to the increase in the foreign demand for Indian goods and increase in the cost of production and reduction in supply of foreign goods to India.

The causes for the high prices of particular articles of Indian consumption, can be found in the working of the same forces as discussed above.

Whatever may be the case about the particular provinces or species, it cannot be assumed, with regard to the whole of India, that the total production of foodstuffs has undergone, because of the war, an abrupt and abnormal diminution. The export statistics shows reduction in export of foodstuffs under certain heads and increase under other heads. "The quantity of food grains exported in 1917-18 showed an increase of 2 per cent. on the pre-war average. The quantity of

rice exported was 19 per cent. below the pre-war level; and that of wheat 11 per cent. higher." Thus the abnormal rise in the price of food grains is to be sought mainly, not in the reduction of production, neither in the quantity exported but in the all-pervading general cause—the inflation of currency.

The same may be said with regard to the other necessities, with the modification, that reduction in supply has had considerable influence in the case of the imported articles. The imports of piece goods decreased 41 per cent. from the pre-war average, but against this must be set off the increased activity of the Indian producers which resulted in the substantial additions to the looms and hands in the Indian Cotton Mills, the former of which (looms) rose from 8,81,000 in the pre-war quinquennial to 11,48,000 in 1917-18. Of course, the heavy reduction in the imports of foreign piece goods has not been materially counterbalanced by the increased home production, and this has much to do with the rise of price of piece goods but here also the inflation of currency has much more to do.

"As compared with the pre-war quinquennial average the quantity of the total imports of sugar from all countries showed a decrease of 26 per cent. The Indian production of cane sugar ... was estimated at an increase of 20 per cent." But this increase was not sufficient to counterbalance the reduction in imports.

So, in the case of the most of the other imports—salt, silk goods, hardwares, etc.—the shrinkage has to do something for the rise in prices. But it is not irrational to conclude that the inflation of currency is much more responsible, as not only the price of imports but also the price of home products the exports of which do not indicate much deviation from the pre-war average, has shown an abrupt rise.

One more question remains to be considered in the causation of the high prices—profiteering. From the retail and wholesale prices as well as the prices paid by the middle men to the growers of the agricultural produces, and the cost of



JOHN HUBERT MARSHALL

production and the price charged by the manufacturers, and the high and unusual rate of dividends announced by the joint-stock companies, it may be legitimately suspected that the evils of profiteering are very great and are responsible to a certain extent, for the present high prices. But the extent of the evil is much greater in the case of the manufactured articles than in the case of the agricultural goods. While the former frequently show an unusual rate of dividends, in the latter there is no indication of much divergence between the purchase-price to the growers and the sale-price to the consumers, except in the case of jute.

(2) Now, having come to the conclusion about the cause of the high prices which have been found to be primarily due to the inflation of currency, and, in a minor degree, to the diminution of supply for the Indian consumers through the reduction of imports, increase in exports and cost of production, and also profiteering, we may proceed to the consideration of the second point, that is, finding out a remedy for the supposed evils of the prevalent high prices.

It may not be out of place to discuss here, how far, or whether at all, the phenomenon of the high price-level, is an evil generally, and what are its particular bearings on the Indian economical and social conditions.

Increase of money circulation results in the rise of prices. Rise of prices means increase in profits, because even when the cost of production increases on account of high prices of raw materials, etc., the total amount of profits also increases, but in fact, as at the beginning of the rise of prices the rate of interest—an element in the cost of production—does not, necessarily and generally rise, the rate of profit also increases, and profit rises faster than prices. This leads to industrial expansion.

Rise of the price-level may also help the ideal socialistic distribution of wealth by diminishing the value of the permanent incomes of the idle fund-holders, landlords, etc., and

if the rise of prices is followed by proper rise of wages, *entrepreneurs'* profits, professional earnings, etc., then it cannot be a matter of complaint.

There are reasons to believe that under the present circumstances of India, the recent rise of prices has been more beneficial than harmful. It has surely been followed by increase of profits and launching of a large number of productive enterprises, in the shape of joint-stock companies, and it has attracted a section of the Indian middle-class people, in Bengal and possibly in the other provinces also, towards business enterprises.

It has immensely benefited the Indian *raiyats* by diminishing the burden of their payment of rent which can be paid now by parting with a much smaller quantity of their produce than formerly, and it has bettered their lot by enabling these to fetch higher prices for their products. The concurrent rising in their cost of living only absorb a part of their increased income—that portion which they are to spend in manufactured articles, hired labour, manures, implements and seeds, etc. But after all deductions, their remains a certain net gain to them, and as they are the majority of the Indian people, at least 66 p.c., the Indian community as a whole may be regarded as benefited inspite of some sectional distress.

The rich section of the Indian people which idly enjoys big rent-roll or high funded-incomes, has no doubt been hit hard through the fall in the value of the incomes, but that has rather been a gain to the community as a whole, as it has diminished in an indirect way the inequality of wealth, by taking away a portion from those few, who have enough and may not deserve so much, for the benefit of the millions of Indian people. This diminution in the income of the idle people may lead to the putting forth of their energy for filling up the gaps in their chests, or to the curtailment of their unwholesome luxuries or to the correction of their

spendthrift habits, and all these results are beneficial to the community.

The salaried middle classes and the wage-earning factory men, railway-workers, miners, etc., have also been much adversely affected. But their distress must be of temporary nature, as the natural and inevitable play of the economic forces are already tending towards a proper adjustment of their incomes to their expenditures through strikes or state revision of salaries or natural and amicable concessions of the private employers. Already there has been much increase in the time earnings in many cases, and it is inevitable that the readjustment in no time would be all-round.

Thus, we have seen that the high price-level is by itself not an evil anywhere, that it may be beneficial under certain circumstances, and it has on the whole, been more beneficial than harmful in India.

But there have been those incidental evils to the prevalent high prices in this country, which should engage serious attention.

1. The Indian high price, as we have seen, has been the result of the inflation of currency which has entailed an additional burden on the Indian tax-payers through the increased expenditures on the money metal, cost of coinage, etc. How far the financiers were right in causing such an inflation and whether the war had made it an inevitable evil or necessity, or how far the reduction in the volume of Indian currency can be carried on at present, is a question outside the scope of the present essay.

2. Another evil is profiteering, which has been partly the effect and partly the cause of the present high prices. The current system of profiteering, which is being complained of, as of the nature of monopolistic speculation, is a real social evil. It has followed the high prices in sequence of time and there are reasonable grounds to suspect that profiteering owes its existence to that condition. The high

prices emerging out of the novel economic forces, generated by the war, gave an extraordinary high rate of profits to certain individuals and firms, and these began to look forward with selfish concern, the restoration of the normal economic conditions.

They were afraid that the price level and along with it their profit will fall after the war, and became busy in devising measures, and utilising their advantageous position as masters of immense war-riches, for keeping their war rate of high profits steady, through cornering and combination, manipulation of supply and demand—purchase from the growers and sale to the consumers,—and similar other acts.

In Europe or America where economic forces normally work under more favourable social circumstances (fair competition)—the success of such a profiteering campaign would have been difficult. But even there, as we are aware from the operation of the American 'trusts,' such campaigns do not on all occasions, fail in the realisation of their object. But in India when the economic force of competition works normally under much more adverse conditions—want of a considerable number of *entrepreneurs*, ignorance of the mass, indebtedness of the agricultural producers, absence of the power of organisation of the consumers—the evils of the campaign of profiteering must be formidable, and much of the present distress of the Indian consumer is no doubt due to profiteering in piece-goods, sugar, etc., while the Indian producer has also been affected by the combination of the purchasers of jute, rice, etc.

The state may step in here to enquire into the extent of profiteering and to stop it. The high rate of dividends to the manufacturing concerns, the difference between the price of the raw products and the finished goods, the stock in the hands of the *Mahajans* and the actual supply in the market, should furnish the data for such an enquiry and attempt.

3. The injudicious interference of the state in industry and commerce has been the third incidental evil. By unsound economists, interested consumers and applause-hunting politicians, a loud and persistent demand has been made for fixing the maximum price, interfering with freedom of trade and stopping exportation of foodstuffs, etc.

It would be unsound to assert that a state should never resort to such weapons but the question can be raised whether such weapons are good and necessary under the present circumstances of this country. If the maximum price of goods over which the Indian Government has control, be fixed at a lower level than normal under the free working of the present economical conditions, then the action of the Government would be ruinous to the majority of the Indians. The growers of raw produce will have to continue to purchase the foreign manufactured articles at a high price while selling, perforce, their own commodities at a low price, and thus their distress will increase and not diminish. The new Indian industries will be compelled, under the state-law which cannot touch the foreign articles effectively, to sell their articles of the same quality at a price lower than that of the foreign goods, and thus the Indian capital will emigrate to the foreign countries; therefore such interference means permanent and incalculable loss to the Indian community in the interest of a section whose distress should be removed through the adjustment of incomes to expenditures and not through artificial obstructions to the free play of the economic forces, which are sure if left to themselves, to make the prices normal in course of time.

In fine, it may be asserted the state should not interfere, and should allow the economic forces to run freely. But if there is artificial obstructions to free competition, as in profiteering, the state may step in but even then its activity should better be indirect than direct.

AKSHAYKUMAR SARCAR

THE ABBASIDS IN ASIA

The Golden Age of the Abbasids. Al-Saffah to Mutasim [1]

A combination at once fierce and terrible, consisting of divers elements, succeeded at last in bringing about the fall of the Omayyads. Envy and love of power in the individual members of this family; dissension among the Arab tribes; national and racial hatred in Persia and Africa; republican principles, and the theory of hereditary succession; detestation of the descendants of the enemies of the Prophet and love for his family—all these forces combined to overthrow a dynasty whose services to the Islamic Empire could not be ignored or denied, and which reckoned among its earlier rulers Muawiah, Yazid I, Abdul Malik, and Walid I, and among its later ones Hisham and Merwan men of indisputable talents and conspicuous gifts. Much more easy was it to conquer a common enemy than to establish afterwards a new rule which could satisfy all hopes. To effect a reconciliation between the divers races and nationalities was just as difficult, nay impossible, as to satisfy, at one and the same time, the champions of popular government and the supporters of hereditary succession. Even among these latter themselves it was difficult, amid conflicting theories and opposing efforts, to maintain peace and concord. It has already been mentioned that hitherto the descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, and those of Ali, his son-in-law, had worked together in the preaching of rebellion against the Omayyads, and in securing recognition of the right of the family of the Prophet to sovereign authority. Even when Abu Muslim raised the

[1] Weil, Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker, pp. 127 *et seq.*

black flag—people in Khorasan did homage only generally to a Caliph of the family of *Mohamed, without naming any person in particular*. In Kufa, whither the Abbasids had fled, the sons of Kahtaba, who had taken possession of this town, for the first time, proclaimed Abul-Abbas-Abdullah, later surnamed Saffah, Caliph; and thus, by a *coup de main*, as it were, the House of Abbas was set over that of Ali, and the younger brother over the elder, Abu Jafar. Abdallah is said to have been declared by his brother Ibrahim, before his murder, the Head of the family. The reason for his choice may have been the great firmness and strength of character of the younger brother, or the fact that he was the son of a lady of the distinguished tribe of Banu Harith; while Abu Jafar was only the son of a slave girl. On his election the Caliph justified the choice. In a stormy time, such as that, they needed a man with no conscience or scruples; a man who would tread humanity, honour and religion alike under foot. Such a one the Caliph showed himself to be, immediately on his election.

Abu Salma, "Wazir of the family of Mohamed," one of the most distinguished and active emissaries of the Hashimites, was treacherously murdered, at the instance of the Caliph, with his entire supporters, because he wanted to raise an Alide to the throne. But this terrible deed was imputed to the Kharijites.

Abdullah Ibn Muawiah, referred to before, who had fought Merwan, at the head of a number of the Alides, was also treacherously removed.

If such was the fate meted out to those who had hitherto supported him, we need not marvel at the war *à outrance* resolved upon against the Omayyads. Abdullah Ibn Ali, an uncle of Saffah, invited the Omayyads, at the command of the Caliph, to do homage to him, promising them not only a complete amnesty, but even the restoration of their confiscated properties. But when they came they were beaten to death, and Abdullah is said to have carried

his inhumanity and barbarism to the extent of holding a banquet in the very room of death, amid the dying groans of the betrayed Omayyads. Even Sulaiman Ibn Hisham, who largely contributed to the fall of Merwan, was killed—plighted oath and solemn promise of pardon notwithstanding. So also Ibn Hubaira, who held out for eleven months at Wasit, and only surrendered on a solemn promise of amnesty, was executed as a quondam partisan of the Omayyads. In Damascus they even extended their barbarous vindictiveness to the Omayyads who had been long dead. Their graves were opened, and the corpses, which were not entirely decomposed, were hanged and burnt. Both in Syria and Mesopotamia these shameful deeds called forth fresh revolts; but because of lack of harmony and co-operation amongst the rebels, consisting, as they did, of the followers of Abu Salma, of the Omayyads, and of the Kharijites, they were suppressed one after another, and this so successfully that by the year 752 the Abbasid flag floated over all the towns from Mansura in India to the Atlantic Sea, and from Samarqand to the Gulf of Aden.

In Khorasan and Transoxiana Abu Muslim once again restored order, although the insurrections there were secretly encouraged by the Caliph, in the hope either of wrecking the power and influence of Abu Muslim, or of ridding himself of him altogether. But it was not easy to deceive Abu Muslim. As the former chief of the Hashimite mission, he had even devoted adherents in Iraq, who kept him continually informed of everything there. By promptly attacking the leader of the rebels (who, abandoned by his troops, perished in his flight), Abu Muslim once for all shattered the hopes of the messenger of the Caliph who had come to incite the rebels to resistance, and even if possible to do away with Abu Muslim. Against Saffah he betrayed no sign of anger or resentment. After peace was restored he sought permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekka. This request could not



RUDRAPATNA SHAMA SASTRI *Doctor of Philosophy*

be refused; nay, perhaps, the Caliph even cherished a hope of thus getting him under his control, and wrote at once to his brother Abu Jafar, Governor of Adherbaijan and Armenia, to apply for permission to make a pilgrimage, and to ask for his appointment as the *Amir* of pilgrims, with a view to avoid the conferring of so great a distinction on Abu Muslim. It is easy to imagine that the fall of Abu Muslim was the Caliph's one cherished dream. Not only was he jealous of his power and influence in Khorasan, but he also feared that, sooner or later, he might expel him from the throne and offer it to an Alide, for Abu Muslim had been won over to the Alide cause chiefly by their tragic fate. The Alides were always ready to sacrifice their lives for their right and convictions; quite unlike the Abbasids, who intrigued in silence, and cold-bloodedly looked on at the slaughter of the grandson and the great-grandson of the Prophet. Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, himself played a very dubious rôle. He sided with the enemies of his nephew so long as they were powerful. He became their spy when the issue of the war was uncertain, and openly went over to the Prophet as soon as the victory of Islam was assured. Abdullah, son of Abbas, much admired for his piety and theological studies, gave up the governorship of Basrah, conferred upon him by Ali, as soon as Ali's rule began to waver; but he emptied the treasury before he left. Ali, that son of Abdullah from whom the Abbasids trace their descent, likewise made a great display of piety, but it was he who implored the Caliph Abdul Malik not to spare the life of the unfortunate Abdullah Ibn Zubair. His father had already appeared as Zubair's rival. Probably even then they nursed the hope that the Caliphate, some day, would fall to the lot of their descendants. Moreover, Ali was accused of even murdering his natural brother Salit. Ali's son Mohamed sent the first missionaries to Khorasan, to stir up the people against the Omayyads:

but this did not stand in the way of his asking the Caliph Hisham to pay off his debts. Abu Muslim, anticipating the design of the Caliph, made arrangements, before setting out on pilgrimage, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemy. So far so good: but by his offensive conduct towards the successor to the Caliphate—Abu Jafar—whom he out-shone in the splendour and brilliance of his retinue—he incurred Jafar's displeasure, and eventually brought about his own downfall.

The blood-stained reign of the cruel, revengeful, oath-breaking, ungrateful Abul Abbas lasted but five years. He died at the newly-built town of Hashimiyya—near Anbar—before he had completed his thirty-sixth year (9th June, 754 A.D.)[1]

In his reign was created the Wazirate—an office which was held, for some time, by the founder of the Barmecides.[2] According to the Shi'ite doctrines, to which the Abbasids originally subscribed, the Caliphs were not merely temporal chiefs. They were also spiritual rulers, possessing, in a certain measure, divine attributes. Such a holy person needed an intermediary between himself and the people, and the Wazir became such an intermediary. Hardly was the first Abbasid dead when a dispute arose in his family as to his successor. Following the example of the Omayyads he had named two successors—first, his brother, Abu Jafar, whom, henceforth, we shall call Mansur, and secondly, his cousin, Isa Ibn Musa. Against this arrangement his uncle Abdullah Ibn Ali protested. In the war against Merwan, and subsequently against the rebels in Syria and Mesopotamia, Abdullah had rendered distinguished services, and he asserted that Saffah had pledged his word to him to nominate him as his successor. He stood at the head of an army which was intended to protect the Northern frontiers against the attacks of the Byzantines. He declined

[1] Sir William Muir, Caliphate: Rise, Decline and Fall, p. 444.

[2] Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. I, pp. 255-7.

to do homage to Mansur, and with his troops marched on to Harran. In spite of his hatred of Abu Muslim, Mansur needed his services against his uncle. Abdullah Ibn Ali had a great many Khorasanis in his army, and it was presumed that they would not fight against Abu Muslim. Indeed as soon as Abu Muslim took the field against him, Abdullah slaughtered all the Khorasanis, for he feared that they would betray him, though this meant a loss of 17,000 men. He led the rest of the troops, collected from Syria and Mesopotamia, to Nisbin, and took up a strong position by the Euphrates. Abu Muslim managed, however, to lure him out of this secure position, and inflicted a defeat on him (Nov. 754). As soon as all danger was over the Caliph, swayed once again by hatred and suspicion, insulted Abu Muslim, by sending a commissioner to his camp to collect the booty. When he heard this, Abu Muslim said, "With men the Caliph allows me to deal at will, but he trusts me not with things my own hand has won."

Abu Muslim, who now trusted the Caliph less than ever, determined to return to Khorasan, where he would have nothing to fear from him, and where he could even be a source of danger to him. But the Caliph tried to prevent this by appointing Abu Muslim Governor of Syria and Egypt, and inviting him to a conference at Madain. Instead of accepting this invitation, Abu Muslim wrote to the Caliph that he considered it wise to avoid close quarters with him, but he did not, on that account, cease to be an obedient subject. If the Caliph let him alone he would, as it behoved a man, remain loyal to him, but if he followed his own will, he would, for his own safety, be constrained to throw up his loyalty. To a second letter of the Caliph, in which the latter summoned him once again to appear, without fear, before him, Abu Muslim replied that he had been led astray by a teacher who stood close to the House of the Prophet through the very Quran which he distorted and misinterpreted. He commanded him in the name of God to

draw the sword and to banish every feeling of compassion from his heart in making easy the path of the family of the Prophet to the throne, and he obeyed his command. But now that he had learnt to know more intimately those for whom he had done so much, he had perceived his error, and there was nothing left for him but to seek the mercy of God through penance and repentance. It is obvious from this that Abu Muslim was a fanatic, brought up in a Jesuitical school, whose eyes were opened for the first time, when the Abbasids succeeded to power, to the devilish deeds they had recommended as God-pleasing deeds. We further see that already the Abbasids, and the theologians who stood by them, misinterpreted the simple sense of the Qur'an, and set up and supported by false interpretations political creeds for which there was not the slightest warrant in the Qur'an. They were, moreover, the founders of that convenient exegesis which the later Alides developed still further, until the literal sense of the Holy Book, as among the Batanites and the Assassins, was entirely ignored, and in its place an allegorical interpretation was substituted.

Mansur tried, by threats and promises, to get round Abu Muslim, who was then in Hulwan; but when these attempts failed he bribed his representatives in Khorasan and his friends at court. The former wrote to Abu Muslim that he could not reckon upon the Khorasanis if there was a question of waging war against the family of the Prophet; while the latter tried to persuade him that, in case of voluntary submission, he had nothing to fear from the Caliph. Thus, despite his distrust, Abu Muslim repaired to Mansur, accompanied by some thousand Khorasanis in whom he had faith and confidence. But their leader was bribed and won over by Mansur. On the second visit to the Caliph he was killed by five men who, at a signal, rushed out of an adjoining room The murder of Abu Muslim, who had not only contributed most to the fall of the Omayyads,

but to whom Mansur himself owed his throne—for none but Abu Muslim could have vanquished his uncle Abdullah—called forth several risings in Khorasan, which were suppressed with much effort and at great sacrifice. Even in the very residence of the Caliph an insurrection of a peculiar kind broke out. From what has been stated it is clear that the Abbasids, so long as they were intent on the fall of the Omayyads, professed the extravagant dogmas of the Shi'ites; but they abandoned and renounced them as soon as they felt themselves secure in their position. According to the Shi'ite doctrine—the germs of which we find as early as the time of the Caliph Othman—the Caliphs were the Representatives of God. In fact they were regarded, in a certain measure, as an integral part of the divinity itself. These Shi'ite-Persian dogmas, verging on idolatry, could not find acceptance, in their entirety, among the Arab population of Iraq, Mesopotamia and Syria. Moreover doctrines of this nature might prove fatal to the Caliph himself as soon as a descendant of Ali was put forward, as a true Imam, in competition against him.

When, therefore, some hundred youthful partisans of Abu Muslim came to Hashimiyya from Persia and called the Caliph their God, Mansur had their chief put into prison. The fanatics stormed the prison, and marched against the Palace of the Caliph, whom they refused to acknowledge as rightful ruler. But for timely help, Mansur would have paid for the renunciation of the Shi'ite faith with his life. The true Shi'ites now turned more and more away from the Abbasids, and encouraged the Alides with fresh hopes. At this time at the head of the descendants of Ali, stood his grandson Abdullah and the two sons of Abdullah—Mohamed and Ibrahim. Mansur soon discovered their intrigues, and found that they were in close touch with the rebels in Khorasan, from whom they received help and encouragement. When he made a pilgrimage to Mekka, where Abdullah resided, Mansur

invited him to a feast. He then placed before him the proofs of his guilt, and assured him of his forgiveness if he would only give up his sons to him. Abdullah professed ignorance of their movements and of their whereabouts. He was accordingly imprisoned and deprived of his properties. The Caliph strove his uttermost to get the sons of Abdullah under his control. But they were now in Iraq, now in Eastern Persia. They found supporters and sympathisers wherever they went. Even a secretary of the Caliph is said to have warned them whenever they were threatened with danger. Thus four years rolled away since the arrest of Abdullah, when suddenly at the head of some hundred Shi'ites, Mohamed appeared in Medina, and with the help of the people there took the governor prisoner and proclaimed himself as Caliph. Precisely at this time an insurrection in favour of Mohamed broke out in Khorasan. This greatly alarmed the Caliph, and he now adopted against him precisely the same policy that he had adopted against Abu Muslim. He called upon Mohamed to submit, and offered to swear the holiest oath that he would not only completely forgive him, his relatives and adherents, but would also bestow on them rich presents and allow him a free choice of any country he cared to live in. To this Mohamed replied that he himself was ready to pardon the Caliph, if he would voluntarily give up the Caliphate which was Mahomed's by right. He asserted that not only was the fall of the Omayyads brought about by the supporters of the Alide family, but their descent from the Prophet singled them out as the real and rightful claimants to the Caliphate. "My right thou knowest," the letter concludes, "thou knowest that I am worthier than thee, and that I conscientiously fulfil my promise. The mercy that thou assurest to me, thou hast assured to others. Upon which oath am I to rely? On the one sworn to the son of Hubaira, or on that sworn to thy uncle Abdullah, or on that sworn to Abu Muslim?"

In his reply Mansur contends that in Islam women have no claim to the throne, and that, therefore, the best claim was the claim of Abbas, the only surviving uncle of Mohamed. He argues that the exclusion of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, from the Caliphate, involved the exclusion of her descendants too. Ali, he proceeds, was elected to the Caliphate only after the murder of Othman, in which he had a share, but he was never universally acknowledged, and had in the end to submit to an arbitration which decided against him. Hasan, he continues, sold his right to Muawiah. Husain and the descendants of Ali who rose against the government were killed, and not until the Abbasids, who even in the days of Heathenism had unsheathed their sword, did the Omayyad rule end.

As this letter produced no effect, Mansur, on the advice of his uncle Abdullah (whom he at first pardoned and then imprisoned), sent Syrian troops against the rebellious town. The Syrians, in earlier days, had repeatedly fought against the Medinites, and thus, from them no defection was to be feared. At the same time he blockaded the harbour of Jar and the Valley of Wadi-ul-Qur'a, to cut off from Medina all provisions from Syria and Egypt.

Mansur appointed Isa Ibn Musa, the successor designate, to be leader of the troops. His reason was obvious. As his successor, Isa could be thoroughly relied upon. Mansur need have no fear on this score. But in case he was killed, his death would fit in exactly with his plan—as it did happen later—of appointing his own son as his successor. Mohamed, whose adherents are said to have been originally 100,000 strong, had lost many of these who belonged to the Mudharite tribe, even before Isa had taken the field against him, because he favoured the Yamanite tribe of Juhaina. Want of provisions, moreover, prevented him from concentrating a large army in Medina. Nevertheless, following the example of the Prophet, when Isa advanced nearer and nearer, he wanted

to entrench himself in Medina. But the majority of the population left the town, being insufficiently provisioned for a siege, with the result that there was no other course open to Mohamed but to make a sortie with some hundred loyal companions, and to end his life like a hero (Dec. 762). Fourteen days before the fall of Mohamed, his brother Ibrahim rose in Basra against the Caliph, and, with the help of the Shi'ites who proclaimed him Caliph, arrested the governor of Basra, and drove away the small garrison from there. Ahwaz, Wasit and a portion of Faristan followed the example of Basra, and the Caliph feared that even Kufa might join the rebels. There was but a small force at Kufa, since a portion of the army was busy in Khorasan, another in Africa, and yet another in Arabia. He therefore went over personally to Kufa to keep things quiet there, and to prevent the Kufans from joining the camp of Ibrahim at Basra. In the meantime Isa, with his troops, returned from Medina, and Ibrahim, who, in hopes that the Kufans would join him, had marched against him, was vanquished, and perished on the battlefield (Febr. 763).

For his victory over the Alides Isa received the very same reward as Abu Muslim[1]—treachery, ingratitude, death. He was to be put out of the way, to make the path to the throne easier for the son of Mansur. Yet the Caliph was not inclined to use force against his cousin, who had done nothing wrong, and who was in fact recognized as the successor to the throne by Saffah. He therefore devised a veritably diabolical scheme to destroy both him and his uncle Abdullah at one stroke. When on pilgrimage in the year 764 he commanded Isa to kill his uncle. A friend of Isa counselled him to refrain from executing the order, for he suspected that Mansur would throw all the blame on him, and deliver him over to the vengeance of the relations of Abdullah. Following the advice of his friend,

[1] Abu Muslim's victory over Abdullah Ibn Ali.



SAKKOTTAI KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR *Date of Birth unknown*

Isa, instead of killing his uncle, had him concealed, and thus escaped his own sure death. On his return from Mekka, the Caliph enquired of him if he had carried out the order issued to him, and when he answered in the affirmative, the Caliph arranged with one of his creatures to induce the relatives of Abdullah to sue for pardon and release; and when they made their appearance in the palace Mansur granted their prayer, and referred them to Isa, who was in charge of the prisoner. Isa declared that he had killed Abdullah under orders of the Caliph, but the Caliph denied having ever given such an order. Then the relatives of Abdullah unsheathed their swords against Isa, and Isa thereupon once more asked the Caliph whether he had not authorised the murder of Abdullah, and on his answering in the negative, Isa had Abdullah brought up from the place of his hiding. Abdullah—whom the Caliph could now trust less than ever was soon, however, got rid of. The Caliph assigned to him a house on a sandy site which he had had undermined by means of a subterranean passage, with the result that it collapsed one night. The learned Ibn Mukaffa, too, was secretly murdered. It was he who at the time when Abdullah surrendered to the Caliph, drew up the oath with which the Caliph sanctified his promise of pardon and forgiveness.

For sometime Isa was slighted and insulted by the entire court. Eventually the Caliph called upon him to renounce his claim to the Caliphate in favour of his son—Mahdi. By his merit and virtue, said the Caliph, Mahdi had so endeared himself to the people and the army that not even he could withstand their insistent demand to do him homage as their next ruler. But these pleas and pleadings would not induce Isa to abandon his claim. He called the attention of the Caliph to the danger he was courting by encouraging perjury and disloyalty to him. In conformity with the will of the Caliph, homage had been done long ago to him, as the second in the order of succession; and he added

that he who turned against him now would, at the earliest opportunity, turn traitor to the Caliph himself. But Mansur was resolute in his purpose of handing down the Caliphate to his son. By threat and terror he at last overcame the opposition of Isa. According to another report, Isa is said never to have formally resigned his claim, but Mansur set up false witnesses who deposed that he did. Thus, at last, homage was done to the son of the Caliph as the successor to the throne; and when, on Mansur's death, Isa once more sought to assert and enforce his claim, he was constrained to submit and do homage to Mahdi.

In spite of much internal disquiet and unrest, not only were earlier conquests maintained but even fresh ones were added in the reign of Mansur. In Asia Minor Malatiyya was recaptured, and Mopsuesta conquered. In Caucasus the Province of Tabaristan was, for the first time, completely subjugated. In the extreme East a portion of Kashmir, Multan, and Kandabil fell under the sway of the Governor of Sind; and even the town of Kandhar, on the gulf of Cambay, along with some other places, were conquered. The numerous insurrections referred to—in Khorasan, Iraq, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia, did not permit of any considerable undertakings against the neighbours on the frontier. To these troubles were added the wars in Africa, which compelled Mansur to send a considerable army there, if it was not to be torn away, like Spain, from the Caliphate of Baghdad.

Abdur Rahman Ibn Habib, who rose under Merwan to be a Governor, submitted to the Abbasids for fear of the Omayyads, who sought to deprive him of his power. He had hoped that the Abbasids would exact from him no further demand than that he should adopt the colour of the new dynasty and mention the name of the ruler in the prayers. But, when Mansur called upon him, as upon others, to send in a portion of the revenue and a number of slaves, he rebelled, but was murdered by his own brothers. After wearisome wars against

the relatives of Abdur Rahman, the Berbers first, and the Kharijites after them, held sway in Africa. The Caliph sent Mohamed Ibn-ul-Ashath, at the head of 40,000 men, to crush the Kharijites, who had not merely taken possession of the country, but, by their subversive doctrines, were sapping the very basis of his claim to the Caliphate. Mohamed conquered the rebels, and in 762 occupied Kairowan. Some years afterwards, the Mudharites rose against him, because he was a Yamanide, and in his place set up another governor. Mansur could not acquiesce in this arrangement, but he yielded so far as to appoint a Mudharite in place of Mohamed, the appointee, forsooth, being Al-Aghlab Ibn Salim—founder of the Aghlabides who later, in a manner, became independent rulers of Africa and Sicily. By these half measures the Caliph wrecked his cause with all parties. Fresh insurrections broke out, which the new governor Omar Ibn Hafs (768) put down, but throughout his official career he had to fight against the Kharijites and the Berbers, and after his death Mansur had once more to send 60,000 men under Yazid Ibn Hatim to punish and crush the rebels in Africa. In these circumstances we can understand Mansur's inability to prevent Spain—for a long time the theatre of civil wars and fierce insurrections—from falling a prey to a bold and aspiring Omayyad.

We have already seen how, after Okba's death, Balj and Abdul Malik Ibn Kattan fought for the sovereignty of Spain. The latter was conquered and killed: but his son, in alliance with Abdur Rahman, son of Habib, refused to acknowledge Balj, with the result that a fresh civil war broke out and continued until the appointment of Abul Khattar as Governor of Spain. But, he being a Yamanide, the Mudharites (at the head of whom stood Zumail Ibn Hatim) submitted, though only for a while. After bloody wars they agreed that the rule should be shared by the Mudharites and the Yamanides alternately. Yusuf, son of Abdur Rahman, the

Governor of Africa, was first chosen by the Mudharites; but when, on the expiration of the year, he would not resign, fresh insurrections broke out, which were suppressed with much violence and bloodshed. The Yamanides, with whom even most of the Berbers joined, were awaiting a favourable opportunity to overthrow the faithless governor. Such an opportunity offered when Abdur Rahman, an Omayyad Prince, after many adventures and many dangers, and despite the plots and intrigues of the Abbasids, landed in Spain. All the enemies of Yusuf gathered round the adventurous youth, and thus, without opposition, he advanced to the very neighbourhood of Cordova, and won a brilliant victory over Yusuf (May 756), which put him in possession of the capital. Yusuf, however, continued the war, and was once again defeated and compelled to submit. All his and his son's attempts, later, to win back the crown proved unavailing, and resulted in their complete discomfiture and downfall. In Spain not the slightest sympathy was ever felt for the House of Abbas. The Arabs from Egypt, Syria and Yaman, settled here—apart from the devotion to the Omayyads, conquerors of Andalusia—could feel no love for a family which erected its power with the help of foreign, half-heathen tribes and on the corpses of their Arab kinsmen.

To the Moors and Berbers, who had settled in the Pyrenean Peninsula, any dependence on the Eastern Caliphate must have been odious and hateful, as, like the inhabitants of Africa, they were mostly Kharijites, and as such were wholly averse from the principles on which the Abbasids rested their claim to the Caliphate. Even the emigrants from Iraq, who cherished a great love for the family of Mohamed, were not kindly disposed towards the new dynasty, for the simple reason that they had fought and bled only for the descendants of Ali. To this was added the fact that the Arabs in Spain, weary of continual civil war, longed for a strong, independent rule, which would keep the peace and promote the



DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR [illegible]

prosperity of Spain, and not have the interests of the Eastern Caliphate constantly in view.

Already, under Yusuf's government, when a certain Habbab advanced with a black flag against Saragossa, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Abbasids, it was apparent how few were the supporters of that cause in Spain. This became still more clear when, under Abdur Rahman, a considerable army landed from Africa and strove to take possession of Spain in the name of Mansur. Ali Ibn Mughith, the leader of the troops, received support from none but some earlier adherents of Yusuf, and was eventually conquered and slain at Seville (763). His head was brought to Kairowan, or as others report to Mekka, and, according to one version, was thrown at the feet of the disconcerted Caliph, or, according to another, at those of the Governor of Africa. As he could not avenge the insult inflicted upon him, Mansur sought the friendship of the Franks, who, he hoped, would make war on Abdur Rahman from the North. This alliance—not quite proper from a strictly orthodox point of view—the Caliph did not hesitate to enter into, threatened, as he was, with danger. He feared that Abdur Rahman might wrench Africa from him, and he therefore instigated Pepin to attack Muslim Andalusia. Mansur received the Frankish embassy in Baghdad (765), and sent Muslim envoys to the court of the Christian King.

At this time the seat of Government was already in Baghdad—the town, newly founded by Mansur, on the western bank of the Tigris, some fifteen miles above the once famous Ctesiphon. For want of confidence in the Syrians, Saffah transferred his residence from Damascus to Iraq.[1] For very similar reasons Mansur abandoned Hashimiyya, the residence of his predecessor. The insurrection of the Fatimites had convinced him that the people bore very little love for him, and

[1] The Syrians, for a whole century, had remained loyal to the Omayyads. On Baghdad, see Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, p. 41.

the revolt of the Alides had rubbed in the lesson that the people both in Basra and Kufa cherished more affection for the family of Ali than for his own. Baghdad, then, was to be, above all, a strong fortification, whose garrison was to keep under control the unruly population of Kufa, Basra and Wasit; while the garrison of Rafika—another stronghold[1] built by Mansur on the Euphrates—was to hold itself constantly in readiness to advance against both the Kharijites in Mesopotamia and the supporters of the Omayyads in Syria. The latter were always in terror of the well-fortified towns in the North; namely, Malatiya and Mopsuesta, which served also as a bulwark against the Byzantines. Mansur was well satisfied that the fall of Merwan was caused, or at all events hastened, by the fact that, after his defeat at Zab, he had no secure position upon which he might retreat and renew his strength. For this reason, all over the Empire—even far away from the seat of Government—he caused fresh fortifications to be built, or the old ones to be restored. The position of Baghdad was so favourable to commerce that, contrary to the intention of its founder, who meant it to be a purely military centre, it was rapidly transformed into a great commercial town, where a lively commercial intercourse took place between India, South Arabia and Persia on the one hand, and between Syria, Armenia and Mesopotamia on the other. But soon the original walls could not contain the ever-growing population. Nor, on the Eastern side, did the Tigris prevent the further extension of the great world-city; for the eastern portion was connected with the western by innumerable bridges.

Mansur caused the Arab garrison of the town to be arranged according to tribes, so that in case of revolt he might use one tribe against the other. His body-guard

[1] This Town was built in 155 A. H. (775) and was garrisoned by Khurasanian troops entirely devoted to the new dynasty. Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 101.

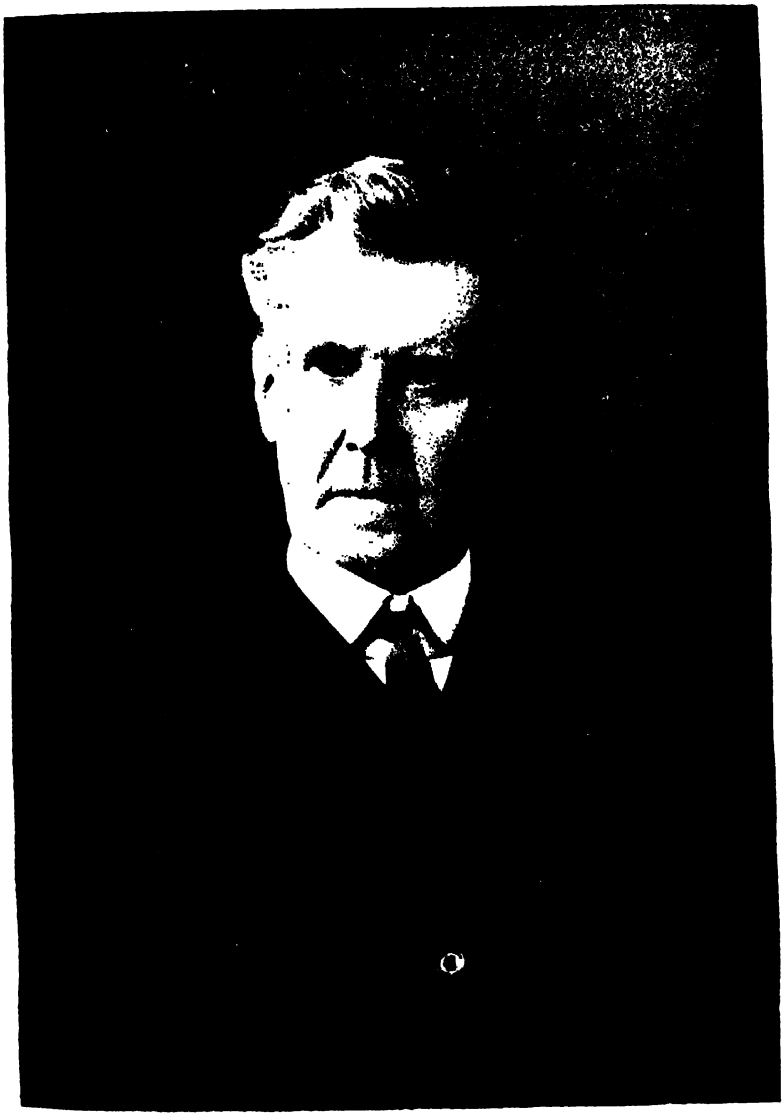
consisted mainly of Khorasanis and Turks, whom he trusted more than the Arabs, and *thus, in a certain measure, he laid the foundation of the policy of supplanting Arabs by foreigners.* If, indeed, Mansur's love and partiality for the foreigners, especially for the Persians to whom he owed his throne, was a misfortune to the Arab nationality, from an intellectual point of view, it was a blessing to the Islamic Empire: for stirred by the Indians and the Byzantines, the Persians, claimed and cultivated all arts and sciences in fashion in those days.[1] They urged on the Arabs to serious studies; and under Mansur, who valued and patronised learning, the first Arab works on tradition, jurisprudence, theology, history, geography, grammar, lexicography, mathematics, astronomy and, as many assert, even medicine, came into being. In the meantime, the entire learning of the Arabs was confined to oral-tradition—very narrow in its range and extent.[2]

Before the Prophet, only in the art of poetry could the Arabs boast a high standard of attainment. This was due to the peculiar life of the Beduins, and the great esteem in which poets were held. The poet was at once the judge and the representative of his tribe, when he sang its glories, or poured forth the feelings of his heart. To the portrayal of brilliant feats of arms were added a description of the weapons, of the charger, of the camel, of the scene of action, eulogy on the virtues of the tribe or of the poet himself, which chiefly consisted in bravery, beneficence, hospitality, eloquence, or censure of the vices of the enemy—namely, cowardice, greed, heartlessness. These were the main topics of the pre-Islamite poetry. They were generally introduced by an

[1] See Nariman's *Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature*. It is translated from the Russian of Inostranzev, Bombay, 1918.

[2] There is a very admirable survey of Muslim learning in the last chapter of the 2nd volume of Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orient.*

invocation to the Beloved, and were here and there interwoven with wise maxims and reflections. Many felicitous circumstances co-operating together brought poetry, among the Arabs, to a high pitch of perfection: the annual pilgrimage to Mekka made the dialect of the Qur'aish the common language of the people and the poet. Add to this the poetical contest at the Fair of Okaz; the absolute political and religious freedom; and finally, the isolation of the Arabs from the rest of the world, which made their own little affairs all the more important in their eyes. Of all the things of the earth they only knew the desert, their tent, their camel, their weapons, their Loved-one, their guests and their enemies. On these their burning, glowing imagination concentrated, and out of these were drawn true, living, palpitating pictures. The lack of rich description of natural scenery, which is easily explainable, among the inhabitants of the middle and Northern Arabia, the home of Arab poetry, is amply compensated by the picturesque account of the desert—life with its simple joys and sorrows. Long wearisome campaigns in inclement weather or in burning heat; the noise and din of battle; fights against fate, leopard or hyena—these topics alternate with the description of a quiet, comfortable tent, or a joyous feast ending with song, dance and games. The influence of Islam on the Arab poetry was not very favourable, since with Islam the individual life of the Arab passed away, and the sway of religion over their head and heart became so powerful that every other thought and feeling receded into the background. The celebration of their own heroic deeds, or those of the tribe, henceforward lost all its value and significance, compared with those of the Prophet or his Companions. Even the great war against the Infidels —though conducted with the fire and fervour of religious enthusiasm —could no longer evoke that intense personal feeling to which we owe so many fine pieces of pre-Islamite poetry. No longer now, as



HENRY STEVENS, Portrait of Peter Force

before, undauntedness in battle, kindness and generosity to the poor or the traveller, were purely personal virtues, but a divine command, the fulfilment of which led to Heaven, and its infringement to Hell. And yet the desert still sheltered many a poet who, unconcerned about the Qur'an and the Islamic rule, gave free and unfettered utterance to his own thoughts in bold and fearless song. Most of the Omayyad Caliphs not only tolerated profane poets but even loaded them with presents, with the result that the old form of poetry was steadily supplanted by a new one, which sang the praises of powerful patrons and mighty rulers. Thus the applause of the populace became more and more a matter of indifference to the poets. They expected their reward from the Caliph, whom they fêted, flattered and adored, and whose glories they sang. This became their sole endeavour; and thus court-poetry, superseding all other forms of poetry, rose triumphant and supreme.

Further, the settlement of the rules of prosody, which began under Mansur, also prejudically affected the Arab poetry. True, the verses became more refined, more glowing, more correct; but they were less natural, spontaneous, sprightly, than those of the older poets. In addition to this—they collected the old poems and reduced them to writing, and held them up as models, with the result that verses were composed according to the old pattern, but without the old inspiration. They became artificial, and wholly unsuited to the new conditions. We admire the poem of a Beduin, in which he describes for us the camel which carries him over mountains and valleys and through dreary deserts, and the still remaining traces of the abode where once his loved one lived. We weep with him over the desolate hearth, and accompany him to the tribe which has carried her off. We love to hear him when he praises his own courage and perseverance and those of his tribe, and follow him into the thick of the battle where he gathers fresh laurels to share them with his loved one—won back once

again. In this picture there is the very breath of life—here are genuine outpourings of the heart, which make an unfailing, moving appeal. But when a poet who spends his days and nights in the palace of a Caliph, or that of a Wazir, immersed in wine, music and dance, begins in the old fashion describing the camel which has brought him through perilous paths to his patron, from whom he expects a reward for his Kasidah, it is not the language of the heart but of art and convention that we hear.

Mansur was of too cold and calculating a nature to have any relish for poetry, and too miserly to allure poets, by presents, to his court. Mahdi, Hadi, Harun and Mamun had a taste for poetry, and were generous to the poets: but by then the poets had sold their souls in bondage, and had forfeited their ancient freedom. Anything offensive to the ruler, his friends or his religious susceptibilities, was fraught with disastrous consequences: and thus poetry—no less than biography—became the handmaid of despotism. The historian and the biographer, standing in close relation to the Caliph, were compelled to present the events of the early days of Islam as fitting in with certain preconceived theories and doctrines. We can easily, for instance, understand Ibn Ishaq, writing under a Caliph like Mansur, putting the ancestors of the Abbasids as much as possible into the forefront at the expense of those of the fallen Omayyads who played a conpsicuous rôle in the history of Islam. Similarly would Waqidi—whose work, dealing with the first two conturies of Islam, constitutes our chief source of information, and which has been used by all subsequent historians,—dare to follow truth as his guide in his narrative, under a Caliph like Al-Mamun, who declared every one an outlaw who did not acknowledge Ali as the most spotless of men, or who ventured to praise one single virtue in the Caliph Muawiya?

However much we may acknowledge Mansur's patronage of letters, we cannot, at the same time, but deplore the fact

that old traditions regarding the Prophet and the history of the first Caliphs were taken in hand and reduced to writing at a time when an impartial account of events and persons could scarcely be expected or obtained.

Towards the end of his reign, when he had nothing to fear from the Omayyads, Mansur is said to have softened down towards many of them. When, once, Hajjaj was praised in his presence, Mansur is said to have expressed himself thus, 'Would to God that I had a man like Hajjaj! I would make over the reins of Government to him, and end my days in the holy cities.'

On one occasion Mansur reproached a man for adding the usual formula "May God have mercy on him" when speaking of the Caliph Hisham. The person reproached replied that he was under great obligation to this Caliph, and that he would always honour and cherish his memory. The Caliph gave him a present and said: Would that I had many such men in my midst!

Such isolated acts of kindness and generosity are lost in many others which mark him out as a cruel, ungrateful, greedy tyrant. Like a true miser he gloated over the sight of his hoarded treasures. Not only was he close-fisted towards others, but even to himself he denied the barest necessities of life; and would on no account allow his officers to indulge in any luxury.

He prayed much, diligently studied the Qur'an, always had pious sayings ready on his lips, although it was an open secret that no crime would be deemed too great by him when there was a question of consolidating his rule or augmenting his treasure. With his wisdom, with his firmness of resolve, with his unresting activity, Mansur would have been for the Muslims what, since the fall of the Omayyads, they expected of a prince. Ah, if only the life and property of his subjects had been sacred and inviolable to him! By a pure, blameless life, by spotless administration of justice, he could easily have restored the Caliphate to its original dignity, and suppressed

all revolts and insurrections without recourse to torture, to poison, and to the dagger.

Even in his last days he is said to have put his nephew, Abdul Wahab, out of the way, for fear that, after his death, he might dispute the throne with his son.

After a reign of twenty-two years, on his way to Mekka, Mansur died of a fall from his horse (7th Oct. 775). His body was brought to Mekka, but was secretly buried because it was feared that, in a subsequent revolution, his bones might share the same fate which the Abbasids had meted out to those of the Omayyads. Even his death was kept a secret until Isa and the magnates of the Empire had sworn the oath of loyalty to his son, Mahdi.

Mahdi's accession to the throne was acclaimed by Muslims as a real deliverance from a hard and uneasy yoke. With the exception of felons, prisoners were forthwith set free; the treasures hoarded by Mansur were applied to beneficent purposes, to works of public usefulness, and to the patronage of the arts and sciences. Mosques were built, fountains dug, streets laid out, and a regular postal system established. The sunny, luxurious life at the court, from which Mansur had banished music and song, attracted a larger and larger population to the capital, who repaired thither to enjoy the wealth acquired by commerce and industry, and thereby to restore and increase the general prosperity. Even in the administration of justice an improvement was effected. Mahdi was surrounded by well-trained judges, whom he always consulted in deciding cases. Despite all these merits of the new Caliph, his reign was not free from serious insurrections, which called forth great efforts on the part of the Government and which later even led the Caliph to many acts of violence.

Under the name of Al-Mukanna[1] arose in Transoxiana a well-known fanatic, who proclaimed the doctrine of the

[1] Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, I, 318.

transmigration of souls and the incarnation of divinity; maintaining that God revealed himself first in Adam, then in Noah, and so forth, and eventually in Mohamed, Ali, Abu Muslim, and himself. This doctrine found ready and wide acceptance, as, by his unusual knowledge of the natural sciences, he had acquired the reputation of a worker of miracles. He formed an alliance with the rebels of Bukhara, and also with the Turcomans, and as Khorasan was torn by other insurrections he held out, for a long time, against the troops of the Caliph, and only in 779 A.D., when want of provisions prevented him from defending the fort of Sanam any longer against the besieging army did he poison himself and his adherents and set fire to the castle with all the hoarded treasures therein.

While, in the Provinces bordering on India, where the ultra-Shi'ite doctrines dominated, the Abbasids were rejected on the ground that they claimed obedience as princes and not as divinities; they met with hostility elsewhere, on the ground that they rested their claim on their kinship with the Prophet, and not on the election of the People. In Mesopotamia there rose against the Caliph one Yasin, a man who, on the one hand, sought to restore Islam to its old tone and colour and on the other proclaimed himself as an uncompromising republican, condemning, all the Caliphs since Ottoman, as violent usurpers because they were not elected by the People. In Jurjan and Northern Syria the supporters of the old doctrines of Zoroaster and those of Mazdak raised their head and strove to undermine not only Islam but all revealed religions, by preaching community of wives and property, by declaring allegiance only to the laws of nature, and by owning no duties except those inculcated by love in its amplest significance.[1] This irreligious sect had a wide diffusion.[2] To it belonged powerful generals, officers, famous savants, even near kinsmen of the Caliph. The extirpation of so dangerous a sect

[1] Browne, I, 135.

[2] Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Civilisation, p. 102.

demanded the greatest effort on the part of the government. With this end in view Mahdi instituted an inquisition (which continued right up to the end of the reign of Harun), which applied itself to the discovery and punishment of these heretics —the Zindiq. Doubtless it misused its powers at times, for it improperly condemned many to death as communists and free-thinkers.

Mahdi only too frequently, lent an ear to all manner of tittle-tattle, and, acting on what he thus heard, frequently changed both Governors of Provinces and other high officers. The Wazir Yaqub Ibn Daud maintained his position longest; but even he, in the end, was not only deposed but imprisoned, on the ground according to some, that he was a secret supporter of the Alides; according to others that he reproached the Caliph for his scandalous carouses. Giving him all credit for his administration of justice we, nevertheless, cannot regard him as a thoroughly straight man. Following the example of his father, he compelled the successor-designate, Isa Ibn Musa, by all manner of threats and terrors, to renounce his claims in favour of his own son. The reign of Mahdi has nothing much to show in the way of expeditions or conquests abroad. An attempt from Africa to bring back Spain once again under the Eastern Caliphate (776-7), failed, because of the indolence and inactivity of the Governor of Saragossa, who had promised help. A fleet sent out to India lost its crew partly by pestilence and partly by ship-wreck. In the Byzantine territory, however, several successful expeditions were made. Mahdi himself once accompanied the army as far as Halab, and Harun-ur-Rashid took part in several expeditions. In the last of these he advanced as far as Chrysopolis, compelling the Empress Irene to conclude peace at any price. An unopposed journey home with all the booty and the prisoners of war, provision for the army during the march, and an annual tribute of 70,000 Dinars, was the price for which Harun granted peace. After the conclusion of the negotiations

Harun restored to liberty the imprisoned emissaries of the Empress.

After the resignation of Isa (Oct. 776), Mahdi caused homage to be done to his son Musa, as his successor. Six years later he appointed his second son, Harun, as next to Musa in the order of succession. Later, because Harun showed a great aptitude for rule and administration, and also because he was the favourite of his mother, Mahdi wanted to alter the line of succession, giving Harun precedence over Musa. He therefore summoned Musa, who was with the army in Jurjan, to Baghdad. Musa, probably suspecting what was happening, declined to obey his father's command. He even ill-treated his messenger. Mahdi, on this, decided to take the field against him. At the head of an army, he marched against his son, but died on his way at the age of 48 (7th Aug. 785). Harun, who accompanied Mahdi, considered it prudent to return home with the troops, and to acknowledge his brother as Caliph.

(*To be continued*)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THREE OLD GERMAN FOLK-TALES

India has her *bhūts*, but the bhut's relatives are met with in every country. Many of the folk-tales told at the fire-sides during long winter evenings in Germany and other northern countries date from times long before the advent of Christianity. Others had their birth in early mediæval ages. Those were the times when bacteria were unknown as the champion mischief-makers; when the simplest principles of sanitation were unrecognised; when everybody's hand was against everybody else's; when clan fought against clan, and tribal warfare was an affair of everyday occurrence: when the so-called nobles reduced the peasantry to serfdom and robber knights infested the trade routes; when men and women and even children were tortured and burned at the stake in the name of religion—no wonder that country-folk peopled fields and forests, mountains and moors with sprites and gnomes and numerous other types of evil and malicious spirits, and Death and the Devil loomed large in the imagination of members of the human family, high and low. As a Christmas present for those who are fond of old folk-tales the writer has chosen three, of which the first has taken its birth somewhere he does not know where; the second hails from the Saxon Ore-Mountains, where the miners of old dragged out a miserable existence, and where even later on the usual food consisted mostly of potatoes and salt, the monotony of the daily fare being relieved by the culinary art of the miner's wife who knows how to prepare about seventy-five different dishes in which the main ingredient consists of potatoes, with the pleasing result that you need not have to eat the same kind of meal more than five times in a year. The third story has as its hero the far-famed King of the Giant Mountains, the redoubtable Rübezahl. The writer heard this story as told by

a woman whose native village lies hidden away in the recesses of those very Giant Mountains, where people speak a German dialect which differs as much from that spoken in Saxony, as the dialect current in Somerset differs from that in vogue in Cumberland. The woman was hawking wooden toys carved in her mountain home, toys which were eagerly bought and carefully treasured by us children and only brought out on high holidays. I shall add to the three stories a fresh translation of Goethe's far-famed poem—the Erlkönig, rendered still more famous by having been set to music by one of the great Austrian composers—Schubert.

THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH

At the time when Jesus wandered about the Earth, often accompanied by one or the other of his disciples, preaching love and mercy and forgiveness, healing the sick and consoling those bent down by sorrow, one day, towards evening, he and St. Peter, both tired and hungry after a long day's journey, reached the outskirts of a village where they hoped to be able to stay overnight. The first house on the side of the country road belonged to the blacksmith of the village; it was a substantial cottage; for the blacksmith, as usual, was a man of substance, a man who was honoured all over the countryside and whose advice was eagerly sought far and wide. The two wanderers stopped opposite the open doors of the smithy, where the master and his two assistants were still hard at work. The blacksmith himself was a man more than sixty years of age, but still hail and hearty and able to work as well as many a man thirty years younger than he. As soon as he noticed the two wanderers, he came to the door, took off his cap and asked in a friendly tone whether he could be of any service to the strangers. Jesus told him that they were looking for a place where they could rest overnight. "Oh, come in, by all means; there is room enough and to spare,

and my old woman, who is just preparing our evening meal, will have no trouble in putting something extra on over the fire. But first have a good wash at the pump; that will refresh you, and you will enjoy your supper all the better." After having finished their ablutions, the two wanderers sat down inside, and finally the good old lady, wishing the travellers a pleasant evening, placed the smoking dishes on the table, and all sat down and enjoyed the simple, but wholesome evening meal. After an hour's quiet conversation, enlivened by the blacksmith telling several amusing stories —for he was known all over the country-side as a man of great wit—they all went to bed and enjoyed the rest which is the just reward of a hard day's toil. All rose early in the morning, and after a hearty breakfast Jesus and St. Peter prepared to start on another day's long journey. The blacksmith and his wife accompanied them to the door and bade them good bye. But before parting Jesus turned round and said: "Both of you have been very, very kind to us; such kindness should not go unrewarded, and therefore I ask you each to express three wishes, all of which shall be granted to you, whatever they may be." The old blacksmith took his cap off and in deep thought scratched his bald head: "Well," he said, "you see that tree full of beautiful apples. My first wish is that whoever climbs on that tree, when laden with fruit, shall not be able to come down again without my special permission." St. Peter opened his eyes wide, but said nothing; and Jesus said simply: "Granted! and your second wish?" The blacksmith replied: "You see that iron barrel leaning against the wall? My second wish is that whoever gets into that barrel shall not be able to get out of it again without my special permission." St. Peter, who could not keep silent any longer, gave it as his opinion that not even a fool, even if he could, would want to creep into a narrow iron barrel." But Jesus simply said: "Granted! And your third wish?" "Hm!" retorted the blacksmith. "My third

wish is that, if I sit down on this my cap, no power in Heaven, or Earth, or in Hell shall be able to displace me." St. Peter could not stand it any longer. Of course, being a saint, he was not allowed to use any bad language, but he expressed himself pretty forcibly regarding the intellectual and moral attitude of the old blacksmith. But Jesus simply said: "Granted!" Then turning to the old lady he invited her to tell him her three wishes. "Oh Sir," she said, "you are very, very kind. What else can I wish for myself but that I may always enjoy good health, that my death may be like softly going to sleep and that angels may take my soul to heaven to dwell there in eternal happiness." Jesus said: "Granted, my good old lady, and the blessings of my heavenly father may always be with you." And St. Peter muttered in his beard: "Judging from my own experience with my wife and my mother-in-law I always thought that woman was not quite up to man as far as reason and common sense are concerned; but this old fool of a blacksmith makes me feel inclined to change my mind." So Jesus and St. Peter went their way. The old lady lived her homely life for another ten years and then died a peaceful death, her soul being carried to eternal bliss by a kindly angel.

The old blacksmith was left to follow his arduous pursuits for another twenty years. But some fine day, toward the end of a bright summer, whilst the blacksmith was hard at work, Death put in his appearance. Death beckoned to him to come out. The blacksmith did so and looked at his visitor with a questioning look. "Well," said Death, "it appears that you have lived long enough, and I have been ordered to fetch you away. "Hm!" said the master of the forge, "I cannot go with you like this, my clothes covered with the dust and ashes of the smithy and my face and hands black with grime and soot. Grant me half an hour to make myself presentable, the more so as I have to accompany

such a handsome and handsomely dressed gentleman like you.' (We must picture the Death of these stories as represented by Hans Holbein the Younger in the collection of forty drawings known as "The Deathdance": a complete skeleton clad in a shroud and carrying a scythe)." But as you look as if you had eaten nothing for many a day, you better get on to that tree and enjoy the taste of the luscious red-cheeked apples with which the tree is laden." Death looked at the tree, and, not being able to withstand the temptation, he replied: "Very well. But do not be long, for I am very busy; indeed I have never a moment's rest by night or day." So Death placed his scythe against the wall of the cottage and, as may easily be imagined, it was only with great difficulty that he succeeded in reaching the lowest branch on which he sat down and enjoyed himself right royally; for he never had tasted apples like those before, in all his long career. The old blacksmith took more than an hour over his ablutions, until Death began to be impatient and called out to him to make haste. Finally, the old gentleman, dressed up in his best suit made his appearance and stood in the doorway smiling at Death, who tried to get down from the tree, but found that he could not move an inch. "What witchcraft is this?" he called out. "We have to be off. I have already wasted more than an hour." "Oh," replied the blacksmith, "you may wait for a few hundred years longer and still find yourself sitting on that tree. I am sure, I won't help you down." Death tried to parley with the old gentleman, but in vain. "What ransom do you want for releasing me?" Death finally asked. "I am not greedy," the smith answered. "Promise me never to come near me again, and I shall let you off." And Death, in the end, promised by all that is holy and unholy that he would leave him severely alone for all time to come.

So the old blacksmith lived and worked for another twenty years.



DINESH CHANDRA SEN

But one day, just when he and his assistants were forging some horse-shoes, they heard somebody or something making a hideous noise in the courtyard, as if dragons and giant snakes and lions and wolves and donkeys had combined to give an orchestral concert (now-a-days the blacksmith would suspect the advent of either a jazzband or of an opera company performing the overture of a very modern opera). Looking out of the window, the old blacksmith saw a figure which he guessed might very well be a member of the "Ancient Order of Fallen Angels."

But he was undismayed. "Softly, softly, please!" he called out, "we are not a large company here; if you want to give a musical performance, you better engage the dancing-hall of the village inn." "No jokes for me!" replied the Devil; I have something more serious to tell you. Your time is up, and as Death has refused to do his duty, I have been sent to take you away to a place which will pleasantly remind you of your smithy fire." "Oh you mean to say, you are the Devil." "Yes I mean to say I am one of them; we are a numerous brotherhood." "Well, any one can say he is a devil; one only need put the skull of a he-goat on one's head, put over one's shoulders the skin of an ox, with its tail hanging down between one's legs, and get the cobbler to make one a pair of forked shoes, and there you are; a devil in all his glory! I have seen things like that in village shows on Maundy Thursday. How do I know that you are a real devil?" "I can do every thing you may wish me to do as a test. You just try me." Well, can you creep into that iron barrel leaning against the wall?" "Nothing easier! You want me to do it?" "Well, if you can do that, I shall believe that you hail from the Lower Regions." The devil promptly made himself thinner and thinner and disappeared into the barrel. The old blacksmith took hold of it, placed it into the smithy-fire and worked the bellows for all he was worth

until the barrel was white hot, and then with his largest pair of tongs, he put it on the anvil and called to his two assistants: "Sledge away with all your might!" and they wielded their sledge-hammers with a right good will, and the devil began to roar, and he roared and roared until the whole of the cottage shook in its very foundations and the hair of all the people for twenty miles around stood right on end and remained standing thus to the end of their lives, the whole countryside believing that Judgment Day had come. When the devil could not stand it any longer, he called out "You old rascal, let me get out of this; you are worse than the worst of us." "Well," said the old blacksmith, "if you promise that neither you nor any of your fraternity will ever come within fifty miles of this cottage, I shall let you go." And the devil swore it by the nose of Beelzebub—the most binding oath used by the dwellers in Hell and when he found himself released, he flew off like a whirlwind to the field of ice and snow flanking the highest mountain on earth, to cool himself down and find relief from his burning pains.

So the old blacksmith lived and worked for another twenty years.

But one day, when he was just taking a breath of fresh air in front of his cottage, he heard a gentle flutter, and there appeared before him the Angel of Death. And the Angel said to him: "It is decreed that thou shalt go with me; for thy time is up." The blacksmith saw that there was no help for it, and after having, with the Angel's permission, changed his clothes, he declared himself ready to go. He had not forgotten to put on his cap. And the Angel said: "As thou hast not been to church every Sunday and often hast used expressions forbidden to be used in Heaven, we shall have to make our way to the place where they hold no religious services and where people are rather encouraged than otherwise to vie in using as bad language as they can invent." So they went along, down and down a beautifully

paved broad road, until they saw in the distance a red glow like that seen on a dark night in the country of hundred blast furnaces, and the air was filled with pungent odours like those which nearly suffocated the saintly Lot when he fled from the doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrha. Now it so happened that on that very day the devil who had made the old man's acquaintance on a former memorable occasion had been told off to perform the duties of gate-keeper; he was standing in front of the large gate of Hell, which, as usual, was wide open to receive fresh arrivals; but as soon as he caught sight of the old blacksmith, he rushed back into Hell, slammed the gate and called out: "No place for creatures like you in these mansions. There are quite enough devils in here, and we have no need of one who is likely to be worse than the worst of us and who soon would boss the whole show."

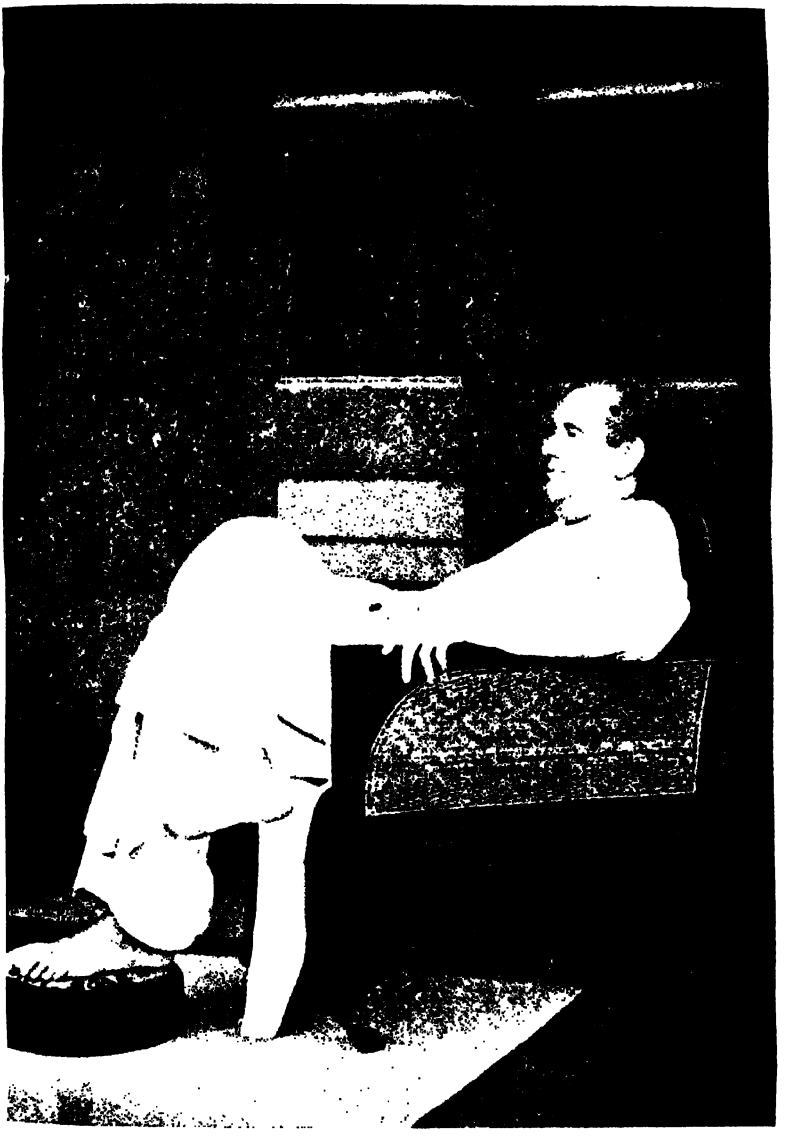
"Well, what are we to do now?" said the Angel. "We must not return to the Earth, and they refuse to admit thee to this place." "Why not take me to Heaven?" suggested the blacksmith. "We shall have to try anyhow," remarked the Angel. So they went back along the broad road, and after having reached the upper end of it, they entered through a narrow gate and proceeded up and up along a narrow path which became steeper and steeper the higher they ascended. Finally they approached the golden gate of Heaven, and the strains of the most beautiful music reached their ear, wafted down by the gentle currents of the dark-blue ether. The gate of Heaven was open and St. Peter was seen standing in the open space in front of it looking out for new-comers; but as soon as he caught sight of the old blacksmith, he rushed back and closed the gate, exclaiming; "You old fool, you had your chance once and you lost it, you shall not come in here, if I can help it."

After some hours of waiting the old blacksmith knocked at the gate and called out in a gentle, submissive tone: "Oh

St. Peter, dear St. Peter, if you refuse to open the gate for me, permit me at least to have a look into Heaven through the gate-window." St. Peter thought that it would be a proper punishment for the old man, if he were to see the splendours of Heaven and realise what he had missed. So he opened the gate-window and the blacksmith put his head through and he looked to the right and he looked to the left. But suddenly as if by accident, he let his cap fall so that it landed on the other side of the gate. "Oh, St. Peter, I have lost my cap and I shall catch a cold in my bald head, if I have to stand outside in the draught without my cap." St. Peter, who did not remember the third wish of the blacksmith at the moment, replied: "I am not going to touch that grimy black cap; fetch it yourself." And he opened the gate; but no sooner had the old man got through, than did he sit down on his cap and refused to move, so that finally St. Peter was compelled to appeal to higher authority. But Jesus said: "After all, the old blacksmith was not so very bad a man when he lived on Earth; he worked honestly; he never cheated anybody, and although he sometimes used hyperbolic language, he never told an untruth; and remembering a certain cold night many years ago and a certain place in Jerusalem behind the High Priest's palace, you may feel inclined to harbour more compassion in your heart with poor mortal sinners than you and your successors are wont to show and have shown in days gone by. And now have the blacksmith taken to his wife, who, gentle old soul, will be very glad to see him in Heaven; for she has been very anxious regarding his fate all these long years."

THE FAMOUS DOCTOR

A poor miner had been to a village ten miles off to engage the services of a midwife; for his wife was expecting a new arrival, the tenth in order of succession. How was he to meet the fresh expenses! Babies will turn up, even if



ABANINDRANATH TAGORE—*Doctor of Literature*

there is not enough food in the cottage to feed the hungry mouths of those already in possession. And the poor fellow heaved a heavy sigh, and in his despair he burst out: "I wish Death would come and fetch me away from this land of starvation and misery." And lo and behold! A few paces in front of him, surrounded by a phosphorescent halo, stood Death, half covered by his ghostly shroud and holding his shining scythe in one of his hands. "You called me," said Death, "I am ready to take you to a place where there is neither starvation nor other kinds of misery." "Oh well," stuttered the miner, "I—I did not mean it, not in the sense you, Sir, seem to take it. But I did feel miserable, utterly miserable." "Yes," said Death, "it is always like that. They moan and groan and they sigh and say: I wish Death would relieve me, and when I make my appearance, they cling to life as if it was the most precious thing in the world, and if a poor mortal plucks up courage and puts an end to his misery, the jury returns a verdict: 'Killed himself whilst of unsound mind.' But to return to your particular case. As a matter of fact your time has not arrived yet, although I might have made an exception to oblige you. Now, tell me, what is really the matter with you?" And the poor miner poured out his tale of woes and troubles and looked appealingly at his unlooked—for companion. "Well I have watched you, when attending on your now defunct neighbours, and I know you to be an honest and hard-working fellow, rich in children and poor in everything else, and, therefore, I propose to help you and better your prospects. You must become a doctor." "I a doctor?" replied the miner. "I know gangue from good ore, but I do not know one herb from another." "Never mind," said Death, "you don't want to know any of that stuff about which physicians talk so glibly, looking fearfully wise all the time. It is all written in the Book of Fate. If Fate decrees that you are to recover, you recover; if it is pre-ordained that you are to die, you die. I do not kill

people ; I only fetch them away. Now listen. You just let it be known that you have discovered a wonderful medicine and then set up as a doctor. At the beginning you must not charge high fees, and sometimes you must not charge anything at all. Charge only for successful cures, and when you are certain that the patient must die, tell the people quietly that help is impossible, and if the party is poor, give them some money as a contribution towards the funeral expenses." "But how shall I know whether the patient will live or die ?" asked the miner. "When you are called in to see the patient and you see me standing at the head of the bed, the patient is sure to recover," Death remarked. "But if you see me standing at the foot of the bed, the patient is doomed to die. And now good bye and cheer up!" Before the poor miner could recover from his astonishment, Death had disappeared in the darkness of night. And so the new-fledged physician began his practice, and soon his fame spread far and wide, far beyond the limits of the Saxon Ore-Mountains.

Some years after, it happened that the daughter of the Elector of Saxony fell seriously ill. The Prince called in all the famous physicians of the country, but whatever they prescribed, the princess got worse and worse ; her parents were struck down with grief and the whole country was plunged in deep anxiety, for the princess was loved by everybody who knew her for her gentle manners and kindly heart. When all the great physicians were at their wit's end, one of the Elector's councillors mentioned to his sovereign that he had heard of a doctor in the Ore-Mountains who had effected some wonderful cures. The Elector ordered a carriage drawn by four horses to proceed at once to the place mentioned by the councillor and bring the doctor without the least delay. Our friend, the protégé of Death, appeared promptly on the scene full of hopes of a brilliant career. But to his utter dismay, when he entered the sick-chamber,

he saw Death standing at the foot of the bed on which the suffering princess lay. He looked appealing at his friend and patron, but Death shook his head most decidedly. What was to be done? After looking at the princess for some little while, as if examining her attentively, he turned to the Elector, and said: "Please, Sire, have the bed turned right round." This was done promptly, all the courtiers helping to carry out the Doctor's orders, and before Death realised what was happening, he found himself standing at the head of the bed. He looked reprovingly at his friend but whispered, "You may have your way for once, but let it not happen again."

The princess recovered rapidly and everybody sang the praises of the "Great Doctor from the Ore-Mountains," who established himself at the capital of the country, where his fame and his riches grew apace side by side.

The famous doctor attained a ripe old age; but on everybody finally dawns the day when he has to depart and leave fame and riches or, as the case may be, obscurity and poverty behind, soon to be known no more, except perhaps in tales of the past. And so it happened here also. One fine day in spring, when our doctor sat in his consulting room—for doctors had consulting rooms even in those remote times - there was a knock at the door and the Angel of Death softly stepped in. "Your time has come," he said to our physician "and I have to request you to leave everything behind and accompany me. Wish good-bye to your children, grandchildren, and friends. I shall wait for you at the gate of the Elector's palace." The Doctor did what he had been bidden to do and joined the Angel of Death at the appointed place. The two, having wandered beyond the precincts of the town, entered a cave in the side of the hills and, after traversing a long passage, they found themselves in an immense hall where millions and millions of candles were arranged in endless rows, some of them

not yet lighted, others just commencing to shed a feeble glow, others consumed for some distance down, and again others reduced to small fluttering and spluttering stumps. And the Angel explained to our friend that the candles not yet lighted were those of children not yet born, those just lighted were those of newly arrived babies, those burned down half-way were belonging to men and women in the prime of life, whilst those burnt down to near their lower end were those of people whose end was close at hand." And pointing to a candle the light of which was just only flickering feebly he said: "That is your candle, my good Doctor." Now, close to this candle stood another not yet lighted. Quick like lightning the Doctor grasped the fresh candle to replace his own dying-out candle by a new one. But in the attempt the light of his own candle died down and our friend sank down on the floor lifeless. And the Angel said softly: "Sleep in peace! Even the cleverest of man cannot escape the fulfilment of the Decrees of Fate."

RÜBEZAHL

Long, long ago the Giant-Mountains, which separate Bohemia from Silesia, were the home of mountain sprites and gnomes who guarded the treasures hidden within the forest-covered hills and who were ruled by a powerful king. This king had a golden palace surrounded by parks and gardens where blossomed flowers whose petals were diamonds and rubies and sapphires and emeralds which were lighted up by the glow radiated from fountains the drops of which sparkled like millions of stars. The palace was situated within the highest mountain of the range, the Schneekoppe, from the top of which one is able to see far and wide to the north as well as the south, but all that then was visible were the lower hills and plains covered with pines and oaks, here and there broken through by the rivers Oder and Elbe and some of their tributaries; for man had not

yet made his appearance in those parts and not a single column of smoke rose from among the dense growth of trees. Now it so happened that the king of the mountain sprites had not left his subterranean home for five hundred years; but, one fine day, he felt himself tempted to pay a visit to his overground possessions to have a look round from the highest point of vantage. To his immense astonishment he discovered that the whole appearance of both countries, that to the north as well as that to the south of the Giant-Mountains, had entirely changed, and only the forest on the slopes of the mountains themselves were yet intact. Indeed, a fine broad road led right up to the foot of the Schneekoppe, and at the distant end of it had sprung up a large town with towers and palaces and churches rising above the mass of well-built houses. And outside the town lay scattered villages and farms surrounded by golden-coloured fields and green meadows, and on them there moved about curious-looking creatures that were not like gnomes or other mountain sprites. And as the Mountain King was looking out in amazement on the changed scenery, he saw coming along the broad road a carriage drawn by four prancing horses, and in the carriage sat a young lady, gorgeously attired, the most beautiful being, the King thought, he had ever seen. She was one of the princesses of the new kingdom of the plains. And like a whirlwind the Mountain King rushed down the flanks of the Schneekoppe, and before any of the princess' attendants knew what was happening, he had seized the young lady and carried her off to his mountain palace. Weeping most bitterly she found herself in a large room, splendidly furnished with everything a great lady could desire, and the Mountain King implored her not to be afraid, for she would suffer no harm and have numerous willing servants at her command, who would attend on her slightest wishes. And every day the King sent her basketfuls of the most exquisite precious stones and

of golden ornaments; but all to no purpose: the princess continued to take not the slightest interest in anything around her and kept on moaning and weeping all day and all night. One day, when the mountain King asked her why she was always so sad, she told him that she felt utterly lonely; because in her father's palace she had had numerous playmates, and here she had nobody to talk to but a swarm of ugly mountain sprites. "Oh," replied the King, "that can be easily remedied." And he went out, and after a short while he came back with a basketful of turnips. "You want to add insult to injury," called out the princess in a tone of the most intense annoyance. "Do you mean me to play with turnips?" "Oh no, not at all!" replied the Mountain King: "here take my ivory wand tipped with a sparkling diamond, and whichever of your former companions you like to talk to or play with, pronounce her name and touch one of the turnips with the wand, and she will stand in front of you just as she was when you met her in your own home." And he left his wand and the basket of turnips with the princess and retired. After a little while the princess' curiosity got the better of her original resolution not to have anything to do with the turnips nor with whatever else the Mountain King might propose to her. She removed one of the turnips from the basket, touched it with the end of the wand pronouncing at the same time the name of her dearest girl friend. To her great joy there stood in front of her the very young lady whom she had desired to see, and who now made a low curtsy, giving her news from her home and telling the princess how glad she was to see her again, after all of her friends had bemoaned her loss.

The first experiment having been so successful, the princess repeated it and soon was surrounded by a whole crowd of her girl friends. So the time passed merrily for two days. But, on the third day, the girl friends began to develop wrinkles on their faces and soon looked like old decrepit hags; for

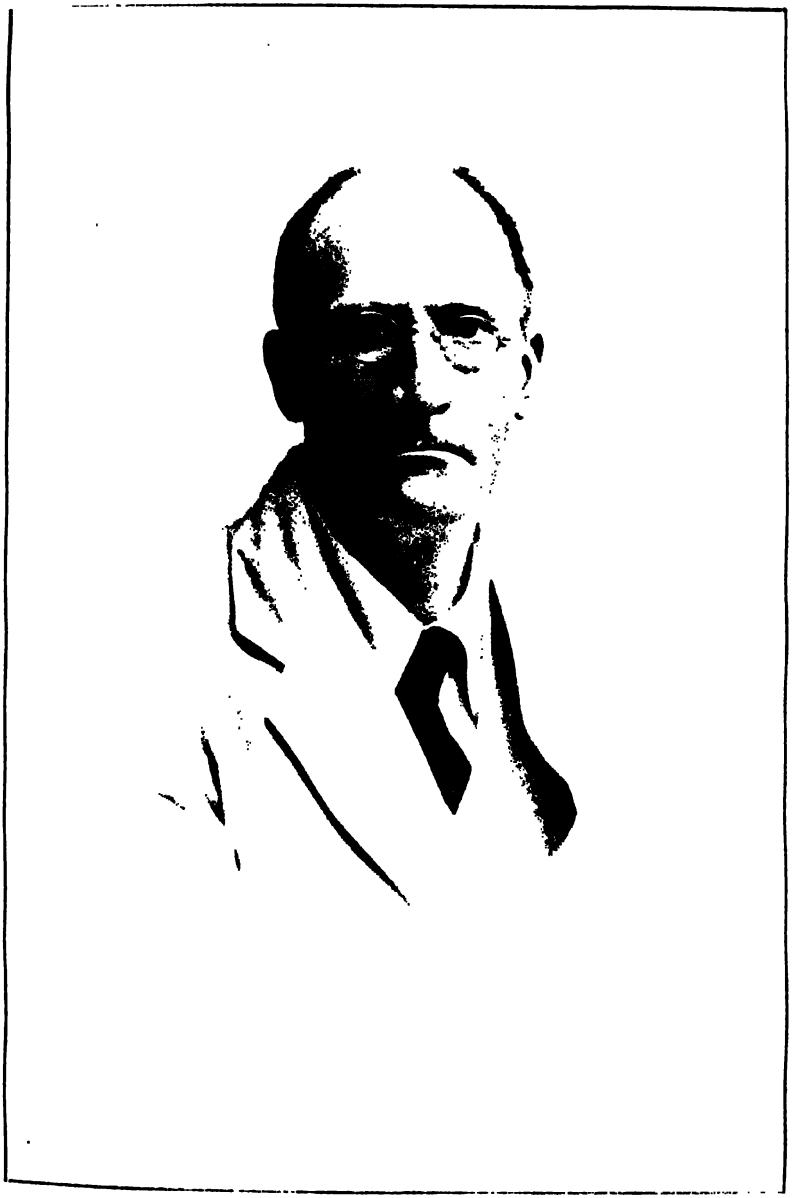
after all they were only turnips. The princess, utterly disgusted, began to weep so loud that the Mountain King came rushing into her room to learn what was this matter. "Is that the company you have given me?" the princess exclaimed angrily. "Look at the crowd! Horrid, oh horrid!" "Never mind!" retorted the Mountain King. "Touch each of them with your wand!" The princess did so and in no time there lay before her a heap of shrivelled-up turnips. The Mountain King gathered them into the basket and had them carried away by one of the gnomes. And he told the princess that he would bring her another basket of fresh turnips and she could have a new set of girl friends every day of her life. Of course, a game of that sort finally becomes tiresome, and after a week or so the princess refused to have any more dealings with turnips. The Mountain King became more and more assiduous in his attentions and ultimately asked her to marry him, promising her that he would do everything to make her forget her home and all her former friends. The princess flatly refused, but the Mountain King pressed his suit more and more ardently day after day. Meanwhile the princess had won over one of the mountain sprites by unvarying kindness, and now she ordered him to take a letter to her father. In the letter she asked that arrangements be made to have a carriage, drawn by four of the king's fleetest horses, sent two days hence to the foot of the mountains. The next day when the Mountain King urged his suit again, the princess told him that she would agree to become his queen, if on the following day he would count the turnips on the field from which he had brought some basketfuls to her; but if he made the slightest mistake, he would be bound to send her back to her father. After some hesitation the Mountain King agreed.

Early next morning he went to the field and commenced counting the turnips of which there were thousands and thousands standing in long rows. He finished before noon;

but as such things will happen, he suddenly grew doubtful about the accuracy of his count and as all depended on that, he thought it better to start counting again. The total of the second count did not agree with that of the first, so he had no choice left but to do his task all over again. In the meantime the princess had quietly left the palace and, guided by her trusted servant, made her way down the slope of the Schneekoppe. Now it was only when the day was near its end that the Mountain King completed the third count, which agreed with the first. In joyful expectation he hastened back to the palace to find the princess gone. Nobody had noticed her, because by making use of the magic wand she had put all her attendants to sleep. Swearing revenge on all of them he rushed down the mountain like a whirlwind only to see the princess driving away at the distance and sitting beside her he beheld a handsome young knight the betrothed of the princess. But as his power did not extend beyond the fastnesses of the Giant Mountains, he had to return alone to his subterranean palace, where he shut himself up for many months. Ever since the people of the plains nickname him Rübezahl —"the Counter of Turnips." But woe betide the poor mortal who uses this name within the boundaries of the Mountain King's realm.

Yet after all, Rübezahl was not a particularly evil spirit. He enjoyed playing tricks on members of the human race, but rarely wrought them serious harm, as the following short story will illustrate.

As is well known, a large part of the glassware used in the Eastern Hemisphere is manufactured within a belt of country inhabited by German-speaking people and extending right along the southern boundaries of the Giant and Ore Mountains. And, if a Saxon or, Silesian, already in olden times, wanted to lay in a fresh store of sheets of glass for window panes, he had to cross the mountains into Bohemia.



CUTHBERT EDMUND CULLIS—*Doctor of Science*

Now it so happened that a glazier who had his business in one of the towns of Silesia returned from one of the Bohemian glass works with a heavy load on his back. The task of crossing the Giant-Mountains is very arduous even if you have nothing to carry but yourself; and our glazier felt dead-tired before he had reached the foot of the range on the Silesian side. He looked anxiously about to discover a stump of a tree somewhere near the pathway, on which he might support his pack of glass panes whilst he rested his weary limbs. Rübezahl, who was roaming about in the forest, guessed what the wanderer's wish was and promptly transformed himself into a round log of wood a slight distance further on. On seeing the log the glazier with a sigh of relief rested his pack of sheets of glass on the log, which he took for part of the stem of a felled tree, and himself leant against it. Suddenly the log began to move, rolled down the sloping hill-side and upset the glazier and his burden, with the result that every sheet of glass was reduced to small fragments. The poor glazier had invested all his savings in the purchase, and starvation stared him in the face. No wonder that he burst out crying, wending his way slowly down the mountain. And suspecting who had played him the trick, he called out as loud as he could not caring what should happen to him afterwards: "Rübezahl, you wretch of a Rübezahl, it is you who has done all this mischief." And there Rübezahl stood before him, having assumed the appearance of a man of gigantic stature and looking terribly angry. "Don't you know that calling me by that name may mean death to you?" "I do not care whether it means death to me or not," replied the glazier. "After all my glass is gone, life is not worth living to me. I, my wife and my five children are now condemned to starvation; I shall have to sell my cottage and we all shall have to roam about the country beggars." "All right," said Rübezahl; "I tell you what to do. You know, down at the foot of the

mountains, in the mill near the mountain stream, lives a miller, one of the worst rogues of that part of the country; he cheats his customers, rich and poor alike for all he is worth, returning them short weights and often mixing dust with the flour; for, of course, he sells the flour he has stolen at a good profit. The scoundrel deserves to be punished for his malpractices. Now I shall transform myself into a donkey, and you go and offer me to the miller at a high price, but as soon as you have concluded the bargain, mind, be off as quickly as you can." And before the glazier had recovered from his astonishment, there stood before him the most beautiful donkey, nearly as tall as a fine horse, with a fur coat like velvet and without the slightest blemish. And the glazier drove his newly acquired possession down to the mill and asked the miller whether he was inclined to buy the donkey. The miller's mouth watered, but, of course, he refused to pay the tall price the glazier demanded. So they parleyed and bargained and haggled, until they settled on a price which was ten times the value of the glass broken to bits by the mischievous action of Rübezahl. The glazier pocketted the money and disappeared behind the trees, whilst the miller ordered one of his servants to take the donkey to the stable and give him some hay. After five minutes or so the servant came running back with his hairs standing on end. "What is the matter with you, old fool?" the miller asked. "Oh master," the servant replied, "as ordered by you, I placed some hay before the donkey, but he said he was not accustomed to eat hay, nor did he ever drink water, but he only ate cakes and plum-pudding and drank nothing less than the finest Hungarian wines." "You silly dotard, have you ever heard a donkey speak?" "No, master, of course I have not. But this donkey does speak, and he looks as if he would eat you, if you did not feed him with cakes and plum-pudding." The miller kicked the servant out of the room and himself went to the stable

There stood the donkey and addressing the miller he said: "Look here, miller, I shall not eat your hay; I am the king of all the donkeys and you will have to feed me accordingly," and the miller, with *his* hairs standing on end, rushed back in terror to his room, and the donkey was seen no more. But the glazier's business soon began to flourish and, after a few years, he was one of the richest men of his town.

DER ERLKÖNIG

(The Alderking)

Goethe—1781

Who is riding out there through the storm and night?
The father and child so fragile and slight.
He clasps the boy tenderly in his arm,
He's holding him safely, he's keeping him warm.

"Why anxiously hidest thou thy face so, my son?"
"Seest not, oh father, the Alderking you?
The Alderking wearing his crown and his shroud?"
"My son, it is only a bank of cloud."

"Oh, prettiest boy, come and go with me,
The gayest games I shall play with thee,
And flowers shalt gather of beauty untold,
My mother wears dresses of finest gold."

"Oh father, my father, doest thou not hear
What Alderking whispers into my ear?"
"Be still, remain still, my darling child,
In dead and dry leaves the wind wails wild."

"Wilt, pretty boy, come and go with me ?
My daughters shall kiss and shall fondle thee ;
My daughters shall dance and thou never shalt weep,
They shall rock thee and sing thee and hush thee to sleep."

"Oh father, my father, and doest thou not see
The Alderking's daughters dance under yon tree ?"
"My eyes, son, are keen, they never betray,
Those are willows that sway at the mere bleak and grey."

"I love thee, my boy, for thy beauty and charm,
But if thou'rt not willing, I'll do thee dire harm."
"Oh father, dear father, he's clasping me tight,
He's hurt me, the Erlking, with all all his might."

The father, he rides, with terror struck wild,
He holds in his arms his moaning child,
In fear and in trembling he reaches his stead :
But on his arm the child lies dead.

P. Brühl

"TELL ME A STORY"

On the Olympian heights all the gods were collected. The hours dragged lengthily. Aphrodite yawning turned to Apollo. "Tell me a story," she demanded. "Sometimes your stories are good."

Apollo smiled.

"Once there was a king in Cyprus," he began, "who burnt incense at my altars only. For the Arts and the Arts alone he lived. And I blessed him with a cunning hand. So that he hewed fair objects from ivory and stone."

"To hew things from stone and ivory he must have been clever," remarked Aphrodite.

"He was," said Apollo, "till he took to hewing an image in the shape of a woman—and so engrossed in his pastime did he become that he visited no more my shrines and my altar fires died out. So to punish him I caused him to be enamoured of the ivory thing. His tears and lamentations were sweet to my ears. He must have perished miserably."

"No, he didn't," snapped Aphrodite. "He kindled a flame in my temple instead that could be seen for miles around. He was a wiser man than you thought. I breathed into his ivory woman."

"What then?" growled Apollo.

"She became a Queen in Cyprus," said Aphrodite laughing.

"Tell me a story," said Venus to Mars who was fanning himself languidly with an Asphodel fan. Mars began slowly.

"There was a Roman warrior whom men called Antony; because of his valour I loved him dearly, so that he became famous in battle and rich were the spoils which fell to his share. In the Roman land he was courted greatly—but he retired into his tents and lived like a Spartan."

"I, too," interrupted Venus, "gave him of the best—did not the fairest slaves and singing girls surround him daily? Also I found him for wife the fairest lady in the land. And little he cared for them all."

Isis, lying on her side, laughed low. "You were wrong," she said. "I brought him an Ethiop queen—none could have called her beautiful—but she had brains. At her feasts, together they drank wine mixed with pearls worth a king's ransom. In the end he died for her."

Osiris laughed. "That was Cleopatra."

"And now," said Isis, "the humans vow she must have been one of the most beautiful women the world has ever known."

"I know a story,—a short one," said Osiris.

"Tell it," said Apollo.

"There was a king in Egypt," said Osiris, "who kept a subject nation toiling in chains for many years. For him these slaves had to make bricks without straw."

"Then they could not have been bricks," said Apollo.

"They were," said Osiris, "for he built houses out of them but when—"

"But when?" said Apollo.

"The first shower of rain had fallen the houses tumbled down and killed one of the king's most favourite dancing girls."

"Tell me a story," said Baal to Astarte. "Your stories usually have a moral in them." Astarte smiled wisely.

"There was a king in Nineveh," she began, "who was noted through the world for the glory of his deeds, and throughout the whole universe famed for his bravery in battle—also for having founded mighty Nineveh till—"

"Till?" said Baal.

"Till he met Semiramis—whom he wed."

"She was beautiful," said Baal.

"She was ambitious," said Astarte, "and angry at being known only as the wife of the king of Nineveh. So she made him build her some hanging gardens—which he did."

"He was a fool," said Osiris.

"She called them the hanging gardens of Babylon—and all men flocked from the corners of the earth to view their wonder, till around the gardens there sprang up a city—Babylon—and the people hailed Semiramis Queen of Babylon."

"Where was the king?" asked Mars.

"Oh, he shut himself up in his royal palace for none came any longer to watch his battles, they were too busy with the Gardens. Thenceforward, too, he became known as *the husband of the Queen*."

"If he remained shut up in his palace, who went to war?" demanded Mars.

"Semiramis," said Astarte. "And her Captains were successful so that thereafter her fame rose to be greater even than the king's."

"He was a fool," said Osiris.

"Had I been him I would have smote those hanging gardens to the ground," growled Mars, "and levelled them with the sands of the sea."

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

"THE TROUBLES OF SIR A. BUREAUCRAT"

A suit of a sensational nature was recently filed by the well-known Madame University of Calcutta against her husband, the Hon'ble Sir A. Bureaucrat of Simla. The proceedings which were for alimony were heard by a Special Bench presided over by the former Lord Chief Justice of England, who, it will be remembered, was deputed last year to exercise original jurisdiction over certain special matters in which the causes of action arise in India.

In opening the plaintiff's case, her Counsel stated that his client had nothing to do with a petition which had been recently presented to an Honorary Magistrate praying for process against the defendant on the ground of bigamy. That complaint had been preferred by one T. H. E. Public, an officious nobody who, being totally ignorant of the *lex loci* and *lex fori* governing the question, had sought to interfere averring that the defendant had gone through a ceremony of marriage with another lady and that it was with money borrowed from complainant that he was supporting her. The learned Magistrate in very rightly dismissing the petition and refusing process had pointed out that no criminal offence had been disclosed. Whatever might have been the position of the Hon'ble Sir A. Bureaucrat in England, he was now domiciled in India where the English Common Law relating to matrimonial relations did not run. Moreover, being a resident of Simla he was, to a certain extent, above the law. As to the allegation that the second Mrs. Bureaucrat was being supported out of funds lent by T. H. E. Public, both the complainant and his pleader were sadly ignorant of the Indian Law relating to the transfer of property. Monies once handed over to gentlemen of Sir A. Bureaucrat's position became the



[illegible]

absolute property of the latter, and it was not only the privilege but the unquestioned duty of people of Public's station to contribute towards Sir Bureaucrat's cash requirements. So false and frivolous was the petition that the learned Magistrate had warned the complainant's pleader that he would be suspended should such a complaint be preferred through him again.

Proceeding, plaintiff's counsel stated that after negotiations extending over a period of several years a marriage had with great pomp been recently solemnised between Sir A. Bureaucrat and a certain Miss Dacca, a resident of Eastern Bengal. Since the date of the nuptials there had been a distinct falling-off in the amount of the allowance which Madame University of Calcutta had been accustomed to receive from her husband.

The lady was fortunately wealthy in her own right. In addition to being the owner of a fish market site adjoining her ancestral residence she derived a moderate income from periodical small payments made to her by her children of whom she had a large number. This source of revenue had, however, recently sustained a serious falling-off owing to bickerings between Sir A. Bureaucrat and the elder children. The latter feeling that their father had not adequately fulfilled a promise to give them a latch-key, had ceased to co-operate with him in the management of the family estates and had become somewhat estranged from both parents. It was at this sad juncture that Sir A. Bureaucrat had entered upon his second alliance. Madame University had become seriously embarrassed and had been compelled to cut down her scale of expenses and to curtail the salaries of her servants and agents. Many of these finding themselves unable to live on their reduced means had accepted service in the household of the second wife which was being conducted on a scale more lavish than any which had ever prevailed in the establishment at Calcutta. Counsel then proceeded to

call evidence. The first witness to be examined was the representative of a well-known firm of house decorators.

Counsel. "Do you know the plaintiff?"

Witness. "Yes."

Counsel. "Did she ever buy anything from you?"

Witness. "A few brooms. From time to time she used to have a spring-cleaning for sweeping away the kind of waste called incompetence."

Counsel. "Do you know the defendant's second wife?"

Witness. "Yes; since she started buying things our Managing Director has purchased a yacht and our shareholders are paying super-tax."

Cross-examined by defendant's counsel.

Counsel. "Can you suggest any reason for such lavish expenditure on things?"

Witness. "No, except that it justifies a proportionate expenditure on people."

At this point a disturbance arose in Court. A wild-looking man in patched clothing of many colours was observed to be standing on a chair waving his arms and trying to make a speech. It was the misguided person known as T. H. E. Public whose name had been mentioned earlier in the proceedings by plaintiff's counsel. He was obviously not in his right mind for he uttered many meaningless words such as "democracy," "liberty," "economy" and seemed to be under the impression that the proceedings before the Court had reference to property either belonging to him or which had at some time been transferred by him to the parties in the suit. He was subsequently removed by the police screaming violently.

When the Court resumed after lunch, counsel asked for an adjournment on the strength of a telegram which had just been received from Sir A. Bureaucrat. It appeared that a dispute had recently arisen between that gentleman and his second wife regarding the real estate to which under

the marriage settlement she was presumably entitled. This placed a new complexion upon the claims of the first wife, but in what way precisely it affected her position counsel was not at the moment prepared to disclose. Counsel prayed for time, and the hearing was accordingly adjourned *sine die*.

A BACHELOR BUREAUCRAT

THOU AND I

[*From an old German Song*]

I am of thine own self a part;
And thou hast a place, too, in my heart:—
Within my heart art thou safely locked,
Of this thou shouldst not doubt,
The little key that locked thee safe
Is lost; —there's no way out.

POST-GRADUATE

AUGUST STRINDBERG

II

Theme and Treatment

Here we must note that in the play of "The Dance of Death," which belongs to a later date and is distinguished from his plays of the purely naturalistic type, Strindberg's treatment of the old theme of sex-duel is not only more elaborate but of quite a different character.

Though like his earlier plays on the subject it is full of fencing dialogues between husband and wife of a horribly realistic nature, Strindberg does not propose to make sex-duel end in the orthodox marriage separation.[1]

A new phase of sex-battle is presented here and the parties to the strife are kept at close quarters to carry on a perpetual tug of war in a vigorous trial of mental strength and inventive resourcefulness. Captain Edgar and his wife Alice have "stuck together for 25 years and have borne with it" without seeking relief in a speedy dissolution of marriage and sex-duel is made to take the form of a triangular contest by the introduction of a third party—Alice's cousin, Curt, to whom she was engaged in childhood and who joins his old companion Edgar after his separation from his wife and children. With shrewd self-possession Alice plays the deep game of an injured wife and Curt very rightly observes—"it is not easy to steer clear of everything, for no matter how little you care to get mixed up in other people's intrigues, you are drawn into them just the same." Moreover, the wife complains that "as an enemy" her husband "is simply horrible," for, as she alleges, even their

[1] *Cf.* p. 168, First Series

own daughter Judith has been cruelly trained by her father to "raise her hand against" the mother. Thus in "the Dance of Death" the problem of sex-duel becomes a very complex affair.

A casual utterance of Curt significantly furnishes us with a keynote to the situation. He calls the Captain's hatred for Alice a "love-hatred which hails from the pit" and we detect an undercurrent of jealousy in Alice's suspicion that her husband, who in her opinion is an old man and 10 years her senior, indulges in a flirtation with the servant girls. She is eternally spying on him and subjecting him to a searching analysis. The Captain in a confidential talk tells Curt about his wife that she is "in spite of everything pretty decent—has been a faithful mate, splendid mother,—excellent,—but she has a devilish temper." Curt too speaks of her "tyrannical and cruel temperament." She in her turn gives her husband the character of a "vampire" with whom she has been compelled to spend "a life-time, locked up and guarded as in a tower by a man whom she has hated beyond all bounds." "Nothing but death," she adds, "can part us and for that reason we are waiting for him as for a liberator." She is sorely tried and grumbles at everything—her husband's imperious temper, his despotism, stinginess, drunkenness, old age and his unfriendliness to his neighbours with none of whom he cares to associate. She is constantly lecturing him on decency, good manners, propriety and liberty, and rues her choice in having preferred to be yoked in marriage to the certainty of becoming like her comrades in the profession, a "star" on the stage.

The Captain sums up his married life as something "queer anyhow"—as monotonous, artificial, cheerless, full of petty bickerings and ill-tempered snapping retorts—though for his wife's sake he has spent heaps of money in five trips to Copenhagen and for the sake of his family honour and dignity he has always tried to make his married life look peaceable

by hiding his real feelings and assuming a quiet attitude of resignation to the inevitable. He does not "let things rankle" and counsels, like the agnostic that he is, the prudent course of "availing oneself of what little time there is, for afterwards it is all over." He coolly observes—"that's what happens when you institute a marriage, my dear Curt. And it is perfectly clear that it was not instituted in heaven."

The superior intellect and tact and commanding position of the Captain, bring about a temporary discomfiture of both his antagonists—his wife Alice and her new ally, Curt, who injudiciously takes the wife's side and is checkmated by a clever move of the Captain, not too slow to utilise Curt's own son, Allan, as his tool. Like a boa-constrictor the Captain gradually tightens his merciless grip on poor Alice till she is non-plussed. The victor sarcastically refers to her defeat by adding that "the fortress has surrendered. The enemy will be permitted to depart in safety on 10 minutes' notice!"

The biological superiority of the male sex is once more demonstrated, as in "the Link," Sc. X, by means of a sharp character contrast—the contrast between the husband's cool self-possession and the wife's nervous anxiety at the imminent prospect of "ruin overtaking them both."[1]

Evidently here again Strindberg's anti-feminism makes sex-duel disadvantageous to the "weaker vessel." Curt rightly holds that Alice specially deserves compassion though other women seem to deserve their fate.

After her temporary defeat Alice returns to the game "to try once more her hand at the art of war" with better hope of success now that she has "mastered the trade." She will at last "slay the dragon."

However unjustly treated by a sort of Blue-beard, Alice appears to be obsessed by the idea of revenge and with a fiendish intensity of passion rejoices with sickening gusto

[1] *Cf.*, The Reconciliation Scene (Part I, Sc. 4), p. 213, First Series.

over the immediate prospect of her husband's death which more than once she prematurely anticipates in her vengeful over-eagerness. Is it the old rankling sense of injustice so strong in Strindberg in his early life that reappears here in a new light? For, we come across a very significant hint in the following piece of dialogue—

Alice. I love revenge as a form of justice and I am yearning to see evil get its punishment.

Curt. You still remain *at that point*?

Alice. There I shall always remain, and the day I forgave or loved an enemy I should be a hypocrite.

(Italics are our own.)

Still, male superiority does not necessarily imply higher moral worth. We have to recognise that anti-feminism does not make Strindberg partial towards male delinquents. He makes as high a demand regarding moral purity from his men as from his women only his conviction is that, socially, greater evil results from woman's derelictions than man's. Alice, for instance, proposes to complete her husband's humiliation by bringing shame on him by running away with Curt and showing themselves together that very night at the Theatre. Curt at once exclaims—"A strange world! You commit a shameful act and the shame falls on him" realising distinctly in a moment how social convention is strong in marital relations and how the woman, when she chooses, can profit by it and place her husband decidedly at a disadvantage by means of a scandal. He stoutly refuses at once to be a party to such a base trick, as later on once more he opposes her in her plan of checkmating the Captain by a charge of defalcation averring that he has "discovered that justice is done anyhow."

Here we note a new growing conviction in the author against his old grievance that there is no justice in human society (*cf.* "The Link")

Yet Curt is bewitched by Alice—the very woman whom he calls "the devil" when he realises the appalling

fascination of sex-attraction on him. She declares, suiting action to word, that at bottom she is "an actress whose manners are free, though an excellent lady otherwise"—that "there are gross women who like modest men." Curt is indeed modest and bashful. The animal nature of man and woman is for once set free and it comes into bold relief in the stage directions that follow. Curt confesses that Alice has aroused the wild beast in him—"that beast which I have tried for years to kill by privations and self-inflicted tortures." Addressing him as her lover, Alice puts her arms around Curt's neck in the face of her husband to spite him and feels a weird and diabolical exultation at the thought of freedom from his power secured at last by ruin thus brought on her husband.

In a manner Alice is Stindberg's unwomanly woman—a stock character in Shaw's plays—and exercises her sway as a man-tamer on poor Curt who goes down on his knees to kiss her foot and cries out in utter bewilderment—"where have I landed? where am I?"

In her triumph over her defeated husband she utters the indignant reproach "you wretch, whom I have never loved—you never saw how I was leading you by the nose." In reality, however, it is Curt whom she has been thus leading.

Though passionately coaxed, caressed and fondled Curt's eyes are at last opened; he sees his mistake, calls her a detestable creature, goes over to the side of the husband dismissing Alice with the stern rebuke—"Go back to the hell whence you came! Good bye for ever!"

This produces in her a revulsion of feeling in which she too reproaches him as a contemptible wretch, a rascal and hypocrite compared with whom even her husband, the Captain, is "a man after all!"

She next repents for her plot against her husband (referring to the expected prosecution for defalcations) and in frantic helplessness exclaims—"Are we then cast out? * * *



CHANDRA-SEKHARA VENKATA RAMAN *Doctor of Science*

I have sprung a mine under myself, under us.....We are lost! your magnanimity might have helped everything, forgiven everything."

She even proposes to care for him, nurse him, nay, to love him.

The Captain charitably explains Curt's past conduct as due to his weak nature and the evil influence of the atmosphere of his own household. He even expresses admiration for Curt's resignation and proposes with philosophical calmness to *eliminate* the past however humiliating it might be —"to wipe out and pass on"—pleads for forbearance and forgiveness. Curt would place neither the husband nor the wife in the right if called upon to judge between them but to both of them he should give *endless compassion*.

Here we detect a distinctly new note sounded by Strindberg suggesting the birth of a new faith on which presently we shall have to dwell at some length.

After all the tables are turned against Alice in this tremendous sex-battle—it is the woman who comes to grief. Alice appeals on bended knees to God for help with lifted hands—"God in heaven! moving her lips as if in silent prayer for relief and succour" and she "breaks out into violent weeping" when a telegram reassures her that her plot has miscarried and that all danger from the prosecution is over. Husband and wife are temporarily reconciled hoping "for something better" and believing that "things upset can be put to rights," though not in a day.

It is true, eventually, the Captain suddenly succumbs to death in a fit of apoplexy brought on by the failure of a fresh scheme of strengthening himself against both Alice and Curt by an alliance with the Colonel through the marriage of his young daughter Judith with that old man. This creates for Alice an occasion for ferocious joy that at last, that tongue is checked! Can brag no more, lie no more, wound no more! * * * O, Judith, glorious girl, you have set us free!

* * * Oh, there is justice ! * * * you, Curt, who believe in God, give Him thanks on my behalf. Thank Him for my liberation from the tower, from the wolf, from the vampire ! "

But we have to bear in mind that this final defeat is not Alice's work nor has it much to do with the sex-duel that we are studying. On the contrary, the new outlook on life represented by Strindberg's plays of the post-naturalistic period is conspicuous by reason of the pointed manner in which he brings to a solemn close the dramatic presentation of sex-duel in married life in "The Dance of Death" when all is over with the Captain, who makes his exit with the words "forgive them, for they know not what they do !" on his dying lips. The Lieutenant bears testimony to his character by the remark "Miss Judith's father was a good and noble man." Judith herself admits that "papa is never mean." Even Alice feels "a strange inclination to speak well of him" and also that now her own life is now ended and she is "starting on the road to dissolution." Her parting words are—"My husband, my youth's beloved" "he was a good and noble man nevertheless !" * * "I must have loved that man * * * and hated him—Peace be with him !" We have just noted a distinct change in Strindberg's treatment of sex-duel. Similarly we note a significant difference suggestive of a development towards a higher ideal in the treatment of married life as we pass from "The Dance of Death" (1901) to "The Dream Play" (1902).

In "The Dream Play" (especially Sc. 2) we come across elements that go to make married life tolerable, if not quite happy, and which find no place in the previous piece, clearly indicating Strindberg's rapid advance from his earlier attitude towards the marriage problem. Sex-duel is replaced by mutual co-operation based on the virtues of endurance, tolerance, forbearance, forgiveness and mutual understanding.

The Lawyer and the Daughter of Indra would enlighten the benighted children of the earth by an exemplar. They

"unite their destinies" with a firm resolve "to adjust likes and dislikes, avoid rocks and stumbling stones," though tastes may differ, pecuniary difficulties may arise, temper tried, and bickerings have to be dodged by studied efforts. They realise completely that in family life *sacrifices must be mutual*, discover that the worst danger to a happy home is from sudden anger and short, sharp accents of impatient complaint.

The Daughter has to put up with good grace with a lot of troubles—ugliness, dirt, want of ventilation in the house, baby cries, endless hours of sleeplessness, and worst of all, the whinings, bickerings and incriminations of the Lawyer's clients. She pines for "some beauty in her home"—some flowers—but is reminded by her husband that "orderliness is a kind of beauty that costs nothing but its want is worse than any other torture to a man with a sense for the beautiful."

Even Indra's Daughter has, however, to admit that "it is more difficult to be married than anything else. One has to be an angel" to make such a life happy and sweet. As decent and intelligent persons, the pair make a fresh resolve to forbear and forgive in "a life of common suffering" and to forestall hatred by smiling at trifles. Still the Daughter feels that "men are to be pitied" and the Lawyer desperately suggests at last—"this is simply impossible!"—we had "better quit now." Yet they endure—"not for the sake of our promises but for the sake of the child!"—this "second and greater hell" (to the Lawyer who has left the first hell of his profession), for "the sweeter the hell, the greater."

Post-marital relation is dealt with also in "Thunderstorm" (1907) rightly considered as a drama of old age[1]—of retrospect—presenting autobiographically man's slow decline to the final end. In "The Dance of Death," we have an

[1] *Cf.* The Thunderstorm This I Series, pp. 187, 189, 190, 200, 202, 212, 213, 217 and 227.

indirect dramatic recapitulation of the personal experiences of Strindberg's first marriage (1875-1891) and here we have more definite references to his later marriages—particularly to his second marriage with "a young woman writer of Austrian birth" which proved rather unhappy.[1]

Gerda was charming to all but her husband to whom she "seemed coarse, vulgar, ugly, stupid." She always sympathised with all his enemies who hated him for his independence. Yet the Master (her husband) cherished for ten long years the memory of this divorced wife (now 29 years old) and of their daughter Anne Charlotte with a sacred sentiment which to Gerda appears to be very strange. Gerda is now another man's wife and Anne Charlotte is with the mother who has "wiped out all the beauty that he cherished" by her ignoble connection with a scoundrel like her second husband Fisher who runs away with a girl of eighteen—the confectioner Starck's daughter Agnes; and even Anne is unfortunately gone with them. The father dreams every night of his little daughter and in sleep hears her little steps and once even he heard in sleep her very voice

The husband is the injured party here and Gerda offers to make amends—to "rehabilitate" him; but he refuses all such help without in the least bearing a grudge against the woman. He will rather leave "things to straighten out" themselves without any foolish and meddling interference from him. They do finally straighten out. Gerda at last retires with Anne, after Fisher's departure, in the country to live with her mother—and "all memories lie down and sleep in peace! The peace of old age!"

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

[1] *Cf.* Bjorkman's Introduction, p. 13, First Series.

PROSE POEMS

Love Offerings

IV

To-day is the last day of the year, Love, the very last of the dear, departing year. Another page off life's book; another step nearer unto death. Wild hopes and fears, that once rent the soul, are now for ever laid to rest. Their brief day is done. Oh! the flight of time, the end of things.

*

To-morrow thy waking eyes will greet the New Year. Be it fair and bright—a pious wish, a fervent hope on every lip, in every heart. But, oh, the joy of Heaven or the Hell of deep despair! What, what will it bring? Who can see? who can tell? Whatever else it bringeth—these it will surely bring—gifts priceless, gifts supreme—less clouded truth, wider charity, larger outlook, mellower views.

*

Can ev'n Olympus ever give us back aught of the plunder torn from us by Time? The unclouded joy of childhood's transient day; the golden haze wherein, for raptured youth, basketh the beckoning future; manhood's hopes, boundless and surging. These can the Gods restore? No! Onward, ever onward, rolls Time's flood—shattering our dreams, o'erwhelming all our hopes, till fails the light, and, for a time at least, darkness engulfs both us and all around! Yet strikes some other hour, as some maintain, when, borne on Lethe's Tide, we gain a strand where Life, Love, Joy, are all once more renewed!

*

Thy mercy, we are taught, is infinite and ever-lasting, yet misgivings haunt this Heart of mine when, hourly, endlessly,

Realities—the common facts of life—flit grimly past, before my tortured eyes. The doting mother, of her babe bereft; the damsel mourning for the swain she loved; the blushing bride, robbed of her joy-wreathed dream. God! Where is thy mercy? Where—O tell us where—that Love divine, so oft, so sweetly hymned?

*

Faith, Fortitude, Firmness, will they falter and fail and fade at the hour of trial, in the moment of despair, asked the Sāqi, in a mournful strain. Or, tried and tested, will they emerge from the fire of life, radiant, strengthened, ennobled, purified? Never will I forsake them, answered the youth, not even were the heavens to fall. Thine, then, said the Sāqi, is the path of glory; thine, a nation's gratitude; thine, the fadeless crown. Would that courage unfailing, courage unbent, courage such as thine, be the proud possession of all! For naught but courage winneth life's battle; naught but courage secureth the soul's freedom—man's noblest, highest prize. Let courage, then, be thy gift, O God, to this wondrous land of Love and Light.

*

Let not failure daunt thee Soldier and Martyr in this heaven-deserted world. Thou, whom neither Death nor Chain affrights; thou, whom neither Gift nor Glory tempts: thou, strong with the strength of Truth and Righteousness why should failure quench thy ardour, crush thy hope?

Despair—tread it to dust and death and hearken to the message history whispers unto thee.

Despond not: for is not failure often but a prelude to success? What thou needest is the will—the unconquerable will—to seek, to strive, to find, to conquer and not to yield. Let self-reliance, persistence, undeviating purpose, singleness of aim—let these be thy weapon and God thy guide.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

SCIENCE IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS

In view of the recent discussion on vocational education in secondary schools, the following note on Science in English schools, which I wrote some years ago, after visiting a considerable number of schools in Great Britain may be of interest.

In practically all the secondary (Grammar) schools I visited, Elementary Science and manual training (including Elementary Drawing) are compulsory, for the last four years of the school course. This is comparatively a modern departure but all the Head Masters spoke highly of its success. The essential point about school science, as taught in England is that it is meant to be strictly elementary and is more practical than theoretical, while in the workshop, the object sought is not formal carpentry but a training of the hand and the eye.

I have been very much impressed with the need for the introduction of these as a compulsory part of our school course for I feel certain that our present system is so defective mainly because it is based almost entirely on book knowledge and requires our students to learn most things mechanically and unintelligently. They are hardly at all made to think and not at all to use the hand or the eye. When we proceed to consider the methods that are in actual use in English schools, the importance of the matter will be more clearly seen. In the meantime it is necessary to insist on our people that, if real good is to result, it is absolutely necessary that, these subjects should be made a compulsory part of the regular school course as is done in England. It is not at all necessary, it is not in fact desirable, that the University should make them subjects of the matriculation examination. For the work

both of the teacher and the student will become mechanical and lose much of its freshness, if elementary science is made the subject of a University Examination. While this may be said to be true of all subjects in general, in the case of elementary science it is especially and emphatically the case. But the Department of Public Instruction can insist on them in its own schools at any rate, as the Board of Education in England as well as the London County Council have done. Thus the regulations of the Board of Education require that "the curriculum (in a secondary school recognised by the Board) must provide instruction in the English language and literature, at least one other language, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science and Drawing. The instruction in science must include practical work by the scholars. Provision should be made for manual instruction and for singing in some portion of the school-curriculum.

The objections that may be urged against such a scheme will, I believe, be found to be almost entirely based on a misunderstanding; even in England a disbelief is freely expressed in school science, and it will be urged that (*a*) science as a subject of school education is too difficult and expensive for this country, (*b*) that boys here have already too much to do, (*c*) that manual training has nothing to do with general education and will not appeal to any but those who have a special aptitude for it.

With regard to the objection that science (elementary physics and chemistry) is too difficult a subject to be suitably taught in schools, it is important to note that by science in this connection is not meant formal science—not so much scientific knowledge as scientific method. Boys are to be taught to observe, to state the results of observation, to draw, under guidance, conclusions from them, so far as possible, and are not to be required to get up mechanically so many scientific facts and conclusions. It is clear that a course of this kind, by stimulating a spirit of enquiry and teaching



MOKSHAGUNDAM VISVESVARAYA

skill in manipulating simple scientific apparatus, will serve as a potent factor in education, and in view of the extreme bookishness that our present system encourages it will, I believe, serve as a most admirable corrective. This, in fact, I have been assured has been the result wherever it has been tried. In some schools that I visited, a little too much is attempted—some part of the work that a boy should do at college (after leaving school), and the result is a certain overlapping and a certain waste of energy. It will of course be necessary to avoid this. What I would propose would be that every boy who goes through a school course should have a training in scientific method by being made to go through a course of elementary science as a part of general education, rather than as a preliminary to a specialised training.

This will not entail much additional work on the part of students. In most English schools, the rule is to assign two and half hours to five hours a week in the first four classes to science-teaching. I would propose two half hours a week in the first three classes only. I have been assured on all hands that, as a rule, boys regard work in the science classes and in the workshop as recreation, and I fully believe that under proper guidance it can be made so even in this country. For this the one essential factor is a good teacher—the question of equipment as will presently be seen will not be a difficult one to deal with at all. He need not necessarily be a graduate, but he must have had scientific training. In other words, he should have received some training in scientific method and should take an interest in his work. I would propose that a training class in science be attached to each of the training colleges and that a candidate for the post of a science teacher should, if possible, have gone through a course there. It would also be desirable that he should have done some work in a workshop that should form an indispensable part of the equipment of every laboratory, either in a college or a training school.

It will be seen that for the science classes that I suggest, one whole-time teacher will, as a rule, be sufficient. He may also take charge of the object-lesson classes in the lower department of the school. It should be understood, however, that a science class should never contain more than fifteen pupils—the fewer the better.

In one of the schools I visited, the heuristic method is said to be followed with great success. The boys are required, as far as possible, to discover for themselves physical and chemical facts and laws, the teachers supplying them the necessary guidance. In several schools, especially in the larger schools, on the other hand, the teachers deliver regular lectures followed by laboratory works at which the student is required to carry out experiments mainly illustrative of lectures, while in some schools, an attempt is made to combine the two methods. This obviously is the right course. For in the school—science such as I advocate, there should be as little as possible of formal lectures, there should be no attempt made to make the student learn facts and theory of which he has not had first-hand experience. As illustrating the method and extent of teaching actually pursued in many of the schools visited, the following statement kindly supplied by the science master of the Exeter Grammar School will be found to be of interest.

The regular course of science teaching here is divided into four years. The work is divided up as follows :—

1st year age 13-14). Simple experiments on Mensuration :—Density, Pressure, Barometer, etc., and a little heat. This work is almost entirely practical and the boys do all the experiments themselves.

2nd year. Heat and Light and a few experiments introductory to Chemistry such as determination of solubility, etc.—A few lecture experiments are shown, but the boys do most of the work themselves. The theoretical work is all based on the results of experiments done beforehand, and very little

is done which the boys cannot investigate experimentally for themselves.

3rd-year. Chemistry—Chemical and physical action, compounds and mixtures, solubilities, air, water, oxygen, hydrogen, carbon dioxide, nitrogen and its compounds, sulphur and its compounds, chlorine and hydrochloric acid. Here again the teaching is based entirely on the boys' practical work. The above outlines merely indicate the general scope of the work, but of course the compounds are not considered apart, but always in relation to what has been done before.

4th-year. Chemistry up to the London Matriculation and also simple volumetric analysis. Sometimes, time is found for some simple qualitative analysis. The method used is slightly different to that in the third year as there is not sufficient time for the boys to cover the whole ground practically. In the sixth form, the work depends entirely on the examinations the boys wish to take up. Some boys are prepared for scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, others for the Army and Medical Examinations. In addition to continuing the work of the other 4 years, Organic Chemistry, Electricity and Magnetism and Sound are all taken up.

The most suitable procedure would probably be that the student be made to perform experiments for himself and make his own observations and deductions, the teacher directing, explaining and supplementing, these observations and deductions. For this purpose a period of 1½ hours, twice a week, ½ an hour for explanatory lectures and ¾ hours (roughly) for experimental work will probably suffice.

No hard and fast rules need, however, be given as every trained teacher ought to have his own way of setting about the conduct of such a class.

Whatever be the actual procedure adopted in the matter of a combination of lectures and experimental work, in every

school very great care is taken for the recording of the experiments by the students. Each boy is provided with a note book in which he enters a full description of the experiment he performs, a sketch of the apparatus he uses, the results he obtains and the conclusions he deduces. When he is sufficiently advanced he is required also to draw under guidance the graphs embodying the results, whenever this is possible. This is looked over by the teacher and returned after correction, as a rule marked. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this. The training thus supplied in methods of neatness and thoroughness is in itself of the greatest educational value. In the case of our students, it will also provide a most valuable exercise in English composition, which may under good management lead to most excellent results. This, of course, supposes that the boys will have acquired a working knowledge of English before they proceed to laboratory work. There is a difficulty of using note books (not in the way of the introduction of science-teaching in schools) but with a proper system of teaching English in schools which I trust, will be introduced before long, the difficulty will by no means prove to be insuperable.

The following syllabus is a sample of the work that is attempted in many of the secondary schools. The Boards of Educations require generally that the curriculum and the time-table of the whole school must be approved by the Board and must provide for continuity of instruction in each of the subjects taken, and leaves each school to formulate a scheme and submit it to the Board for approval.

St. Dunstan College.

Age 12. (*i*) Measurements of lengths, area and volume, simple experiments on weighing, Physical object lessons.

(*ii*) Densities of solids and liquids by various methods, use of tubes and construction of Barometers.

(*iii*) Heat, Thermometry, elementary ideas of calorimetry and changes of state. Mechanics. Centre of gravity. Moments.

Age 13. (*i*) The composition of air and water. The nature of rusting and burning.

(*ii*) The composition of chalk and other carbonates, carbon monoxides, the hardness of water.

(*iii*) Heat, Calorimetry, Boyle's Law, etc. Mechanics. Triangle and Polygon of forces, moments.

Age 14. (*i*) The composition of salt leading to the study of chlorine, bromine, iodine. Determination of simple equivalent by silver nitrate solution.

(*ii*) Sulphur and sulphuric acid, sulphur dioxide, sulphides. Simple work on acids and alkali.

(*iii*) Heat expansion of liquids, solids and gases, Vapour density and Hygrometry.

Age 15. (*i*) Ammonia, the oxides of nitrogen: probably at this stage the theoretical considerations involving Dalton's and Avogadro's theories would be introduced.

(*ii*) A course on light or a first course on metals.

(*iii*) A course on electricity or a second course on metals and organic chemistry.

It is obvious that this syllabus is much too extensive for the purposes of *our* secondary schools. It is, in fact, complained that in attempting it the English secondary schools, really attempt too much. As far as we are concerned, in view of our limited resources and the low standard in our colleges, the following syllabus will be as much as we need attempt for sometime to come. As I have stated already, the really important thing is not the amount of science that is done but the thoroughness and method of doing it.

I. Physical object lessons.

II. Units of lengths, use of foot rule, meter scale, linear vernier, comparison of the various scales, measurements of lengths, practical arithmetic.

III. Measurement of areas of squares, rectangles, triangles, measurement of volumes of cubes and spheres. Practical Geometry.

IV. Graduation of a measuring glass, use of the burette and of the balance.

V. Hydrostatics. The surface of a liquid in an open vessel, horizontal water level. Spirit level. Water works. Pressure exerted by a liquid in all directions.

Second year. Archimedes' principle. Specific gravity. Pressure of air; pumps. Motion of bodies under gravity. Oscillation of the pendulum. Boiling, conduction, convection and radiation of heat.

Experimental hygrometry. Temperature. The thermometer. Graphical representation of variable physical quantities.

Simple phenomena of statical electricity, dynamic electricity, magnetism.

Chemistry. Effects of heat on water and on various substances: Salt, sand, sulphur, charcoal, alcohol, magnesium, lead.

Rusting of iron, increase in weight, change of air, necessity of air.

Heating of metals.

Burning of sulphur in air.

II. Oxygen. Hydrogen. Water.

III. Carbon dioxide. Nitrogen. Acids, bases, salts.

It will be seen that the equipments necessary for working through the above course are extremely simple. In order that one teacher should be able to attend to a whole class, the class should not have more than 10 to 15 students and it would be necessary to have as many sets of the very simple apparatus required. It is essential, however, that a room should be set apart for the class (one room will be enough) with working benches running round along the walls or in the middle (according to the space available) provided with cupboards below for the reception of the apparatus to be used by the class.

In many of the schools, a shed provided with carpenter's benches and the necessary tools form the only equipment, the boys being required to work (only once a week) from drawings as well as from models in manual training. I believe ordinary carpenters suitably trained in artisan classes will be able to take charge of classes of this kind, if drawing is made compulsory, as it ought to be in all recognised schools. Of the educational value of a course of manual training and drawing it is not necessary to speak at length. At a recent conference of secondary school teachers held in London, there was no difference of opinion on the subject, and the majority of the teachers present were even in favour of introducing it into *elementary* schools.

D. N. Mallik

DEVELOPMENT OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES AND ITS NECESSITY

The country has been asked to concentrate its whole energy on the spinning and weaving question as *swadeshi* and *swaraj* are identical. But there is another aspect of *swadeshi* yet which, although recognised by Mahatma Gandhi, has been lost sight of by the general public. India cannot attain full *swaraj* by the revival of spinning and weaving only. The attention of the general public must be drawn towards the development of the chemical resources of the country, since every industry imaginable has got to depend upon raw materials in which chemical science plays some role in some form or other. Chemical science, in fact, is closely interwoven with almost all the industries of a country more than almost any other science. The public must bear it in mind that national pre-eminence in chemical industry ultimately means a national world supremacy. The country that produces best chemists must, in the long run, be the most powerful and wealthy—because it will have the fewest wastes and unutilised forms of matter, all the best products of commerce manufactured at the lowest cost; its food products will be the most nourishing and the cheapest; its inhabitants the most healthy and the best developed, thrifty, resourceful, intelligent, utilising their country's resources in the best possible way. Such a country is the least dependent upon other countries, the most prosperous in peace and the most formidable in war.

Germany has taught the world an object lesson in this respect. She turned out pharmaceutical and chemical products annually valued at 1,125 crores of rupees. What is the secret of this vast wealth that she has been drawing from all over the world? It is the mobilisation of her practical



SYLVAIN LEVI *Professor of Literature*

chemists who harnessed all the resources of Nature available in the country and converted them into national wealth during the time of peace. It is her chemists again that enabled her to keep up the terrible fight against practically the whole world, during the recent war.

Both Germany and America recognised the fact long ago that education of a nation in advanced chemistry and higher physical science is the most paying investment that any country can make and that competition between civilised nations is merely a competition in science and applications of the same. The results are too well-known to-day to enumerate.

The German and the American University regulations made research work profitable for the students who were readily absorbed into various chemical industries afterwards, the majority shining in their respective work and incidentally drawing enormous wealth for the benefit of themselves and their respective countries. Meanwhile our Universities, following in the footsteps of the Universities of conservative England are merely multiplying examinations and academic distinctions of all kinds together with expenses, putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of turning out practical men, who would have the ability and grit to venture into the field of industrial development of the country. Chemical research in our Universities, like that of England, is yet greatly discouraged by making it most unprofitable for an average student. As a result, our Universities are turning out a number of theoretical men crammed with book work, mere teachers and assistants with no self-confidence to take up any responsible work in the industrial field. The majority are contented with the time-honoured clerical and subordinate service.

Our professors and teachers, who are generally the pick of intellect, are offered such small salaries that any skilled artisan would refuse to accept. *Poverty* is the excuse put forward by our University authorities for their utter neglect

of scientific and vocational education. How can a nation having such poor educational facilities as regards industrial science expect industrial prosperity ?

What about the handful of our technical chemists most of whom have had their technical education abroad ? Inspite of the long and expensive training they had to undergo in order to attain their qualifications, most of them have been struggling for their very existence either for want of sufficient number of industrial enterprises owned by our countrymen to employ them or for want of financial support from our capitalists who light shy of enterprises concerning chemical industry. The salary offered to our technical chemists in Bengal are miserable—very often not much more than clerks or other skilled labourers.

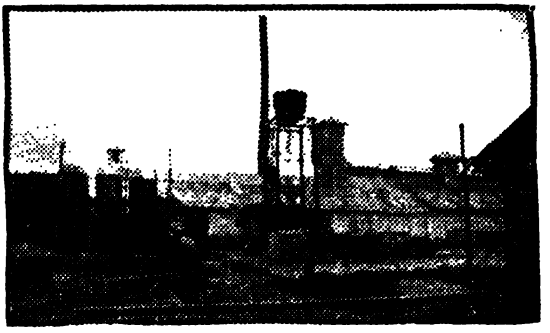
How can our chemical industries thrive in the face of all these drawbacks ?

Our capitalists must be made to realise the situation and loose their purse-string for the establishment of technical institutions all over the country where our youths may obtain proper sort of training. They should come forward also for the establishment of several industries the country is badly in need of at the present moment.

The example of a large-hearted merchant prince carrying on silent but solid work in Burma for the development of her vast resources may well serve as an object lesson to many capitalists having their wealth locked up either in Government papers or in jewellery or in landed property.

This merchant prince is no other than Sir A.K.A.S. Jamal of Rangoon. Many people in Bengal must have heard about his enormous wealth but very few outside Burma know about his various industrial activities as they know about those of the well-known Tata of Bombay.

Sir Jamal, better known as the Rice King of Burma today, originally came from Kathiawar and started his career as an ordinary man. By perseverance and thrift, sound



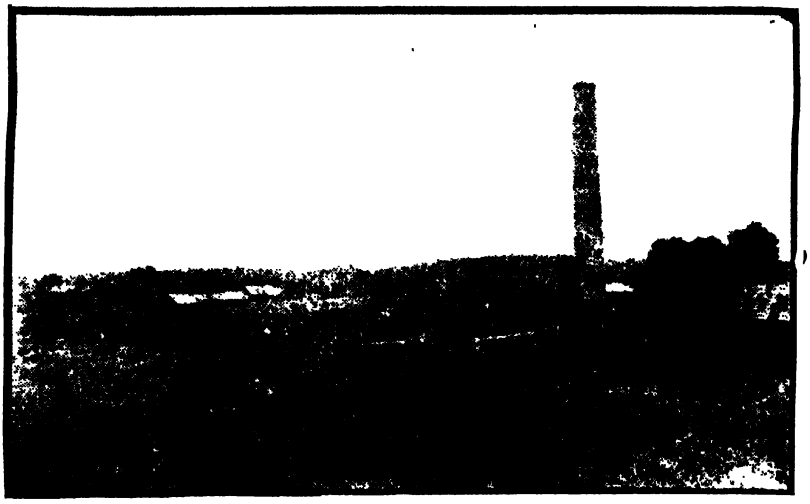
Jamal's Oil Ex n Plant

judgment and enterprise he gradually rose, step by step, to his present position. He was the founder and owner of the Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., for the development of which he had to toil day and night in mud and dust during his early career. Now his annual income from this Company alone is larger than those of many native chiefs.

Burma owes her cotton industry to him. He was probably the first man in the whole of India to venture into the field of cottonseed oil industry. Besides, he owned a few rice mills turning out several thousand maunds of Burma rice.

In 1915, I had the good fortune of coming in direct touch with this great man and was engaged by him to formulate some schemes of chemical industries in the Province.

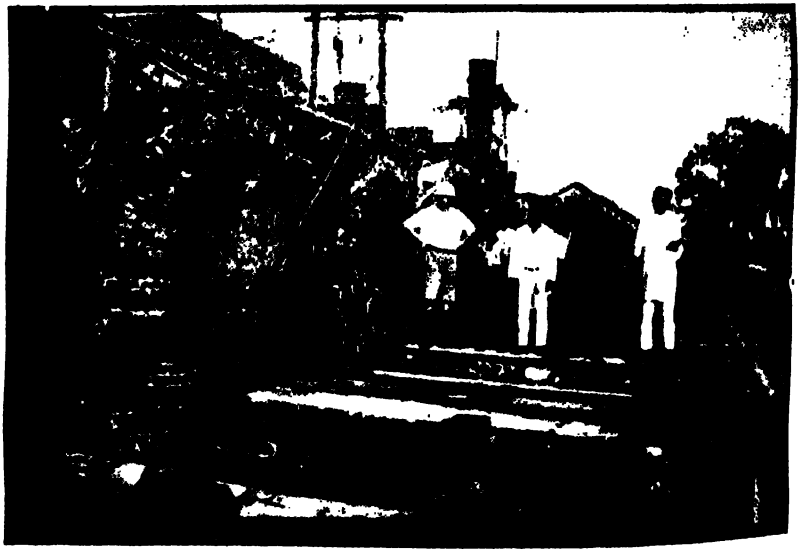
He had seen some reports about the possibilities of making paper from bamboo and he immediately decided to plunge into this enterprise. The difficulty of obtaining caustic soda at a reasonable price at that time which must be obtained in fairly large quantity for making the paper pulp from bamboo, did not damp his enthusiasm. I was directed to solve the problem. A solution was at last found and caustic soda was manufactured from a kind of



Jamal's Wood Distillation Plant

efflorescence obtainable in Upper Burma known as "Sapia." More than 40 lacs of rupees have been spent for building up a large paper mill, including the Caustic Soda Plant attached to it.

I had, however, to leave Burma suddenly under Government orders as I was told that they did not like Bengali



Jamal's Wood Distillation Plant

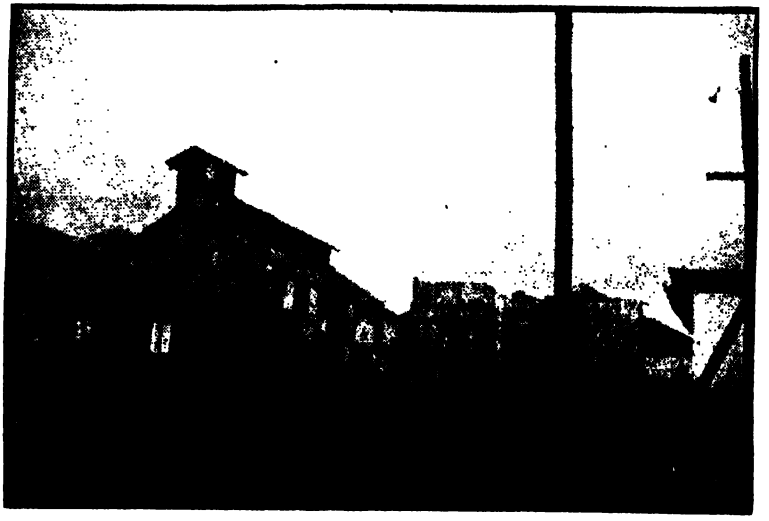
chemists, especially those trained in America and the post of chief chemists must be reserved for Europeans.

The good quality of sugar-cane growing abundantly in upper Burma also drew his attention and experiments in manufacturing sugar were started at this time. To-day Sir Jamal owns nearly a lac of acres of land for cultivating sugar canes, 10 lacs of palm trees for tapping and making sugar out of their juice and two modern plants for manufacturing refined sugar, each costing him over 36 lacs of rupees. A large distillery is being installed for the manufacturing of spirits from the by-products of the sugar mills. The large demand for charcoal in Burma as a substitute for coal led him to launch another big enterprise in the way of erecting a Wood Distillation Plant, which is also nearing completion. The enormous quantity of rice bran obtained by milling rice in Burma which contains a good percentage of an edible oil led him to lay out a large sum for the erection of an oil extraction plant by the modern solvent process.

Besides the above industries, he started a bone-mill and a soap factory the raw materials for which are abundant in



Jamal's Soap Factory



Jamal's Home in

Burma. Sir Jamal's confidence in the abilities few Bengali Chemists who were the main factors in planning and erecting these factories, among whom Dr. H. Sen was the foremost, has, however, resulted in his handing over the entire technical management and control of five of the above factories to a Bengal concern I am connected with. The starting of a few other subsidiary industries utilising the by-products of his different factories are at present under contemplation under the new management, and I daresay if he lives a few more years Burma will enjoy the benefit of a few pioneer industries engineered by the enterprises and wealth of a single Indian merchant.

Besides his activities i he industrial line, Sir Jamal is equally interested in the educational development of his community. His large grant in various schools and other charitable institutions should also be an object lesson for our rich men here.

It is indeed a pity that a vast country like ours full of natural resources and wealth cannot produce more bold-hearted captains of industries like Tata or Jamal. It is time that

rich men of Bengal should shake off their time-honoured lethargy and show to the rest of the world that Bengal, which can boast of more chemists than any other Province, is also going ahead in industrial development and becoming the centre of large chemical industries that will furnish the key to all other industries.

P. Das

A RIDDLE

[*From the German of Rudolf von Gottschall*]

You ask of me, dearest, with kisses that burn,
Why might a lover be said best to live?
Why do bright tresses to grey so soon turn?—
Thy heart awaits trembling the answer I give:—
A riddle insoluble life need not prove,
When we have discovered the magic of—Love.

P. G.

CURRENCY DIFFICULTY IN BENGAL UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE

(1757—1772)

Soon after the battle of Plassey, Bengal was faced with a great scarcity of silver currency. Its immediate cause was the reduced import and the increased export of silver from the province under early British rule. From the very beginning of the English East India Company's trade, bullion, especially silver, formed its chief import to Bengal. During the years 1708 to 1756 the amount[1] of bullion and merchandise sent to Bengal by the English Company was £6,406,023 and £2,283,813 respectively. But during the period 1757 to 1797, the Company did not import from England a single ounce of gold or silver to Bengal. This stoppage of the import of bullion was due to many causes. After the battle of Plassey, the East India Company received considerable amounts of money from native rulers as tribute and compensation. Englishmen, who now began to make enormous fortunes in Bengal, transmitted their wealth by bills drawn on the Court of Directors of the Company in England. But the chief cause was the large surplus of territorial revenue, especially since the grant of the Dewani[2] to it in 1765. The other European Companies which also had to import bullion for financing their export trade, discontinued their import of it, for they were provided with ample funds by selling bills to the English Company's servants, anxious to remit their fortunes to Europe. Bengal

[1] Macgregor :—*Commercial Tariffs*, pp. 119-121.

[2] By the grant of the Dewani of Bengal in 1765, the East India Company received the entire revenues of the province, on payment of an annual tribute to the Mughal Emperor and a yearly allowance to the puppet Nawab of Bengal.

was thus deprived of the usual import of about £780,000 of bullion per annum. The declining trade of Bengal with Persia and the Red Sea reduced also the import of bullion[1] from that source from about £250,000 to £5,000 per annum.[2]

In addition to this decline of import, large quantities of bullion were exported out of Bengal to other British Settlements in India and to China. Nawab Mir Kasim, after his defeat at the hands of the English in 1763, fled from Bengal with an immense treasure. The specie alone which he carried away, has been estimated at 1½ million pounds sterling. Even omitting this sum, Bengal had lost during the period 1757 to 1766, "by deficiency in the usual imports of bullion and by exportation of silver, more than eight million sterling." Mandeville, writing in 1750, observes that after the annual tribute has been sent to Delhi, "there is hardly currency enough left in Bengal to carry on any trade, or even to go to market for provisions and necessaries of life till the next shipping arrives to bring a fresh supply of silver." The imperial tribute to Delhi in pre-British days never exceeded 1½ million sterling. The hardship caused by the loss of eight million pounds within ten years of the battle of Plassey, may therefore be easily imagined.

To remove the economic distress caused by the shortage of currency, Lord Clive tried to establish bimetallism in 1766, by introducing gold coinage. The following regulation was accordingly passed "that the new gold mohur should weigh 179½ grains of the fineness of 20 carats (and) that this gold mohur should pass current and be received in

[1] Verelst—*A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal* (1772), p. 86, footnote. The rupees quoted in this foot note have been converted into sterling at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* per rupee. Verelst was the English Governor in Bengal from 1767 to 1769.

[2] Mandeville's letter of the 27th November, 1750. This letter is quoted in Stewart's *Principles of Money applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal* (1772), pp. 62-63. After the grant of the Dewani in 1765, the tribute of £325,000 (=26 lacs of rupees) to the Moghal Emperor caused a further drain of bullion out of Bengal.

all payments, whether of a public or private nature, in exchange for 14 sicca rupees." But to guard against the export of gold which was more convenient for such purposes than silver and to encourage the public to bring gold to the mint for coinage, the legal rate for gold mohurs was fixed at 17½ per cent. above their market value in silver. These mohurs, having been in circulation for 18 months, depreciated so much in terms of the rupee that even in Calcutta, mohurs exchanged for rupees at a loss of about 38 per cent.

This depreciation of gold in terms of silver was, according to Governor Verelst, due to the growing scarcity of silver, caused partly by its reduced import and partly by its export to other parts of India and to China. He attributed this scarcity of silver also to the intrigues of the shroffs (money-changers) and to the preference of silver by foreign companies for the purchase of native products. Mr. Verelst and the Council at Calcutta, in their letter of the 3rd February, 1768, to the Court of Directors, referred to "the fatal consequences which must unavoidably attend the vast exportation of silver out of this country" and observed that it was then "difficult to procure silver at the Presidency, in exchange even for a hundred gold mohurs." In another letter to the Court of Directors, they remarked that they had been greatly disappointed in their attempt to establish a gold currency, as with all their influence it would not circulate, "so wedded were the natives to the particular specie they had been accustomed to." But neither the Governor nor his Council realised that behind these outward causes, there was a deeper economic cause at work, *viz.*, the operation of Gresham's law which led to the driving out of undervalued silver by over-valued gold.

In fact, the gold currency of 1766 had intensified the currency troubles so much that during the next two years "internal traffic ceased." The leading European merchants of Calcutta petitioned Mr. Verelst in 1769 to devise some

remedy. The petitioners observed that "at present the distress is so great that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a risk of ruin by attachment on his goods which would not sell for half their value, it being impossible to raise a large sum at any premium or bond." In the opinion of the petitioners, gold might still be made a convenient currency for Calcutta, though not for the trade of Bengal in general, if the shroffs were prevented from "taking advantage of the necessities of those who carry trade to the *Aurungs* (places of manufacture)." They accordingly proposed the coining of mohurs, half-mohurs and quarter mohurs, "equally in value and standard to those commonly called Delhy, forbidding by (government) authority, any shroff, under pain of severe fine and imprisonment, to exact more than one per cent. for exchanging them into silver, for the purposes of merchants trading out of Calcutta." The Armenian merchants of Calcutta took a wider view and suggested in their petition to the Governor "the immediate coinage of mohurs, with all their divisions and subdivisions to one anna, sixteen sicca value of pure gold," as universal legal tender throughout the province. They also observed that a large quantity of gold had lately been imported to Calcutta and if silver was not to be had, let the Government coin mohur with all its subdivisions, because "any coin whatever is better, than no coin at all."[1]

The English Government in Bengal, in its reply to these petitions, observed that the distress, caused by the scarcity of silver, was not confined to Calcutta alone but was spread all over the province. It accordingly proposed in an advertisement of the 17th June, 1769, to issue a gold currency throughout the province on the following plan:—

"That a gold mohur be struck of the fineness of the Ancient Delhi mohur coined in the first ten years of the reign of

[1] Verelst - Fisc. Appendix No. 136B, p. 243

Muhammad Shah[1].....which shall be issued and received in all public and private disbursements and receipts whatever at 16 sicca rupees each mohur." But as the mohur was too large a monetary unit for ordinary purposes of currency in a poor country like Bengal, 'halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths" of mohurs were proposed to be issued to supply the place of silver in smaller monetary transactions. To encourage the merchants who had gold for coinage, all duties for gold coinage except one per cent. to defray the actual cost of coinage were proposed to be abolished. The legal ratio fixed between gold and silver in this new gold coinage was more nearly equal to the market ratio between the two metals than was the case in 1766. But even in this new legal ratio, which was described by the Government as "the most just and equitable proportional value between gold and silver," the value of gold mohurs had been artificially increased by $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The events of 1766, therefore, repeated themselves. The last remnant of silver went out of circulation and the bimetallism attempted in 1769 broke down.

William Bolts[2] remarks that "among the variety of iniquitous abuses practised in Bengal and adjacent provinces, to the injury of individuals and great hurt of trade in general, we may properly rank those of the spurious coinages which have been made of late years both in the gold and

[1] Muhammad Shah reigned in Delhi from 1719 to 1748.

"Of the known standards of gold in Hindustan, that of Muhammad Shah approached nearest to the proportional value of gold and silver at the time. It was therefore adopted as possessing a two-fold advantage: it was best suited for the purpose of exchange, and a general currency in commerce: the traditions of long use had given it a value at once real and sentimental in the minds of the people." —*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. 3, Introduction, p. xxi, footnote.

[2] Bolts—*Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 203.

William Bolts, a junior servant of the English East India Company arrived in Bengal in 1760 and resigned the Company's service in 1766. Within these six years, he, according to his account, amassed a fortune of £90,000. He was later on deported to England by English authorities in Bengal and he joined the Imperial Company of Trieste in 1775. He published his *Considerations* in 1772.

silver species expressly contrary to law and apparently for fraudulent purposes." But it may be said in reply to this charge that the hardship caused by the unsatisfactory currency system of Bengal under early British rule, proceeded from two sets of causes, one of which had been at work before the English had taken any part in the Government of Bengal. The other resulted not from any deliberate attempt of the Company to defraud the people, but from the changed character of the foreign trade of Bengal from 1757 A.D. and from the well-meaning, though injudicious attempts of the Company at currency reform.

The silver rupee had been the chief measure of value and the legal tender of payments in Bengal as well as in other parts of Northern India,[1] under the Mughal administration, notwithstanding the fact that the revenue was reckoned in copper *dams*. Gold was then coined to a small extent as a supplementary currency. It was generally used in making presents and in paying tributes. The mohurs were usually struck for the convenience of individuals, who wanted to have their gold converted into coins. But the Government did not try to maintain any fixed legal ratio between the two metals and gold was allowed to find its market ratio in terms of silver. For small transactions in Bengal, people used *cowries* (shells), of which a large amount was regularly imported from the Maldive Islands.[2] But *cowries* were in

[1] But the gold *hon*, weighing about 52 grains, was the standard coin in Southern India. Thus Manucci (*Storia Do Mogor*, Irvine's edition, Vol. II, p. 4 writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, observes that cowries, "come from the Maldives and are current money in the kingdom of Bengal." Even Ibn Batuta who was living in the middle of the fourteenth century, gives an account of the collection of cowrie shells in the Maldive islands whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice. Stavorinus, visiting Bengal during the years 1768-1771 also remarks "Copper coins are not seen in Bengal. For change they make use of cowries, eighty of which make a *pani* and sixty or sixty-five *panies*, according as there are few or many cowries in the country, make a rupee. They come from the Maldive islands." It is interesting to note here that the lowest medium of exchange at Surat during the 17th and 18th centuries was almond and not cowries, though the Maldives were much nearer to Surat than to Bengal.

some cases used for large monetary transactions also. As late as 1767, the revenue of Sylhet was paid in *cowries*. Even the annual tributes from some feudatory princes were paid in *cowries*.[1] But inspite of the occasional use of *cowries* for quite large transactions, Bengal practically had silver monometallism up to the year 1766.

Though the Rupee remained practically unchanged in weight and purity in Northern India throughout the Moghul period from Akbar to Muhammad Shah (1556-1748), there was no complete uniformity of currency even under the strongly centralised administration of Akbar and his three immediate successors, because the rupees struck by the Emperor in different years were treated as different species of coin. As Tavernier[2] writes "the longer time that a rupee of silver has been coined, the less is it worth than those coined at the time or which have been coined a short time, because the old ones having often passed by hand, it wears them and they are in consequence lighter." This practice of charging a discount or *batta* on the coin, according to the period for which it had been in circulation was thus adopted originally to prevent worn-out old coins from replacing the newly coined ones in circulation. But this practice, even when the discount charged was not arbitrary, must have caused considerable hardship to the common people who could not read the year of the Emperor's reign which such coins carried upon them and accordingly could not ascertain their actual value.

But with the disintegration of the Mughal Empire after the death of Emperor Aurangzib in 1707 A.D., the different Indian powers set up their own independent mints and struck their own coins. Under such circumstances, uniformity of

[1] Thurston, in his *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company*, quotes the treaty engagement, of the 16th December, 1803, by a tributary prince of Orissa who agreed to pay 12,000 *Kahans* of *cowries* to the East India Company, as his annual tribute.

[2] Tavernier—*Travels in India* (Ball's edition), Vol. I, p. 20.

standard could hardly be expected. It must, however, be said to the credit of the quasi-independent Nawabs of Bengal like Murshid Quli and his successors, that they did not tamper with the weight and fineness of the sicca rupee, struck by them, with the year of the Mughal Emperor's reign stamped upon it. This sicca rupee on account of its triennial re-coinage,[1] seldom lost its original purity. But the sicca rupee was not the only circulating medium in Bengal. The balance of trade, being generally in favour of the province, the rupees issued by numerous mints in different parts of India, poured into that province and entered into circulation. The coins of these different mints were not of the same uniform weight and fineness. Some of these mints even deliberately debased their coins. Or, when the mint authorities issued good coins, persons were not wanting to subject these coins to every species of debasement. This debasement gave the shroffs an opportunity of charging such an arbitrary *batta* as they could settle with the owner of such coins. In this bargain, the shroffs, from their superior knowledge, had always the advantage. Thus, a multiplicity of coins, in various stages of debasement, existed in Bengal, even before the battle of Plassey. What the English did, was to make "confusion worse confounded" by their early, supposed currency reforms. But as economic science was, at this time, in a state of infancy, their blunders in currency matters may be easily pardoned.

J. C. SINHA

[1] As Verelst writes, "at the expiration of three years, when the sicca rupees, then called sunats, pass at 111-116 parts of the original denominations they are carried to the mint chiefly by the shroffs, who receive them back recoined, and consequently raised in value to 116, the first and highest denomination, deducting the expenses of coinage, amounting to something more than 2 per cent. By this operation, the shroffs gain nearly six parts upon the value of the coin every third year; an advantage confined wholly to the sicca rupee. A triennial re-coinage is the consequence of this regulation.

THE WAR AND THE SEX RATIO AT BIRTH IN BENGAL

The approximately even balance of the sexes in every country is a well known fact. That the recent Census in the United States of America shows two million men in excess and that the Census of the British States is likely to show almost as great an excess of females are facts that are to be largely explained by immigration. There is always an excess of males to be found in an immigrant population and the excess in Bengal is in the main due to this cause. If a coin is spun a very large number of times the times it came down "heads" is almost exactly as many as the times it comes down "tails" because the chances are even. The rough equality in the number of males and females when large numbers are dealt with, follows similarly from the laws of probability for the chance of boy or girl at each birth is approximately, although not exactly, even. The death-rate among males is higher than among females at every period of life. Every doctor knows and every mother will tell you that boy babies are more difficult to rear than girl babies, and at later stages of life except about the time of first childbirth the man runs risks and undergoes hardship from which the woman is sheltered. In almost every country this is balanced to a greater or less extent by the fact that more boy babies than girl babies came into the world.

Explanations of such a phenomenon in the present condition of human knowledge must be hazardous in the extreme but the processes of evolution may afford one. Parents to-day are anxious for male children and in earlier stages of civilisation this has been more obviously true. The favoured wife was the wife who bore sons to her husband. The father of many sons established his race at the expense

of others who had not. Thus families in which there was a tendency to breed male offspring survived at the expense of others. This process may have evolved the human race which now produces something like 1050 boys to every 1000 girls.

Apart from groping in the dark to find explanations there are incidental variations of "masculinity at birth," the term used by statisticians to express the ratio of male births to female births, which have been and are being investigated. A proposition which was advanced during the earlier part of last century was the "Hofacher Sadler Law." It laid that masculinity is slightly higher among the first born than among others, and held the field for many years but has been shown to have been based on insufficient data and to be unsupported by the figures for large number of instances.

The theory which probably excites most interest at the present moment is that war has an appreciable effect at the male ratio at birth. It was advanced and discussed on the basis of figures for belligerent countries in the case of war between Sweden and Russia, 1789-90, the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the Franco-German war of 1870, but the data on which both the supportes and the opponents of the theory worked were in every case ludicrously inadequate. The late war, when all the figures become available, will put the theory to the decisive test. Meanwhile in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in 1919, Mr. S de Jastrzebski showed that the number of male births to a thousand female births, which had been 1039 in England and Wales, 1043 in Scotland and 1054 in Ireland for the decade before the war rose to 1046, 1051 and 1063 in the three countries respectively for the period from the middle of 1915 to the middle of 1918. He showed a similar rise not only in Australia, New Zealand, Hungary and Finland but also in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Denmark which were not at war.

In India, where there is no compulsory registration of births as in European countries, figures of the same accuracy are not available. Births and deaths are, however, reported through the village *chaukidars* and figures for Bengal are published annually by the Sanitary Commissioner. There are a certain number of births which go unreported and more of them may be female births than male births, but with the system unchanged there is no reason why the proportion of unreported births should vary from year to year. Thus though the figures may be somewhat inaccurate they may be used with safety in comparing one year with another.

The figures for Bengal show that the number of male births per thousand female births returned in the Province for ten years before the war were as follows :—

1904	—	1059	1909	—	1066
1905	—	1059	1910	—	1068
1906	—	1069	1911	—	1063
1907	—	1061	1912	—	1068
1908	—	1068	1913	—	1068

The average was 1065.

The corresponding figures for 1914 and the following year were :—

1914	—	1075
1915	—	1076
1916	—	1075
1917	—	1071
1918	—	1074
1919	—	1079
1920	—	1069

The average for 1915 to 1919 inclusive is 1075 which is 10 above the average for 1904 to 1913. The figures show that even in Bengal, whose people suffered no casualties in the actual fighting, the proportion of males to females at birth rose very appreciably during the years of the war. As has been

mentioned above, a similar rise has been noticed in the non-belligerent countries of Holland, Switzerland and Denmark. It seems therefore that if Nature has been mysteriously replenishing the wastage of male lives which the war has caused, it has been doing so not only by producing more males to the races which lost so many in casualties, but has been doing so also in the races which, though they suffered many of the hardships resulting from war conditions, were to a large extent, the spectators of the actual fighting.

It is unsafe to base a theory on the figures for a single year but those for 1920 seem to indicate that the ratio of male to female infants at the time of conception began to fall immediately the war was over. The figures for 1914 are curious. They seem to indicate that Nature had inside knowledge of European politics which most of us had not!

W. H. THOMPSON

THE AMEN OF THE STONES

(*From the German of Kosegarten*)

All blind with age went Beda forth,
To preach to men the Lord's command,
From town to town he roamed about,
A little boy led him by hand,
And everywhere the aged sire
Gave out the Word with youthful fire.

Once him did lead his boyish guide
From mischief more than base desire,
To a lone vale where many stones
Lay in disorder, saying, "Sire,
These men assembled here beseech,
That you to them the Gospel preach."

The blind old Sage then chose a text,
Explained it; and the righteous course
Of life he taught; implored, conjured
His fancied hearers with such force,
That his swelled heart did rain apace
Big tears adown his holy face.

And as he closed with usual prayer,
"Father in Heaven, we are Thine own,
This Kingdom wide and all the Power,
And Glory too is Thine alone!"

Ten thousand voices rent the glen,
"Amen! O Holy Sage, Amen!"

The youth aghast fell on his knees,
Confessed his fault in broken tones,
"Hast thou not read," old Beda quoth,
When men are silent, speak the stones?
Avoid, my son, the scoffer's way
Let not thy wit thy soul betray.

Jesting with holy things is vile,
And sharper than the two-edged blade
Is the recoil with double force
Upon the sinner's scornful head;
When hearts of men to stones do turn,
In stones oft human hearts do burn."

POST-GRADUATE

LITERARY, LINGUISTIC AND OTHER SKETCHES

III

POLISH SKETCHES

II.—Grammatical and Phonetic

The Slavonic languages have not decayed to such an extent as most of the other Aryan languages. This statement is well illustrated by the language of Poland. In this respect it differs from Sanskrit only in having seven instead of eight cases, namely the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental and locative, the ablative, which already in Sanskrit agrees often in form with either the genitive or dative, being absent. A few traces of the dual are yet discoverable; it was in actual general use up to the seventeenth century. At the present day it is used instead of the plural only in the case of "hand," "eye" and "ear," when the question is of the two hands, eyes, or ears of one and the same person. Like in Sanskrit there are three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. Adjectives, participles, pronouns and numerals are subject to declension. The conjugation of Polish verbs is a rather formidable business; we have simple and compound conjugational forms; the seven simple forms are derived either from the Present or the Infinitive Stem. There are five conjugations, further a variety of irregular verbs and a host of grammatical niceties. And yet, Polish children do not seem to experience particular difficulties in learning their mother tongue, and the Pole is rightly proud of his language and has preserved it intact against all attempts of Russian and Prussian attempts to deprive him of it. At an ill-fated moment the Prussian Government, some years ago, resolved to

germanise the province of Posen by buying out Polish landowners and settling German farmers in the country; but the chief result of the attempt was that the German farmers had to learn Polish and their children learned Polish from their parent's house-servants and farm-labourers, just as European children in this country learn to speak Hindustani before they learn English, with the difference that the second or third generation of Germans grew up often into intensely patriotic Poles.

A page of Polish literature has to the uninitiated a rather startling look, and yet it is much more easy for a foreigner to learn to read and pronouce Polish than it is to read English or French. Of course, if one is confronted with a sentence like 'chrzaszcz brzmi m trzcinie', which means 'the beetle hums among the reeds', one may be excused for being conscious of something akin to dismay: but even that sentence is not quite so formidable as it looks, if one only knows how to pronounce it. During the Great War many people puzzled over the name of the strong Galician fortress of Przemysl: it is nothing but what in plain English would be written Pshemysl.

If one wants to pronounce Polish words correctly, the following points should be noticed.

Consonants are either surds or sonants. Surds are not accompanied by a vibration of the vocal chords, but sonants are. *P, t, k* are surds, *b, d, g* are sonants. If one places a finger lightly on the throat in the region of the Adam's apple, then when pronouncing *p, t, k*, sharp *s* or *sh* one feels no vibration, whilst such vibration becomes quite evident when pronouncing *b, d, g, z* and various other consonants.

Further, in all Slavonic languages most consonants can be pronounced in two ways according to the position of the tongue and, to a certain extent, of the lips.

In the one group of consonants the tongue has the position which it assumes when the *ie* in field or the *y* in yes is

pronounced; this group is aptly called by a term used in Sanskrit grammar: the palatals. In Polish there are fifteen palatal consonants; when pronouncing them the lips should be somewhat drawn out sideways, somewhat like when pronouncing the *ee* in the English word '*see*'. The result is that the consonant sounds something like an intimate combination of itself with a *y*. To indicate this consonantal modification Polish orthography uses either an oblique stroke placed over the consonant, such as *ś*, or it affixes an *i* to the consonant, as in Sienkiewicz, or pies *the dog*, siano *the hay*, ziarno *the grain*; pies is therefore a monosyllable and siano and ziarno are disyllables; *l* and all consonants followed by *i*, as in zima *the winter* are palatals. The other group of consonants is pronounced either with the tongue in its rest position or in the position in which it is placed when pronouncing the Sanskrit cerebrals, or the English *p* and *t*. To this group belongs the Polish letter *l* with an oblique stroke through its middle, which is pronounced like the English *ll* in all or the Arabic *ll* in Allah. To represent all the consonantal sounds Polish orthography has taken refuge, in certain cases, to combinations of Roman letters. In this respect Polish is less perfect than Russian. Such combinations are *cz* to denote the English *ch* in church, *sz* the English *sh*, *c* is always equal to *ts* in hats or the German *z* in Zeit, *ch* is pronounced like *ch* in loch in the Scotch dialect or in the German words ach, Loch, acht, Spanish *j* or Greek or Russian , the jihvāmūliya of Sanskrit.

In addition to the letters referred to there is the *ż* with a dot over it representing the *j* of the French word 'jour' or the Persian ; *z* by itself represents the sound of the English *z* in zone or the *s* in rose; the french *j* sound is sometimes, for etymological reasons, represented by *rz*.

The following few rules greatly facilitate the correct pronunciation of Polish words.

All consonants at the end of words, even if represented by sonants, are pronounced like the corresponding surds, thus

reminding one of similar rules in Russian and German and a well-known rule in Sanskrit.

Further, all words with few, usually only apparent, exceptions have the stress or accent on the last but one syllable.

Finally all vowels are short. A is always pronounced like the *a* in father or the आ in Sanskrit, but of course short; *e* is usually pronounced like the *e* in end, *i* like *i* in hit, *o* like *o* in on, never like *o* in bone, *u* is like the English *oo* in good, never like *oo* in fool or *u* in unit; *y* is a dull *i* sound like the German ü in Mütter. The Polish language possesses also two so-called nasals, an *a* and *e* with a subjoined kind of hook, the first a 'nasal' *o*, the other a 'nasal' *e*; they are of the type of vowel sounds indicated in Bengali by the *chandra bindu*. A characteristic feature of the Polish and other slavonic languages is the prevalence of sibilants and combinations of sibilants; as a matter of fact, Polish has thirteen of them.

We conclude our disquisition with quoting the last sentence of Sienkiewicz 'Quo vadis'—Wedle zaś dawej bramy Kapenskiej wznosi sie dzisiaj malenka Kapliczka z zatartym nieco napisem: *Quo vadis, Domine?* In English—Not far from the ancient Porta Capena there rises to-day a tiny chapel with the scarcely legible inscription: *Quo vadis, Domine?*

P. Brühl

Reviews

The Fugitive :—By Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan and Co., 1921, 7·6 net. Dr. Rabindranath is the greatest Indian writer living. His fame is world-wide. His latest book—*The Fugitive*—is of the same high level of poetic achievement as its predecessors. His seems to be an unfailing fount of poetry—perennial, inexhaustible, ever fresh, ever new. The entire life of man is his province—man endowed with lofty aims and high ideals. He depicts life as it is, with its baffling entanglement of Will and Fate; the mutual mockery of ideal and fact. Hence the unceasing charm of his books. There, in lovely finished pieces, he weaves sweet poetic chaplets—delicate, fragrant, sublime. Light and shadow play, fight, chase each other, as they do in actual life. A deep, serious meaning lurks in every one of these literary gems; a lofty lesson in all.

Do we not hear the echo of the Persian poets—Jami, Jalaluddin Rumi, and Sanai in them? And what wonder? Were they not concerned with the very same problems; vexed with the very same mysteries of life and death as our Indian poet? Hence the same line of thought: hence the same spirit animating, guiding, cheering them all. Was not the pursuit of Truth and the exaltation of Beauty their aim and effort too? What mission, greater and nobler, can a poet undertake to preach and proclaim? In language rich and resonant Dr. Rabindranath has uttered the longings of his heart, and given expression to the thoughts that lie uppermost in his mind. These longings and these thoughts are as old as the hills, but each age has its own exponent and interpreter. Rabindranath is the exponent and interpreter of our age. History will, perhaps, call this age the age of Rabindranath. In him the vague aspirations of India and the inarticulate thoughts of the Indian people have received a bold, vigorous, stirring expression.

Truth and Beauty—it is their triumph that the poet celebrates. Through their portals man attains sovereign power and spiritual pre-eminence. These then are the goal which humanity is striving to attain, and the poet's task is to point, to lead the way. The poet and the prophet are but one. Never will time sever the tie between them. Both teach and train and guide the groping steps of man.

Rabindranath has reached the highest summit of literary fame. Another brilliant gem added to the intellectual crown of India.

"Our life sails on the uncrossed sea whose waves chase each other in an eternal hide-and-seek. It is the restless sea of change, feeding its foaming flocks to lose them over and over again, beating its hand against the calm of the sky. Love, in the centre of this circling war-dance of light and dark, yours in that green island, where the sun kisses the shy forest shade and silence is wooed by birds, singing" (p. 73).

Yes! Our life sails on the uncrossed sea. Verily, it is the restless sea of change.

Is it not the restless sea of change that we are sailing on in these days of storm and strife? Old landmarks are being swept away; old traditions are fast fading out of sight, out of mind; new lights are gleaming; new hopes are shining—though shining afar—through the mist and haze of tears and toil and travail. In every direction—wheresoever we turn—there is restless, unceasing change and activity! in literature, in art, in science, even in the perilous sphere of politics. Within the last two decades marvellous has been India's progress. Progress, such as she has made, could never have been conceived, anticipated, foreseen, twenty years ago, by the most invincible of her optimists.

The laurel and the palm and the Paean to those heralds and pioneers; to those high-souled seekers after truth; to those uncompromising worshippers of Love and Beauty and Righteousness; to those fearless and unflinching workers who wooed wisdom and poverty and pain to uplift their countrymen and to forward the cause of their country.

The East is stationary! The East is uncritical—pledged, heart and soul, to a retrogressive social and religious code! The East is incapable of united, concerted political action! Such once was the taunt, the gibe mockingly flung at us! Recent achievements in Science and Letters—are they not the best refutation? Recent events in the demain of politics—are they not the best answer?

The tide of progress has set in. Who can stop or stem the tide? But those who love India, and love her dearly, would fain see her prosper, thrive, advance on the road of ordered progress and chastened self-control. The path of progress is the path of glory, but we fervently pray that the journey along that path may be a journey marked by peace, concord, and love.

Let poets, artists, authors, civilians and soldiers—let them all contribute their share to this noble, cherished end.

S. Khuda Bukhsh

The Indian Problem.—C. F. Andrews, 1921. Pp. 191. Price Re. 1. Published by Messrs. Nelson & Co., Madras.

This is a collection in a handy form of Mr. Andrews' essays and discourses on the many questions now engaging the attention of the country. This includes his writings on political, economic, educational and social topics. It opens with his famous essay on "Indian Independence" which is followed by his articles on "India and the Empire," Letters on Non-co-operation, and other papers on "The Swadeshi Movement," "National Education," "The Drink Evil" and "The Opium Trade of India."

If in these days of deluge of political writings on India, one needed a bit of plain talk from one who has taken to the non-co-operation creed from a humanitarian and idealistic standpoint one should turn to Mr. Andrews. I would discuss in detail the opening article which contains in a nutshell his whole creed. The second and the third follow as corollaries. The standpoint is one diametrically opposed to the other group of political thinkers—the Imperialists, *e.g.*, B. C. Pal in *Nationality and Empire* or Wedgewood in *Indo-British Commonwealth*. Mr. Andrews believes that the facts of history are against the 'Empire' theory of human advance and that Indians can have no honourable place consistent with self-respect in the British Empire. So in the opening article on "Indian Independence" he tries 'to face realities and not to acquiesce in that which destroys manhood and self-respect' while Mr. Andrews makes no secret of his essentially human standpoint he summons to his aid political doctrines. From Sir John Seeley's famous book "The expansion of England" he draws a gloomy picture of the future of British India "'To withdraw,' Seeley says, 'the British Government from India would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes.' Why? Because—these are his words—'we (the British) have made India incapable of depending on anything else.' And again 'It is to be feared that the British rule may have diminished whatever little power of this sort India might have originally possessed.' I have quoted these blunt harsh and unpalatable sentences again and again because I want to drive home to the mind the degradation which India has reached by tamely submitting to a foreign rule all these years, without making any united effort to throw off this yoke of subjection." (p. 11) This is the destructive side of current British-Indian political thought. The means he suggests are brought out clearly thus:—"One thing, I believe, will come out, namely that the attainment of Indian Independence must essentially be based not on any appeal to arms, nor on any violence,

but on a complete realisation by the people as a whole of Indian natio nality (pp. 5-6). This again has been brought about by British Rule which would be at an end as Sir John Seeley says "if India does begin to breathe as a single national whole—and our rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former governments to make this possible." By another quotation from Seeley he tries to rally to the non-co-operationists' standpoint 'If the feeling of a common nationality,' says Seeley, 'began to exist in India only feebly; if without any active desire to drive out the foreigner it only created a motion that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his domination, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist.' According to Rev. Mr. Andrews Mahatma Gandhi by bringing about this psychological revolt in the minds of the diseased Indian people is the great surgeon who by incisions is leading to the recovery of self-respect and manhood and independence in the patient. We are here reminded of a quite different surgeon, in the pages of a nice book on *Indian Nationalism* written in 1913. There the British Government is held up as the surgeon undertaking an operation on India for India's good. He holds his patient in a steel-frame and the extremist movement is held as the result of a dreadful suspicion that 'the surgeon means never to let the frame be taken off, not though all the inner lesions be healed (pp. 117-118). Bevan believes 'that the extremist suspicions of the surgeon's intentions will not be justified: I believe he will act honourably by his patient and take off the steel-frame when he is satisfied that the work of healing is complete.' The present real danger for the patient is lest between the two surgeons the heart suddenly gives way.

POST-GRADUATE

The Psychology of Progress or the Thirty-seven Principles of Bodhi by the Anagarika Dharmapala (Pp. 31. The Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta).

This little booklet gives in a short summary form the essential qualifications which are needed in a disciple to tread the Great Path to Nirvāṇa. The exposition is fairly clear and compactly given. Of course the size of the booklet precludes any detailed explanation, for it is essentially a summary. A little more uniformity in the transliteration of Pali and Sanskrit words as well as a greater care in putting the diametrical marks

might have distinctly added to the usefulness of the otherwise very well printed and attractive little booklet. The work is appropriately issued "in commemoration of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to the Holy Land of the Buddhists."

POST-GRADUATE.

The Secrets of the Self (Asra'r-i khudi'):—A Philosophical Poem by Sheikh Mahammad Iqbal of Lahore, translated with an introduction and notes by Reynold A. Nicholson (Pp. xxxi and 147. Macmillan & Co). Both the poet and his translator are well known to students of Persian especially those who love to ramble in the quaint bye-paths of Persian Mystic Poetry. The introduction by Dr. Nicholson is learned and sympathetic and his translation achieves the task of preserving to a great extent the spirit of the original, without sacrificing the rhythm and beauty of the English language. The poet, as he himself has put, it appeals to posterity

"I have no need of the ear of to-day
I am the voice of the poet of to-morrow."

His message has been inspired by the needs and the stress of the modern world. Though mainly addressed to Islam, we might as well understand it to apply to the whole of humanity at present with proper modifications needed by each community and race. The message is of self-affirmation, self-development and self-expression,—that only by exerting to the fullest the powers one is endowed with one achieves true salvation. To many in our land the present-day turmoil and strife seems bewildering and they long to go back to the good old days of dreaming speculation and the tranquility of a meditative life. Such good souls find themselves very comfortable and Iqbal seems to have no sympathy for them. He wants men of action, men full of energy and vigour who are not afraid of the turmoil, who are willing to throw themselves into the very midst of the battle and to take the lead. This is a most important need of India at present if she is to take her place in the world. Our people have to learn the doctrine of Religion through Action—the real Karma Yoga. Iqbal preaches it with all the passion of his soul. In places it sounds very egoistic, very selfish, but the envy of the age all the world over (and chiefly in India) is for men, who are above the dreams

of heaven and salvation, for men who would work and try to achieve the highest in themselves not that they might be free but that they might lead the world to higher progress.

"To become earth is the creed of a moth;
Be a conqueror of earth; that alone is worthy of a man.
Thou art soft as a rose. Become hard as a stone,
That thou mayst be the foundation of the wall of the garden!"

Over and over again one hears in this poem the call to action. It is the clarion call to a leader of a mankind. The expressions are many and varied :

"Be to all else as a blazing fire,"
or "A man still, not a piece of clay,"
or else "The pith of life is contained in action:"

at the message is the same

"Build thy clay into a Man,
Build thy Man into a World!"

Though garbed in the language of Islam the Hindu also will find the message of life in this stirring poem. After all, Islam need not be taken to mean merely a particular religion but might be taken in its widest sense "that which brings about peace or salvation."

POST-GRADUATE

Village Education in India—Oxford University Press, 1920. Pp. 210. Price

This is the report of a commission of Enquiry in India by the Christian Mission and it has clear and definite ideas about the future of missionary education in India. No one is oblivious at least in Bengal, what the missions have done for higher education. In the face of the impending changes, *e.g.*, mass movements, transfer of education to Indian ministers, the growth of the Indian church and the keen desire for more and better education, a need was rightly felt of more co-ordinated and systematic effort. The problems dealt with are of the greatest moment to Indian public life and no Indian can afford to do without a careful reading of the beautiful chapters on the problem of literacy, the village-schools

the maintenance of literacy, the vocational middle school, the education of girls, physical welfare, and specially the school as a community centre. The last Chapter (VIII) dealing with social organisation of the school can be read and re-read with profit by every Indian educationist. In India, if its innate spirit is to be maintained, the raising of the moral tone of education can no larger be deferred. "Moral relations are as wide as our contact with others. Education should not, therefore, be a mere means to such a moral life; it should be the life itself. The truest education, therefore, is that whose administration, curriculum and method of teaching are most permeated with the social spirit. . . . If in education one is seeking an adjustment between the child and the environment, this will not be attained by divorcing the school environment from all that the child has known and experienced." The methods proposed are sound and practicable. "One of the most marked characteristics of schools in certain needy areas of America is the variety of social functions they perform. In some defective communities the school is temporarily attending to most of the duties of the home, the church and other social institutions. . . . In India, where the villages have such enormous needs along every sanitary, economic, social and religious line, the mission school should be equipped to respond to the need for social leadership and community service. A teacher, especially in a mass movement area, should take for his school the whole community in which he is living, not merely the little children who irregularly frequent a certain building. For a large part of the education needed in the impoverished villages of India is adult education, leading hesitant personalities to throw themselves..... into the social regeneration of the little world..... The idea of social service on the part of students is wide-spread in India. But where teachers have seen that at this stage the significance is to be found mainly in the socializing of the pupil and that such socializing is an essential element in education, opportunities for service are seen to abound such as cleaning or improving of bad cart-tracks; uniting or reading letters for the illiterate; taking medicines from the hospital to the sick; herding cattle for sick neighbours and reporting cruelty to animals. (In many country schools in the West) evening gatherings for adults are encouraged for entertainment and for community instruction and inspiration. The Indian village has needs. . . . A centre is needed for the circulating library. The teacher may become the initial secretary of the co-operative society. School inspectors, missionaries and villagers revisiting their homes could be

occasionally secured to give lectures. A greater public opinion for education may be developed by getting old boys back to the school so that the people can see and hear the results of education; by organized lantern lectures and story-telling in the main school and surrounding villages. The village women may come for an hour a week to learn sewing, and incidentally to receive instruction in hygiene. Such a school—Christian, educationally sound in administration, supervision and teaching and intelligently grasping the temporary obligation of social leadership—is one of India's most urgent needs. Missions will.....be...endeavouring to help India at this point so vital for her highest realization."

I have quoted this at length as the great value of this work in a small compass seems with instructions worth their weight in gold. There is such a need for village improvement and education now-a-days that there can be no better analysis of vital points than in this manual. The standpoint is obviously religious and that has been India's safe anchor from a bygone age, when the various Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Parsee and Mohammedan religious endowments were meant for poor relief as also for educating the less fortunate follow-beings.

P. M.

National Education and Modern Progress, Pramatha Nath Bose, B.Sc. (London). Published by Messrs. Kar, Majumdar and Co., Calcutta. Pp. 88. Price Re. 1-8.

The author considers education on western lines an unmitigated evil and would hasten back to the *ashramas* of old. He is against western culture and is of opinion that modern civilisation has done more harm than good. He thinks that Research in Arts subjects is a luxury and an expensive luxury which India can ill afford to pay for. "As regards scientific research, a *certain amount* (italics ours) of it is a necessity, but for that no very large expenditure is needed, if we only keep the requirements of our community and the best interests of humanity in view." We are really curious to learn what easy and inexpensive method of scientific research has been discovered by this old Science Graduate of the University of London to serve the "best interests of humanity."

However hostile to the present University system, the author does not like a policy of wanton destruction not associated by a comprehensive scheme

of construction. He says—"Much as I would like to see the monumental sham to be demolished I would not like it to be so pulled down as to ruin them. As there are, I believe, over a million male scholars in colleges and secondary schools in British India, even if the Non-Co-operation movement did not meet with any better success than what had been achieved in our town, some ten thousand youngmen would have to be provided for. This is a serious responsibility which, it is to be hoped, has been carefully considered by the Non-Co-operation leaders. It is also to be hoped, that the youngmen would be kept off from the political path until they have attained an age when their actions instead of proceeding direct from the heart would take the circuitous route through the head." All this is very sound and wise, no doubt, but it is one thing to decry an institution and rouse the ire of inexperienced young men and it is another thing to restrain their misdirected ardour.

The book will commend itself to those, who, more fortunate than Archimedies, have found a standing space outside the globe and adjusted their lines to retard the progress of human society and put it back where it had been some fifteen hundred years ago.

RUDRA SEN

The Young Enchanted :—Hugh Walpole, Macmillan's Empire Library.

A charming story of after-war England. Its theme is the romance of an untidy youngman, "with pince-nez, that never properly fitted his nose," his sister, a young girl, beautiful and full of life and a friend who was morose, silent but uncommonly ardent in his own way: The picture that it reveals of after-war-life and society is not always very attractive. "Yes, of course I'm a Pirate" says Bennett "This is the day for Pirates. There never was such a time for them. All sorts of people going about with money that they don't know what to do with. All sorts of other people without any money ready to do any thing to get it. No morality any more. Damned good thing for England." But some observations are equally applicable to India and England of to-day perhaps because human nature is the same all over the world. There are many Light Johnsons in India who are always complaining against every thing and who suspects an assassin in a labourer who goes on a strike. "You will

at any rate not deny, says he, that this coming winter is going to be an appalling one—what with strikes, unemployment, and the price of food for ever going up—all this with the most incompetent Government that any country has ever had in the world's history." The real defect of the age has rightly been hitted upon. "Arrogance, Arrogance, Arrogance—that's the matter with all of you—and the matter with Literature and Art to-day, and politics too you all think that you've got the only recipe and you've nothing to learn. You're every thing to learn."

This story of a romantic 20th century young man and his adventures with a forlorn girl is extremely readable. It will appeal equally to mere lovers of fiction and those who possess a more serious turn of mind and are always in search of some food for thought.

"HOMO"

Songs of War and Patriotism—with a Foreword from Lord Ronaldshay, and an Introduction by Mr. J.A. Sandbrook (Longmans, Green and Co.) contains some excellent war poems full of the spirit of fervid patriotism. The poetry is both vigorous and striking. The *Ode to England* and *Colbrooks Feat* will appeal to all readers.

H. C. M.

British Administration in India: G. Anderson, M. A., Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged, Macmillan & Co., London, 1920, pp. 1-184.

Mr. Anderson is well known to the academic world as the author of a number of books, as a teacher of History, and as Secretary to the Calcutta University Commission. This well-written small hand-book is intended for the use of students, and not for the general public, as the author himself says in his Preface.

A student of Prof. Marriott the author thinks that students on Constitutional History should start with the present and should travel back to the past—should begin with the *Hansard* and the *Times* rather than with Stubbs and Tacitus—should go first to the Montford Report rather than Forrest's States Papers or the classic Fifth Report. He has accordingly made his book thoroughly up-to-date and has incorporated the recent changes in the constitution introduced by the new Reforms. We

have no doubt that the book will benefit the under-graduates of the Indian Universities for whom it is primarily intended. The author has attempted to cover the whole ground in this book—(1) Historical Introduction, (2) The India Office, (3) The Government of India, (4) Provincial Governments, (5) District Administration, (6) Municipalities and Local Boards, (7) Legislature, (8) Judicature, (9) Police and Jails, (10) Finance, (11) Land Revenue, (12) Education, (13) Sanitation, (14) Public works, and (15) Famine Relief.

One other distinctive feature of the book is that the author starts with no set purpose to make England's work in India the text of a sermon on loyalty for Indian students. In clear and simple English he has described the working of the various branches of the Indian administration without taking up any particular side either as an apologist or as a publicity officer. We are sure the book will meet a long-felt want which unfortunately still exists in spite of the many text-books on the subject now in the market.

N. C. C.

Reconstructing India.—Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., M. Inst. C.E. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London).

The supreme need of the hour all over the world is reconstruction. The one point of agreement between a bureaucrat and a bolshevist is that the world in its present shattered condition cannot be left as it is. But when we come to the question as to how the shattered world is to be rebuilt that the greatest divergences of opinion appear. There are as many schemes of reconstruction as there are people who think over the problem. But the problem of reconstruction in India is in a way simpler. Apart from the political aspect of the problem, most Indians are agreed about the details regarding the economic, social and educational reconstruction. As Sir Visvesvaraya says "India's fundamental problem consists in relieving the soil of over-pressure of population by the development of industry, and thereby attacking at its foundation the appalling poverty which is crushing her people." It is specially from its economic standpoint that the author tackles the problem of reconstruction. He dismisses shortly the problem of the central government and provincial administration, but he rightly insists on the importance of local self-government.

Nobody disputes the supreme need of reconstruction in India. So far the administration had aimed at preserving order earlier than ensuring

progress. "The maintenance of order was hitherto the chief concern of government, henceforward progress must be the watchword". So the whole economic and social structure of India has been dilapidated owing to the neglect of ordinary repairs. To add to this difficulty, all over the world determined efforts are made to repair the ravages made by war, while India has been standing still. While foreign trade per head has increased between the years 1914 and 1919, by 33% in England, while it has more than doubled in Canada and the United States of America, in India it has remained between these five years at the same wretched figure of 16 shillings per capita. India has so far drifted and consequently has become weaker and poorer yearly. As all Indians desire that their country should become a nation, economically strong, socially accomplished and politically a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth; this policy of drift should be given up, and a definite programme and plan should be drawn up in the political, social and economic sphere. It is the aim of the author to supply this urgent need. He points out to us "avenues towards reconstruction now open" in trade, commerce, industries, agriculture and development of resources and communication. It is with the hand of a master who knows by practical experience how these things are done that all these topics are dealt. What Sir Visvesvaraya has so successfully accomplished in the Mysore state, he hopes to see it realised in British India.

At first sight the prospect seems too gloomy. We may quote only a few of the figures given in the book to show how backward educationally, industrially and agriculturally we are: (1) expenditure per head on education in India, 7 annas; in the United Kingdom, 38 Rs; in Canada, 104 Rs; in Japan 13 Rs; in the U. S. A., 114 Rs.: (2) foreign trade per head—in India, 16 shillings; in England, £40; in Canada, £7; in the U. S. A. £18·4: (3) import trade per capita—in India, 18 shillings; in the United Kingdom £10; in Canada, £62; in Japan, £6·4. The average agricultural produce per acre in India was not more than 25 Rs; in Japan it was not less than 150 Rs. No Indian can escape a feeling of humiliation at the low international standing of his country. No wonder the author in despair writes once (p. 191), "the people, cut off as they are from responsibility and self-help, are, to all intents and purposes, dead."

But the aim of Sir Visvesvaraya in giving these figures is to make the people think and work; to rouse in them a spirit of development and progress; moreover the statistics prevailing in the advanced countries present the ideal to which our leaders should aspire. Japan was in better

position a generation or so ago. Even Canada had to fight against influences radiating from London which aimed at checking the growth of the nationalist sentiment in that dominion. "If Indians do what the other nations have done successfully, they cannot possibly go wrong." The willing and plaining of the work must be done by the people themselves, from whom alone can come the contest and direction, the government can only help.

The supreme need is to create an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation. Co-operative effort should be the watchword of the future. As the author rightly points out "capacity for co-operative effort is power." Co-operation implies people coming together, thinking together and working together. It is not possible without organisation by which the nation's resources can be rapidly mobilised and concentrated on the points where they are most needed. The examples of Japan and Canada can help us very considerably; and our author repeatedly advises our students, traders and capitalists to go to Japan; and learn and popularise the methods adopted there. The teeming agricultural and mineral resources of all kinds have been little utilised and the greatest resource and the least utilised is the energy and intelligence of the people. So the problem is not quite so hopeless as it seems at first sight.

We cannot go into the various interesting and intensely practical suggestions regarding reconstruction made by Sir Vesvesvaraya. We should strongly recommend all those who are interested in this important problem of reconstruction to go carefully through this little book; and we can assure them they will find many helpful and suggestive ideas in it. All the varied aspects of the subject have been touched; and the results of a long administrative experience have been embodied in this work. Let us hope that the author may become one of the constructors of the new India that is to be, and may he see the ideas that he has put forth carried out into practice.

Y. J. T.

Zorvastrian Ethics.—By Maganlal A. Buch, M.A. (The Gackawad Studies in Religion and Philosophy: IV; Baroda).

When one well-versed in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy takes up the study of Zorvastrian Literature and Culture he might be expected to throw a good deal of light on many of the difficulties in the latter. A true study of the Avesta must be based on a sound study of Sanskrit, if

for no other reason but for the fact that Avesta Literature has survived to us only in a few fragments. But these fragments may throw a considerable light on the problems of Sanskrit Language and Indian Philosophy as well. It is a pity that our Parsi scholars do not pay sufficient attention to Sanskrit and it has been noted that when a well-trained Hindu Sanskritist takes up the study of Avesta he can enter into the *spirit* of it much easier and much more quickly than one thus uninitiated can hope to do. The experience of the work done by the Bengali Hindu Students of Avesta in the Calcutta University and of the valuable work done by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya at Śantiniketan amply bears out the validity of this statement and the book under review is but another proof of its truth.

This little work has been written very ably and is meant more for a general reader especially for one who needs a good introduction. Even to an advanced scholar the book is valuable both on account of the clearness of arrangement and the copious references to the texts and to various well-known authorities. The Index at the end is a distinctly valuable feature in this book. Of course within the compass of this book all topics and all controversies could not be discussed. Only the broader aspects are touched upon but they are put in a way which encourages the reader to study more for himself. A little more care and uniformity in the quotations from the text were desirable, the almost entire absence of diacritical marks is very noticeable. However, this is but a minor point—a beginner or a general reader would barely stop to consider the texts quoted and our advanced student would be competent enough to read the texts correctly.

The book should deserve all encouragement at the hands of all scholars of Avestan literature and Zorvas-trian Philosophy. Perhaps the first important writing by an *Indian* non-Zorvastrian it is to be welcomed as a sign of the future unity of our peoples. The attempt certainly leaves us with a high opinion of the scholarship and the critical acumen of the author.

I. J. S. T.

Schools with a message in India.—By Daniel Johnson Fleming, Ph. D. (Oxford University Press).

This extremely interesting little book is the outcome of a commission sent out to India by the foreign mission boards of Great Britain and North America under the leadership of Principal A. G. Fraser. The author was a member of this commission and hence whatever he says is a

result of personal investigation. Of course, the chief point of outlook is definitely that of the Christian missionary. But, in the last three chapters he deals with Santiniketan, the Gurukul at Haradwar and the National High School, Teynampet, Madras, and the educational experiments in Baroda.

One very notable feature of the schools described in this book is that the needs of the pupils have been kept in view. This is a very refreshing feature of these institutions, for we are mostly accustomed to the cut and dried routine of the educational codes which has no reference to the needs of the masses. In the introduction the author lays down what he thinks a cultivator's son needs—"a working ability to read and write, a knowledge of arithmetic according to native methods, so that he can follow his accounts with the village shop-keeper and landlord, some familiarity with his rights and responsibilities, a general development of his intelligence through the right sort of readers, educational hand-work and nature study."

The missions have always been to the forefront of educational enterprise in India—for which every Indian ought to be deeply grateful to them. A sign of the changing attitude is that at present more emphasis is laid upon education than upon converting the people: they have come to recognise that a good and upright man or woman of self-reliant and industrious habits would make a better citizen and hence a better Christian. The one ideal which seems to run through all the schools described here is self-help. The masses in India have always had "a tendency to dependence" which needs to be strenuously combated if we are to become a strenuous, vigorous nation. It would be invidious to mention any special schools, for each has its "message" but the reviewer was particularly impressed with the message of the schools at Salamatpur, at Kalimpong, at Srinagar.

Every Indian interested in educational work should study this book over and over again. It would be better if these schools were visited personally and their working observed. The educational work opening out before us is enormous and both the non-co-operators and their opponents would do well to learn the greatest message of this book—the message of self-help. Work done along these lines is nation-building in the truest sense of the term and when the history of India's national uplift comes to be written the share of the missionary educational institutions will be found to be as important as that of our "national" institutions.

I. J. S.

The History and Chemistry of Paper Making and the History and Chemistry of Matches:—By Chunilal Bose, Rasayanacharya.

This brochure of 60 pages published by the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, is well written and gives a brief general idea to the layman, of the several processes involved in the modern manufacture of paper and matches. The chemistry of the processes and the substances used, is also briefly explained. The author gives a good historical review of the art of paper manufacture from the earliest times and claims the credit to Indian for the first invention of paper and quotes in authority from Babu Nagendranath Basu's "Viswakosha" that when Alexander the Great invaded India in 327 B. C. his general Nearchus found a kind of thin, fine, glazed sheets (which were made by felting cotton wool) used for writing in the Punjab; and this fact was recorded in his writings. In the beginning of the 19th century, the trade in hand-made paper was in a flourishing condition in Bengal. It was exported to various places outside Bengal and, it is said, outside India also.

But this industry like the famous textile and sugar industries of India was killed by the protectionist policy of the East India Company. During Sir Charles Wood's tenure of office as Secretary of State for India an order was passed that all the supplies of paper required for the Government of India should be purchased in Britain only. But India possesses inexhaustible supplies of raw material for paper manufacture in bamboos grasses and soft woods and with sufficient enterprise on the part of Indian capitalists and some encouragement on the part of the State India may yet become one of the largest manufacturers and exporters of paper and paper pulp. The same may be said with regard to the manufacture of matches too, in India. It is high time that enterprising Indian capitalists should turn their attention to the development of two important industries which supply the daily needs of the vast millions of India, before they are captured and monopolised by *foreigners*.

V. V. N.

Ourselves

THE SPECIAL CONVOCATIONS IN DECEMBER 1921

The First Special Convocation of the Calcutta University was held at the Senate House on the 17th December last. Although passions were running very high and a severe boycott of the Convocation was proclaimed, the ceremony was a great success. The hall was almost full, only some of the chairs reserved for our boys were left empty as the Teaching Department of our University as well as many of the Colleges had to be closed owing to reasons which are so green in all their freshness in our minds.

The occasion was indeed unique as Honorary Degrees were conferred on eminent men of letters and science irrespective of any distinction of race, caste, colour and creed. The striking speech of our Vice-Chancellor will be read with interest and delight by all those pilgrim travellers to the shrine of truth, where the lamps of learning eternally burns resplendent.

"MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION:

Amongst the many privileges enjoyed by an Indian University, one of the most highly prized is the power to confer honorary degrees on persons distinguished for eminent position and attainments. This function serves to enlarge the primary scope of the University as an institution for the encouragement of our fellow-subjects in the pursuit of a liberal course of education, by the promotion of study and research, by the provision for instruction of students, by the ascertainment of merit through examinations, and by the bestowal of rewards and marks of honour. The authority to confer an honorary



SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE
Our Vice-chancellor

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degree implies that a University is in essence an academy of learned men banded together for the discovery of Truth and is consequently entitled to draw within its sphere of recognition individuals engaged in the advancement of learning, regardless of the limitations of race, colour, creed, or of dogmas social, religious or political.

It is needless for me to emphasise, in this connection, that during a dozen years it has been our constant endeavour to realise this high ideal, by the creation of new intellectual agencies and new organisations for the advance of knowledge, learning and research. Our University has, indeed, been the pioneer and the leader in what has now become an all-India movement; and judged by the extent and variety of the subjects comprehended in the scope of our activities and the worth and excellence of the work accomplished by many of our teachers, we are still the foremost Teaching and Research University in this vast continent. The Senate of this University, conscious of its obligations, has accordingly decided to exercise the valuable right to confer honorary degrees on the memorable occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the duty is now cast upon me, in accordance with established usage, to remind you briefly of the services rendered to the cause of advancement of learning by the personages whom we have resolved to honour in an appropriate manner.

Amongst our guests stands pre-eminent the Right Hon'ble Sir Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Earl of Reading. The romantic history of his early life, the splendour of his success at the bar, the brilliance of his achievements as an ambassador and the glamour of the exalted office he now holds under the Crown, cannot but stir the imagination of the lay man. But, let me urge, that another feature of his career appeals powerfully to us, the members of an academic body which has sedulously endeavoured to foster the study of the science of law and is proud to count among its alumni leaders of the

highest eminence in the legal profession. His name occupies a distinguished position in the long line of illustrious men, who have adorned the most ancient judicial office in the land of his birth, and we are met to-day to express our high appreciation of the signal success which marked his efforts to expound and administer those immutable principles of jurisprudence that constitute the priceless heritage of mankind, alike in the East and the West.

The Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, who stands in the foremost rank of our graduates, has spent a life-time in the noble task of administration of justice in the name of his Sovereign in one of the highest Courts in India as also in the supreme tribunal of appeal for the British Empire beyond the seas. His scholarly contributions to the exposition and development of legal principles have long outstripped the boundaries of Moslem Jurisprudence. Equally striking has been the success achieved by him in another and a distinct sphere; his presentation of the life and teachings of the Prophet of Islam, the spirit and ethics of his religion, and the history of the remarkable civilisation and manifold activities of the Saracens, is characterised by purity of style, sobriety of judgment and critical acumen, which have secured for him an honoured place in the front rank of historians of the Muhammadan faith. To our deep disappointment, his advancing years and his judicial engagements have rendered it impossible for him to revisit the scene of his early labours and to receive the enthusiastic welcome which would assuredly have awaited him.

Professor Arthur Anthony Macdonell who has ably maintained the high reputation of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, has assiduously laboured for the promotion of oriental studies, and his services are held in high regard wherever Sanskritic studies are honoured. His works on Vedic Grammar, Vedic Reader, Vedic Mythology, his critical editions of the Sarvanukramani of Katyayana and

the Brihaddevata, his Sanskrit Grammar and his Sanskrit-English lexicon have served to illumine many a dark labyrinth of Sanskrit learning, to the benefit of two generations of grateful students. The utility of his numerous contributions has secured for him unquestioned recognition by orientalists in the eastern as well as the western hemisphere. As might have been anticipated, considerable interest was roused amongst the students of our University by the announcement that a scholar of such maturity of judgment and breadth of vision would discourse to them on Comparative Religion, on the foundation recently established by our worthy benefactor, Mr. G. C. Ghosh, in memory of his late lamented son, Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh. It is not a matter for surprise that they should have been keenly disappointed to find that his visit to these shores has been temporarily postponed by reason of sudden illness.

Far different has been the field of intellectual activities of Professor Sir William Jackson Pope, who has shed lustre on the Chair of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge and holds a distinguished place in the foremost rank of investigators and teachers of Chemistry of the present generation. The scientific world is indebted to him for highly important discoveries which have thrown much light upon the impenetrable mystery surrounding the problem of the ultimate nature of matter. In collaboration with Professors Perkin and Wallach, he has published the results of numerous experiments dealing with the optical activity due to asymmetry of nitrogen, tin, selenium and sulphur atoms; and in conjunction with Professor Barlow he has propounded an attractive theory, remarkably supported by experimental evidence, dealing with the connection between crystalline structure and chemical constitution. The practical value of his brilliant researches in aerial photography has received well merited recognition; and he has placed the students of this University under special obligation by the striking lecture on the Reality of the Atomic

Theory which he delivered recently in connection with the lectureship established by Professor Adharchandra Mookerjee.

Professor William Alexander Craigie, who so deservedly occupies the Chair of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford designated after Rawlinson and Bosworth, has oft roamed in the realms of gold and many goodly states and kingdoms seen. The results of his explorations in the region of Gaelic, Scottish and Scandinavian Culture, Religion and Civilisation have made his name a household word amongst scholars of high repute. At the same time, his appreciations of the Icelandic sagas on the one hand, and of Robert Burns on the other, have found response amongst a wider circle of readers. His name and fame are, again, closely linked up in the popular mind with his labours as Joint-Editor of the great Oxford English Dictionary, which has been rightly regarded as a lasting monument of the richness of the English Language and of the vitality of British scholarship. Our students deem themselves fortunate to have an opportunity to profit by the lectures of so ardent a scholar in whom are combined the best traditions alike of St. Andrews and Oxford.

In Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, we welcome one of our eminent graduates, whose services have been enlisted by a highly progressive Indian State in the momentous formative period of the history of its University. His intellectual attainments are truly encyclopaedic in scope and character, and the most powerful microscope would be needed to detect the cultural germ which has successfully escaped his omnivorous instinct. His name is held in veneration by the students of Bengal, who, whether at Berhampore, at Coochbehar, or in Calcutta, have come under the influence of his intellectual dominance in the departments of Philosophy, Religion, Literature, Mathematics and the Physical and Natural Sciences; and scholars in Western countries have been equally ready to recognise in him a compeer, fully their equal in many a region of human thought.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye, after his brilliant academic record in the Universities of Bombay and Cambridge, nobly decided to adopt a career of honourable poverty, and to dedicate his life to the promotion of education amongst his countrymen. The Fergusson College, which owes its origin to the far-sighted educational policy of intellectual leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Vishnu Krishna Chiplunker, Mahadeo Balkrishna Namjoshi, Vamana Shivaram Apte and Gopal Ganesh Agharkar has been sanctified by the unselfish labours of a long line of illustrious Mahrattas, including amongst others, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and I felt myself on hallowed ground when I was privileged to visit that memorable institution in the historic city of Poona. The spirit of sacrifice and service imbibed by him at the feet of his great masters, in whose steps he has treaded, has become so inseparable an element of his nature that it will never disappear, however exalted be the station in public life that he may be called upon to occupy.

Sir John Marshall, who has so wisely directed the activities of the Archaeological Department for the last twenty years, came out to this country with the reputation associated with a distinguished academic record in the University of Cambridge. His mind had been saturated with what might be fittingly described as the Hellenic spirit, and his intensive study of the masterpieces of the Greek intellect had been followed by journeys of exploration in those classic lands where Greek genius had flourished in all its glory. It is easy to be wise after the event, but I venture to think that one might have predicted, even without the gift of prophecy, that a scholar who had drunk deep at the Piraean spring would not be slow to appreciate the manifestations of the Indian genius in the field of sculpture and architecture. He has earned the deepest gratitude of the Indian people by his devotion to the systematic conservation and preservation of ancient Indian monuments at Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Mandu

and to the scientific exploration and excavation of many a site of ancient Indian civilisation such as Saranath, Bhita, Sanchi and Taxila. His contributions to the advancement of our knowledge of Indian Antiquities are of abiding value, while the constant encouragement he has afforded to fellow-workers and students in this fascinating field has led to the rapid growth of an indigenous school of Indian Archaeology.

Mr. Rudrapatna Shama Shastri, who has been the guiding spirit of the Chamarajendra Sanskrit College at Bangalore and the Government Oriental Library at Mysore, is a profound scholar whose unquestionable merit has been overshadowed by the innate modesty of his character. His brilliant performance in the difficult task of decipherment of the unique manuscript of the Artha Shastra of Kautilya will bear comparison with the restoration of the text of the Institutes of Gaius by Goeschen and Hollweg and of the text of the Panchasiddhantika of Varaha-Mihir by George Thibaut and Sudhakar Dvivedi. His labours in the preparation of the editio princeps and of the first English version of this great monument of Indian genius in the domain of Political Philosophy deserve the highest commendation; but while scholars have not been slow to utilise the results of his life-long toil, generous acknowledgment of obligation has by no means been profuse. His other contributions to Indian History and Antiquities have been thrown into comparative shade by the well-merited success which has attended his efforts to lay a solid foundation for the study of the science of Indian Polity during the Vedic and Post-Vedic periods.

Professor Sakkottai Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who has filled with distinction the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras, has successfully pursued his investigations in an obscure and neglected branch of Indian studies. He has endeavoured to estimate the value of the contributions of Southern India to culture and civilisation in ancient and mediaeval times, and his successive works

on Ancient India, the Beginnings of South Indian History, South India and Her Moslem Invaders, and the History of the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar have notably helped to dispel the illusion that Northern India and Northern India alone has been the most potent factor in the growth and expansion of Indian culture in all its varied manifestations.

Professor Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who so fittingly occupies the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture, is the inheritor of an illustrious name held in high reverence in every centre of Sanskrit learning. His bold and brilliant excursions into many an unknown tract of ancient Indian History have furnished fresh evidence of the law of heredity, and his colleagues rejoice to find in him, not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself. I shall not undertake to appraise here the value of his many original papers on Indian History and Antiquities, which are found scattered through the volumes of the Indian Antiquary, the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Epigraphia Indica, the Archaeological Annual, the Hyderabad Archaeological Series and other like learned publications. He may rightly be regarded as the path-finder in trackless regions of the boundless field of Indian antiquarian research, and this has enabled him to take unquestioned rank as an inspiring teacher. To him it must be a deep gratification to be admitted to the degree which was conferred a dozen years ago in this very hall upon his venerable father, who has fortunately been spared to witness the triumph of his son, whom he so sedulously brought up to follow in his footsteps.

Professor Henry Stephen holds a unique position among the teachers of our youths, whose affection and reverence he has enjoyed for forty years. Whether within the walls of the College consecrated by the religious fervour of Alexander Duff, or within the wider sphere of a Teaching and Research

University, he has helped to ennoble their lives by bringing them into contact with the minds of the greatest seers of the world, the acknowledged masters of Literature and Philosophy. To the surprise and delight of thousands of pupils, he has elucidated, with equal ease and enthusiasm, the problems of life as expounded by Aristophanes and Shakespeare, by Plato and Kant, by Aristotle and Emerson, by Virgil and Coleridge, by Schiller and Swinburne, by Wordsworth and Bergson, who symbolise the wisdom of diverse ages and races.

Rai Sahib Dines Chandra Sen, who has worthily held the Fellowship which commemorates the services of that pious educationist of a bygone generation, Ramtanu Lahiri, has established for himself an unassailable position as historian of our mother tongue in its manifold aspects. It was in recognition of the value of his original researches in the history of the language and literature of Bengal that the Secretary of State for India, now more than twenty years ago, awarded him the first literary pension in British India. His numerous contributions on the life and times of Sri Chaitanya, the great apostle of religious revival in the fifteenth century, have served to elucidate many a dark corner in the social and literary history of Bengal; on the other hand, his labours in the examination of the earliest manuscripts of the Bengali language have smoothed the path of all his followers in that captivating field of scholarship. The value of his life-long work in these and other departments has spread the fame of this University in far distant lands and has been appreciated by scholars of all shades of opinion.

Professor Abanindra Nath Tagore, who has accepted our invitation to occupy the Bagishwari Chair of Indian Fine Arts—a subject whose claims have unfortunately not hitherto been recognised by Indian Universities—is the undisputed leader of the movement for revival of the School of Indian Art. He is himself a gifted artist, whose numerous paintings exhibited in Delhi, Simla, Bombay, Calcutta, London, Paris,

Tokyo, Boston and New York have arrested the attention and secured the admiration of connoisseurs. His presence in what has hitherto been regarded as orthodox academic circles will help us to realise that true national education is impossible without a genuine appreciation of national art. Nowhere does it require to be more insistently emphasised than here that if it be the purpose of a University to train men for the public services and for professional careers, it is equally its duty to widen the intellectual and spiritual horizon of the students. This will be most effectively achieved when our people learn to appreciate the patent truth that the soul of India manifested itself in a special manner through her wonderful art which furnishes a powerful instrument for self-discipline and self-refinement.

Professor Cuthbert Edmund Cullis, who has for more than a generation revealed to our ablest students the abstruse truths of the highest branches of Mathematics, now adorns the Chair named after our late Chancellor, Lord Hardinge. He has been for many years past engaged in recondite researches on the mysteries of mathematical forms which would bewilder the ordinary mortal. Yet his discoveries, though wellnigh incomprehensible to all but the trained mathematician, have proved to be capable of fruitful and far-reaching applications in the realms of Higher Algebra, Geometry of Hyper-spaces, Vectors and Invariants, with possibility of extensive use in the solution of difficult problems in Applied Mathematics and Physical Science.

Dr. Gilbert Thomas Walker, one of the acutest intellects sharpened by the remarkable discipline which has made Cambridge famous as a seat of mathematical learning, has not only worthily maintained but has substantially enhanced the high reputation of the work of the Indian Observatories, initiated by his predecessor, another prominent son of Cambridge, the late Sir John Eliot. But five years before he chose India as the field of his activities, he had established a lasting

reputation as a mathematician and physicist of the highest rank by the penetrative insight displayed in his Essay on Aberration and problems connected with the Electro-magnetic Field; the value of this work may be appreciated from the fact that it was adjudged worthy of the Adams Prize in the University of Cambridge, jointly with the thesis on Ether and Matter submitted by Sir Joseph Larmor. He has further laid our students under obligation by his lectures on the Theory of Electro-magnetism in which he expounded a subject, inherently difficult of comprehension, with singular skill and clearness in presentation.

Professor Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman, fascinated by the charms of scientific research, abandoned a lucrative and tempting official career and accepted the Chair of Physics founded by our great benefactor Sir Taraknath Palit. His striking investigations in various departments of Physics, particularly in the ever-widening field of the Theory of Vibrations, have attracted respectful attention in the highest scientific circles in Europe and America. But what is still more worthy of congratulation is that a vigorous School of Physics has sprung up for the first time in the history of our University, and students have flocked from all parts of India to his laboratories in the College of Science and in the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, to imbibe his enthusiasm and to profit by his teaching and guidance.

Sir Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya occupies a prominent place in the front rank of Indian administrators, and is conspicuous for his sagacity of judgment, independence of character and boldness of conception. But here I lay more emphatic stress on his triumphs as one of the foremost of Indian engineers. He has planned and executed, with unsurpassed skill, stupendous works of public utility to control and utilise the agencies of Nature for purposes of irrigation and improvement of agriculture. No one who has witnessed the practical result following the erection of the dams across

the rivers Musi at Hyderabad and Kaveri at Mysore will venture to dispute his solid claim to the gratitude of his fellow-subjects.

We rejoice further to extend a cordial welcome to that renowned savant, Professor Sylvain Levi, who stands in the forefront of the present generation of French orientalists. It is now nearly eight years ago that we decided to give expression to our high appreciation of his eminence as a scholar: but, by reason of the outbreak of the Great War he found it impossible to be in our midst and to lecture to our advanced students on the captivating subject of India and her neighbours in ancient times. It is superfluous for me to reiterate his many-sided activities which have influenced the course of thought and speculation in almost every conceivable corner of the ever-extending domain of oriental studies. His wonderful mastery of Asiatic languages of the most diverse types, such as Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Annamese, Mongolian and Central Asian has enabled him to take a comprehensive comparative view of many an abstruse topic, literary, philosophical and religious; his learning is indeed so varied that the value of his contributions to the elucidation of the past history of Asiatic nations can be fully appraised only by a syndicate of specialists. It is truly a matter for congratulation that he should have found it possible to accept the invitation of our national poet as also of this University to expound the mysteries of oriental culture to students at Bolpur and Calcutta.

I have reserved till the last all reference to one who is so intimately connected with us, I mean our Chancellor. I am not called upon here to anticipate the verdict of history upon the administration of the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Ronaldshay as Governor of this Presidency during one of the most critical periods in the history of its development. But this I maintain with confidence that in him are united, in a very special manner, the attributes of a gifted scholar and statesman,

He had imbibed the best ideals of true education at Harrow and Cambridge, and his intellectual vision was widened by travel all over the East, from Turkey to Japan, from Siberia to Ceylon. It is no wonder that a cultured nobleman like him should be able, with hereditary aptitude, to temper his individuality with sympathy for the aspirations of the people whom Providence has placed under his rule. Remarkable for his inborn courtesy and sincerity, courageous yet felicitous in the expression of his convictions, he has secured the respect and admiration of all who had the privilege to come into contact with him, even though they might not assent to his views. He has been an observant student of human nature in the East, whether in the innermost recesses of the villages of Bengal or on journeys of exploration to unknown corners of the Eastern Himalayas and the glaciers of Kanchinjangha. But more than all this, he has appreciated the unfathomable difficulties which surround the metaphysical problems propounded by the sages of Buddhism on the one hand and Vedantism on the other; and few, even amongst those of his countrymen who have felt attracted by eastern ideals, have gained an equally deep insight into the basic problems of Indian Philosophy and Religion, which are indissolubly associated as much with our spiritual life as with the true advancement of the Indian Nation.

Finally, you, gentlemen, who have so indulgently listened to this inadequate estimate of the varied achievements of so many distinguished individuals, with such diverse tastes and accomplishments, may well enquire if a characteristic, common to them all, may be discovered. Let me, therefore, venture upon a bold synthesis. To my mind, they are all pilgrims on the endless road which leads to that sacred shrine where the lamp of Truth burns eternally resplendent, the ultimate goal of humanity. They have never deviated from this noble path, and their activities have been constructive rather than destructive,—all honour to those, who have so faithfully

worked, each in his allotted sphere, for the progress of the race."

Our Second Special Convocation took place on the 27th December last in the Throne Room of the Government House. It is a matter of deep regret to all University men that the Convocation held for conferring an Honorary Degree on H. R. H the Prince of Wales should have taken place in the political atmosphere surrounding the Government House. The following letter addressed to the Vice-Chancellor by Mr. W. R. Gourlay, the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, will spare us the trouble of further comments.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA.
21st December, 1921.

MY DEAR SIR ASUTOSH.

The Chancellor has been greatly exercised in mind as to the advisability of holding the Convocation in the Senate House on the 27th. He has delayed coming to a decision as long as was possible, but out of respect for the Senate, delay is no longer possible, and this necessity for coming to an immediate decision when the political horizon may possibly be brighter a few days hence, has made the consideration of the matter still more difficult.

His Excellency is very reluctant to alter arrangements which may have already been made; but considering the present condition of excitement in the city and the turn matters may take on the 21th, he has been reluctantly brought to the conclusion that it would not be wise for him at the present juncture to ask the Prince to go to the Senate House to receive the Degree the University desire to confer upon him, a ceremony to which His Royal Highness had been looking forward.

His Excellency knows that this decision will be the cause of deep disappointment to yourself, to the Senate and to the large number of graduates who, he understands, have already applied for permission to be present at the Convocation. To meet this disappointment to some extent, His Excellency would be prepared to arrange for the Convocation to take place at Government House at which the University might confer the Degree.

Yours sincerely,
W. R. GOURLAY."

The brilliant success of the function, the enthusiastic ovation which His Royal Highness received, leave no room for doubt that after all His Excellency was indeed "reluctantly brought to the conclusion that it would not be wise for him at the present juncture to ask the Prince to go to the Senate House to receive the Degree. Mr. Gourlay's geniality of manners and his decision to leave the arrangements in the hands of the University authorities contributed in no small measure to the triumph which His Royal Highness obtained in the academic world in Bengal. The speech of the Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was so different from the speeches which were delivered on two such auspicious occasions in the past,—it was pregnant with nationalistic fervour and it appealed very strongly to two great obvious truths which have a tendency to become blurred in the extraordinarily exciting days through which we have been moving. The first is that we must recognise freely and openly the part that Britain has played in the romantic story of our national resurrection. The second is that it is absolutely essential for the safety and the continued prosperity of the Commonwealth of Nations included within the British Empire to recognise the great truth, which is frequently lost sight of amidst arrogant claims of racial superiority, that "Indians like



H. R. H. Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David,
Prince of Wales, Doctor of Law.

Englishmen are high-spirited and fearless; both alike will do justice, will have justice, and will put up with nothing but justice from each other and from the nations at large." Thus said the Vice-Chancellor:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On occasions when Honorary Degrees are conferred in this University, the Vice-Chancellor is expected to dwell at some length on the eminent position and attainments of the distinguished recipients; but whatever may verily be pleaded in defence of this time-honoured custom, a departure may well be sanctioned when we are assembled to show our regard for the Heir-Apparent to the Throne. The event may rightly be interpreted as possessing a significance rather national and imperial than scholastic and academic. We rejoice to think that now forty-six years ago, when the Senate of this University desired to honour His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, whom Queen Victoria of loved and revered memory, had sent out in our midst in token of her deep affection for the millions of her subjects in her Indian Empire, we were authorised to give expression to our feelings in a manner befitting an academic body and to open our roll of Honorary graduates with his illustrious name. We remember, again, with pride and pleasure that thirty years later His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales, graciously consented, like his august father, to join the rank of our Honorary Doctors of Law. We recall, further, with gratitude and exultation the memorable day when six years later, our great Sovereign and his consort vouchsafed to us the high privilege of approaching Their Gracious Majesties on this very spot, with a dutiful address expressive of our deepest feelings of loyalty and devotion. It is thus appropriate in the highest degree that on the present auspicious occasion we should be anxious to extend to His Royal Highness the Prince

of Wales such enthusiastic welcome as lies in our power and thereby to renew a connection between the Royal House and our University which, to our joy, already possesses a hereditary character.

But let me emphasise that there are additional weighty reasons of a personal nature, why we are gratified by this opportunity to give outward expression to our feelings of esteem and admiration. Though still in the threshold of what is bound to prove a career of signal beneficence, His Royal Highness has given abundant proof of true nobility of soul. Whether amidst the peaceful life of an ancient seat of learning and culture, or amidst the storm and stress of a battle-field in the greatest of wars recorded in modern history, his high sense of duty and good comradeship secured for him the affectionate regard of all who were brought into contact with him. To their surprise and delight, he united inexhaustible courtesy with chivalrous courage, and untiring energy with unfailing serenity of temper. It is no wonder that a Prince of the Royal House, so richly endowed by Nature, gifted with an ever-radiant smile, warmly interested in the welfare of the rising generation, anxious to meet and mingle with youth and to understand their hopes and aspirations, ever ready to open out his mind to them and to give them an insight into the ideas he holds in reverence as true and honourable it is surely no wonder that such a Prince should, by universal testimony, conquer all hearts wherever he might go, in the Dominions of Canada, in the Australasian Colonies, in the United States of America, and, let me couple without hesitation the name of my motherland, India.

What then can be more eminently befitting than that he should prove to be one of the greatest of ambassadors that have ever served the British People,—the founders of commonwealths, the pioneers of progress, the stubborn defenders of liberty? What, again, can be more natural than that we should, with pride and pleasure, invite him, who symbolises

in his person all that is best in the traditions of that race, to enter the portals of our Academy, which has been charged by our Gracious Sovereign to conserve our ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science? It is, indeed, by a wise dispensation of Providence that the destinies of India have been united to those of a western nation so progressive and enlightened as Great Britain; this has rendered it possible for us to maintain and develop our highly cherished national culture, intellectual and spiritual, and, at the same time, to take full advantage of the immense opportunities of advancement afforded by all the knowledge, all the science, all the skill of the West. But while we realise the truth that the destiny of men is in their own hands, that their future is for themselves to shape, we look for comradeship to the nation which has been a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind,—that comradeship which is the key to all well-being and happiness in the democratic life of the British Empire to-day, comradeship between nation and nation, between race and race, between people of all ranks in all walks of life. We have been taught to believe that every man and woman under the law should have an equal chance and equal hope, and that individuals and society will have their highest development and the largest allotment of human happiness where this is secured by the spread of education along with liberty under law—liberty, not license, civilisation, not barbarism, liberty clad in the celestial robe of law, that law which alone is the authoritative expression of the will of the people. The dynamic effect of the fusion of ideals, eastern and western, is already visible over this vast continent, the repository of an ancient and glorious civilisation. If I may be permitted to recall the language of our Gracious Sovereign, when ten years ago he gave us the watchword of Hope, "on every side I trace the sign and stirrings of new life"; I see, indeed, the majestic vision which unfolded itself to that great

Puritan Poet, the mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies, the God-gifted organ-voice of England: "Methinks, I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing itself like a strong man after his sleep and shaking her invincible locks." To have thus roused India from the slumber of ages and now to help her to reconquer for herself her position as a leading nation of the civilised world by assigning to her an honourable place of equality amongst the members of the commonwealth of Britain, will be not only the final realisation of the beneficent purpose of Providence, but also the crowning glory, the noblest achievement of the British race—the race that has secured from unwilling kings the charters of its political rights, the race that has afforded incontestable proof of its humanity by the abolition of slavery within its world-wide territories. The truest course, the surest course, for every member of that great commonwealth to follow is, I doubt not, to recognise that Indians, like Englishmen, are high-spirited and fearless; both alike will do justice, will have justice, and will put up with nothing but justice from each other and from the nations at large. Weld them together, more and evermore, in a comradeship for defence of liberty under law. Their union of heart and purpose will record the triumph of justice and humanity, and will leave its indelible mark upon the pages of the history of Freedom in every sphere of activity of civilised man. We fervently hope that no sullen clouds of coldness or estrangement may ever obscure our fair relations and that the action or inaction of men who meditate disunion may not succeed to mar the benevolent purpose of Providence; and we venture respectfully to charge the future King of the British People with a cordial message of good-will from us, assuring them of our desire to strengthen the golden link which connects India with Great Britain and the Royal House.

My Lord, I trust I shall be forgiven if I bring my address to a close on a personal note. On the occasion

when forty-six years ago, an Honorary Degree was first conferred on a Prince of Wales, the distinguished graduates of this University were invited to witness the ceremony. One of the earliest graduates was permitted as an act of special favour to bring his little boy into the Senate House to have a glimpse of the Prince. The tumultuous acclamation which greeted His Royal Highness as he entered the hall made an ever-lasting impression on the mind of the boy. Thirty years later, the boy had developed into a Syndic and recorded his concurrence in a proposal to confer an Honorary Degree on the second Prince of Wales. Six years later, this very Syndic as Vice-Chancellor of this University and as the spokesman of the Senate had the high privilege to present a loyal and dutiful address to His Most Gracious Sovereign. By a singular turn of events, he now stands before you and has the supreme satisfaction to invite Your Excellency, as Chancellor of this University, to confer an Honorary Degree on the third Prince of Wales."

There was a pleasant departure from tradition and convention when the Vice-Chancellor introduced the members of the Syndicate to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales as soon as he entered the hall. Pleasanter still was the short and sweet reply which fell from the young lips of the illustrious recipient of the Degree, the Darling of the Nations and the Heir-Apparent to the Throne. So said His Royal Highness:

"Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you for the very high honour which you have conferred on me by granting me an honorary degree of your University.

My father, His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, received this honour at your hands in 1906, and six years later recalled the pleasure which the ceremony had afforded to him.

in his reply to a loyal address presented to him by the representatives of your University.

On the latter occasion His Majesty dwelt on the high ideals which should animate Universities in India, and in his confidence that the labours of your governing body would be inspired by those noble standards and that you would shoulder your high responsibilities with a courage which would command success. At the same time His Majesty's deep interest in the cause of education was shewn by his special commands to his Governor General regarding the expansion and improvement of education generally in India.

I am gratified to hear that his wishes in the latter respect have borne fruit. It will be of interest to His Majesty to learn from me that his confidence in you was not misplaced; and that in the rapid expansion of educational facilities, which has occurred, one of the important features has been the co-operation of bodies such as your University, in measures calculated to extend and improve the system of higher education in India in proportion to the expansion and progress which is taking place in other departments of education in this country. That this co-operation is cheerfully given in the face of financial and other difficulties redounds to your credit.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I trust that the honorary degree with which you have presented me to-day, will form a real bond of union between me and the University of Calcutta."

We have great pleasure in publishing the photographs of the savants who have been honoured by our University.



The Bride of Siva

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1922

THE DEWDROP

In the bliss, they say, of the love that laves
the skies and ocean and earth
All things hasten to lose, they say,
the grieving ripple of birth.
Why then ah! do I tremble and pale
at the thought of thee, O Death
And shivering stand to take my plunge
in that infinite sea of breath?
There are the lost joys of my life
far sunk beyond rave and fret,
There are the souls of dreams unflowered
and the roses of regret.
There is the sunken dreadful gold
of the Once that might have been.
Shipwrecked memory anchors there,
and my dead leaves there are green.
Why in the merge of all with all
by a plunge recoverable,
Desperate diver, shudder I
from all pearls in one shell?

For O more precious than all things lost
is the one that I let fall,
One heart brimful of love for me,
her love that encasketed all.

Dear, like a trembling drop of dew
I held thee in my hand,
How of a sudden could I so spill
as to lose in the infinite sand?
As I stood madly secure of thee
as happy I looked my fill;
Thou from my jealous palm didst slide
and vanish in salt sea rill.
Now by the infinite shore I roam,
the bliss that all things laves;
Down bent, weeping I seek for thee
by a mournful music of waves.
Deaf to the grandeur and the roar
that hath washed thee away from me
In the streaming sands and my own salt tears
I wildly look for thee.
Thou with the freshness and the foam
art glorying borne away,
I, amid wreck and driftwood grope
and dally with all dismay.
Come back, tremulous heart, I sob,
heart's bliss, come back I cry;
Only the solemn ecstasy
of waters makes reply.

M. GHOSE

THE EMPERORS OF JAPAN

The recent visit of the Crown Prince of Japan to England was a memorable event. It not only awakened considerable interest, but it deepened Great Britain's friendly relations with the Land of the Rising Sun. Such an undertaking would not have been possible a few years ago when the Imperial House was really an Imperial Temple where the Emperor and his family were jealously guarded from the eyes of the people.

It has been said that the Mikado was an institution rather than a marked personality, and with a few exceptions this is true. Descended from the Sun Goddess, he was himself regarded as a god by his subjects. Too divine to rule *de facto*, he sat upon an altar rather than upon a throne. Had it not been for the coming of Commodore Perry, for the insistent demand of the West to break down the barriers of an island kingdom which Iyeyasu in his "Legacy" had hoped would be proof against all foreigners, the Mikado would be still a shadowy figure veiled behind a screen, whose subjects were worshippers and whose crown was a halo. With the Restoration of the Emperor and the opening of Japan to foreign trade and a fresh influx of social intercourse, the country entered upon a fresh lease of life. The vitality and initiative of Japan, after over two hundred and fifty years of complete isolation, are amazing. She conquered China and Russia, and drove the Germans from the Far East. As Great Britain's valued Ally she has generously fulfilled her pledges, and if the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is renewed, she will continue to fulfil them in the future. The reigning Emperor has thrown aside the most elaborate tradition of the divinity of kings ever conceived and become a man, the head of a Constitutional Government.

Japanese history is the story of the rise and fall of great families. The majority of the Emperors were lulled to sleep with the incense of worship. They were glorified puppets on the Shogun's chess-board, kings to be moved more easily than castles. If, as sometimes happened, an Emperor displayed sufficient force of character to recognise Mikado-worship as another name for political intrigue, he was promptly made to abdicate in order to make room for a loyal but pliant nonentity. When this game of moving sovereigns was at its height there were no less than five emperors living at the same time! Under these circumstances it will cause no surprise to find that Japanese history is not remarkable for its accounts of the deeds of the Mikados. In the past men who usurped their power built the Japanese Empire, such men as Yoritomo, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu.

We turn to the *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* for an account of the early Emperors of Japan, and what these pages lack in veracity they make up for in a good deal of picturesque detail. The old chroniclers, when they were not giving their attention to tedious genealogies, seem to have revelled in fairy tales, but with all their shortcomings they succeeded now and again in depicting an Emperor, not as a god but as a man governed by very human passions.

Jimmu, the first Emperor of Japan, was a conqueror of no mean order. We are told that "he subdued and pacified the unsubmissive savages." He was aided in his conquests by the Sun Goddess, who appeared to him in dreams, overcame his enemies by the sudden creation of noxious vapours, not a little reminiscent of poison gas, and guided him with the "Eight-hand Crow."

The Emperor Chiuai is far less famous than his wife, the Empress Jingo. On one occasion, while he was playing his lute, the Empress became "possessed." She spoke of a land of treasure in the West, which she was prepared to bestow upon her husband. But the Emperor was a sceptic, and

would never have believed in cultured pearls. He told her that if he were to climb to the top of a mountain, and look westward, he would observe no country but "only the great sea." He went further, for growing weary of what he considered his wife's buffoonery, he called the Gods liars, and angrily pushed aside his musical instrument. This remark and childish action provoked a sharp retort from the Empress. The Prime Minister, who happened to witness the scene, grew alarmed, and bade the Emperor continue to play his "great august lute," which he no doubt considered preferable to a domestic quarrel. The chroniclers write, with no little sense of the dramatic: "The Emperor slowly drew his august lute languidly to him. Almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, the Heavenly Sovereign was dead." The land in the West was Korea, the country conquered by the indefatigable Empress Jingo. That is the story of old chroniclers. In all probability Korea was defeated later, and in a series of conflicts.

Nintoku is one of the most popular Emperors of Japan. It was his custom to climb a lofty tower, and when looking about him he discovered no smoke rising from the houses of his subjects and no singing of joyous songs, he came to the conclusion that the people were too poor to cook their food, and abolished taxation and forced labour for three years. At such times he practised rigid economies in his palace, a rain-soaked place where "starlight filtered through the crannies and exposed the bed-mats." "When Heaven establishes a Prince," he said, "it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation."

Unfortunately the Emperor's domestic affairs did not run smoothly. He fell in love with Kuhada no Kugahime, and concerning her he thus addressed one of his attendants: "It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed

by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom?" One named Hayamachi came forward, and in a brief song offered to wed the maiden, but having received royal favours she refused to have anything to do with deputy lover.

Nintoku also fell in love with the Princess Yata, and desired to make her his concubine. In a verse duologue Emperor and Empress discussed the matter, and it would seem that the Empress had the last word. Rather unwisely she went on a journey, and during his absence Nintoku lived with the Princess Yata in his palace, or, as the Japanese politely express it, "exchanged his pillow with her." At Naniwa the Empress heard of her lord's infidelity, and refused to be united to him in spite of the Emperor's fervid solicitations, also expressed in verse. Deeply incensed against her husband she shut herself off from the world in a palace at Yamashiro, and to this palace the Emperor sent Kuchiko, replete with many a repentant song invented by his sorrowful master. We read: "When the Grandee Kuchiko was repeating an august song to the Empress, it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the back door; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water reached to his loins. Owing to the Grandee being clad in a garment dyed green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green changed into red." In spite of the chameleon performance of Kuchiko the Empress would not yield. Indeed, she remained obdurate when the Mikado pleaded in person. We read that "the Emperor resented the Empress's great indignation, but yet continued to love her."

There is the story of the fair Otohime, whose radiant beauty was said to shine through her raiment. She was loved by the Emperor Ingyo, and the Empress was aware of his amour and of his frequent visits to Chinu to see his mistress. The Empress's comment remains a model of dignity and wisdom. "Thy handmaiden," she said, "is not one whit jealous of her younger sister, but she fears that the people may be distressed by your Majesty's frequent visits to Chinu. I humbly pray thee to diminish the number of thy visits."

The most beautiful Japanese love poem was written by one of the Court ladies after the death of the Emperor Tenchi. How she had secretly loved him is summed up in the following lines:

> Wert thou a precious stone, I'd clasp thee tight
> Around my arm; wert thou a silken dress,
> I'd ne'er discard thee either day or night;
> Last night, sweet love! I dreamt I saw thy face.

The Emperor Yuriyaku, with a view to encouraging the silk industry, desired the Empress and her concubines to plant mulberry trees. He also instructed Sakara "to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country." Now Sakara made a mistake and collected babies instead, which in due season he presented to the astonished Emperor. His Majesty laughed heartily, and gave the babies to Sakara, saying: "Do thou bring them up thyself!" "Sakara's ludicrous blunder was really a matter of philology. The Japanese for silkworm is *kahiko*, while *kahi* means "to nurture" and *Ko* "little one."

It was during the period of the later Ashikoga Shoguns, when the usurpers were artistic but effeminate æsthetes, that the masses, no less than the Emperors themselves, suffered most acutely from misrule. We are informed by a contemporary writer that "The common people made tea, and sold

it in the garden of the Palace. Children made it their playground. By the sides of the main approach to the Imperial Pavilion they modelled mud toys: sometimes they peeped behind the blind that screened the Imperial apartments. The Sovereign himself lived chiefly on money gained by selling his autograph... So miserable and lowly had everything become."

Through the tangled web of Japanese history, so full of the deeds of usurpers, the wonder is that the Emperors, banished, deposed, and bandied about by the mercenary hand of political intrigue, should still retain the loyal love of the people. When the Dual Government fell, because it was too weak to stand against the demands of the West, that affectionate regard was consummated in the Restoration of the Emperor in 1868.

The Emperor to-day is no longer veiled from his people. He is seen of all men. Mikado-worship, even in the country districts, is passing away, and something more enduring is taking its place. An emperor representing a shadowy and useless deity is a poor substitute for a wise ruler in close touch with his people. It was left to the Crown Prince of Japan to shatter once for all the old veil of alleged divinity and the stupid régime of isolation. He is alive to the democratic needs of his country, and in his visit to England he has done much to deepen and strengthen our affection and regard for our Japanese Ally.

F. HADLAND DAVIS

ETHICS OF ZOOLOGY[1]

In his introduction to the eighty-third section of the *Ain-i-Akbari* Shaik Abulfazal wrote of Akbar:

> "His Majesty has taught men something new and practical and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores, teaches equity, reveals the excellent, and stimulates the lazy man." (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 217.)

Let us constitute ourselves humble followers of Akbar and strive to find a rule that will at once protect the animal, guard the stores of zoological learning, maintain equity between zoologists and stimulate the excellent, if not the lazy, man to sound zoological research.

Sir William Jones in his inaugural discourse to the Asiatick Society, delivered in Calcutta in 1784, omitted zoology from the proposed agenda of the Society. Nine years later, in his tenth address, he explained the reason. "Could the figure, instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fishes," he said, "be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction or more exquisite delight."

He went on to state that he could not conceive of the feelings of a naturalist who could occasion the misery of an innocent bird, "or, deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyment, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful." He then gave the following translation of a couplet of Firdausi:—

> "Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain;
> He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain."

[1] Address delivered to the Zoological Section of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Indian Science Congress at Madras; February, 1922.

Elementary as was Sir William Jones's concept of zoology, his opinion as a scholar and a poet cannot be dismissed lightly. There is, as the French say, nothing that kills like ridicule, but ridicule kills only when its object is really ridiculous. To laugh at what is true and solid is to exhibit lack of sympathy and sense.

There seems to me, however, to be some confusion of thought in Sir William Jones's statement, which I have not quoted in full, and, moreover, he has ignored the fundamental difference in the point of view of a man whose attitude towards animals is entirely religious as a believer in the transmigration of souls and the accumulation of merit, and that of one whose dislike of cruelty is ethical and æsthetic. Firdausi's couplet expresses the views of the latter, the edicts of Asoka those of the former, for the edicts are directed not against cruelty to animals but against the destruction of life.

No decent zoologist is cruel to animals. Indeed, among civilized men there is something antagonistic to human sanity in deliberate cruelty; it is essentially morbid and unnatural. But there is another kind of cruelty, due mainly to lack of imagination and carelessness. It is difficult in watching a carter twisting the tail of his ox to believe that his motive is entirely free from vicious pleasure, but that it is mainly due to a lack of the intellectual ability to picture to himself the feelings of the ox we may concede. Curiously enough this minor type of cruelty is often prevalent among those to whom the religious motive is all-important.

It is a custom in Japan to throw the laboratories of the Imperial Universities open to the public once a year, and to provide a popular exhibition of scientific apparatus and preparations. In 1915 I happened to be in a Japanese university town in which an exhibition of the kind was in progress. The main exhibit in the physiological laboratory was a living rabbit firmly tied down and cut open in such a

way as to illustrate the beating of the heart. Even supposing that the rabbit was completely anæsthetized, the exhibit was a disgusting one from a Western point of view, and would probably have caused a riot in London, even before the police intervened; but in Japan, women and children examined it with perfect equanimity, and my friends of the University staff could not see anything wrong. And yet these very professors and lecturers were in the habit every year of holding a solemn service of expiation in one of the great Buddhist monasteries of the city for the souls of the animals which had been dissected in their laboratories.

It is an interesting speculation whether the Japanese crowd would have viewed the vivisected rabbit with the same equanimity if it had chanced to be one of the animals of which the representation in painting is permitted by the narrow canons of Japanese art. I must confess that my own objections to the exhibition were just as much æsthetic as moral.

The study of zoology in India has not, as a matter of practice, been much affected by the edicts of Asoka, and the remarks of Sir William Jones on the supposed cruelty involved in zoology had no more than a temporary effect on the history of the Asiatic Society. Indeed, it seemed at times as if the stone the builder had rejected had become the headstone of the corner, for in the days of Blyth and again in those of Alcock, zoological papers were amongst the most important published in the Society's Journal. Nevertheless, it is as well that in our zoological work we should keep in mind both Firdausi and Piyadasi.

I need not waste your time on the crank who loves *her* dog and hates mankind.

Scientific work is plain-sailing as long as a man can do it alone. It is when he has to consider others that the strain and difficulty begin. There is one point, small in itself but

still important, in which I notice that my younger colleagues experience peculiar difficulty, namely, in acknowledging the help they have received from their seniors. The matter is not so simple as it seems. Two pitfalls must be avoided, that of flattery on the one hand and that of plagiarism on the other. For Indians there is the added difficulty of a foreign language. There is nothing more difficult than to pay a graceful compliment in a language not one's own. Delicacy of feeling, moreover, is often necessary to distinguish between a common courtesy and subtle flattery. The best way out of the difficulty is to say frankly what help has been received and to express gratitude in as few words as possible.

The question of plagiarism is even more difficult in scientific research than in literature. If Shakespeare, as some of my younger colleagues would argue, was justified in appropriating a commonplace plot and transmuting it into a work of genius, we also are justified in using the ideas of others as our own. Unfortunately few of us are Shakespeares, or Darwins. Darwin was one of the most modest of men, and always scrupulous in acknowledging assistance of any kind, even, or perhaps especially, from those whose lights were much less than his own. In acknowledging help, whether from the written or the spoken word, we cannot do better than accept the introductory part of the *Origin of Species* as our guide.

But this does not dispose of the more general question of plagiarism. How much may be legitimately appropriated, or may anything be appropriated at all? In the Roman Church St. Alphonso of Liguori, the one modern Doctor of the Church, is accepted as the final referee on ethical questions. He was bold enough to draw up a tariff of mortal sin in theft. He ruled that in certain circumstances a respectable man who stole a shilling from a working man, or fourteen shillings from a crowned head, did not commit a mortal sin; but that to steal even a few farthings from a beggar was always a mortal sin. In scientific ethics we have no such authority

as St. Alphonso; but the rule that nothing whatever should be taken from any living person without due acknowledgment is a good one. We must steal not at all, either from king or beggar. There are, however, in science as in literature many ideas and phrases so universally understood and accepted that to trace them to a personal origin is not only unnecessary but also a little ridiculous. Even such ideas and phrases, if attributed to an author, should be attributed correctly. For example, the saying that the practical man practises the follies of his ancestors is often attributed to Huxley, but really came in the first instance from Disraeli, in whose *Coningsby* it is placed, with many other self-evident sentiments, in the mouth of the wise Jew Sidonia.

The mention of Huxley leads me to a point almost universally ignored at the present day in the ethics of zoology—the importance of literary style in the presentation of scientific facts and ideas. If anything is worth saying it is worth saying well. You have all heard of Buffon, who used to put on his court dress and his sword whenever he sat down to write. Such external ceremony is perhaps contrary to the spirit of this age and, therefore, may appear to some of us to have been mere affection on Buffon's part; which it certainly was not. Scientific facts, however, are worthy of respect, and should be treated with due decorum. Style has been defined as saying things in an appropriate manner. It is not appropriate to couch a plain statement of facts in highly figurative or elaborate language. Plain facts must be stated plainly. Our aim in zoological literature must be chaste simplicity, but journalese is not simple, nor is it chaste. Superfluous words, words used to startle or confound without thought of their precise meaning, in short all idle words, merely recall the saying that language was given to man to conceal his thought. If, however, you adopt the telegraphic style in description—and nowadays economy in print is always desirable for financial reasons—do so only in mere diagnosis, and

in diagnosis be adequate, and be consistent. It is neither economical nor grammatical to write in describing an insect: "body black; the legs are brown."

I would advise every zoologist to study Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's lectures on *The Art of Writing English*. He will find some hard sayings. With many others, I have found the statement that a case can only mean a box not a little disconcerting, but the fact that such statements make us feel uncomfortable proves that they contain an element of truth.

Apart from literary style in the writing of zoological papers, the question of the mechanical preparation of the manuscript for the press is one of ethical significance. As editor of the *Records* and *Memoirs of the Indian Museum* I often receive manuscripts that need many hours' careful and troublesome work before they can be sent to the printer. But for the fact that Dr. Kemp is kind enough to relieve me of much of this drudgery, I would scarcely hesitate to refuse even to consider a great part of the matter submitted for publication. Carelessness or ignorance as to punctuation and the use of capitals is rife, and few authors take any trouble in indicating the use of italics or other special type. It is surprising how few zoologists know even such elementary rules as that of the proper use of brackets with the name of the authors of species. These names should never be enclosed in brackets, unless the name of the genus of the species has been changed since the latter was first described. These may seem trivial points, but their neglect indicates not only carelessness, but selfishness and lack of understanding.

Zoology has become so complicated that few of us nowadays are more than "Scarabees." This is an immoral state, not only because no man in these strenuous times has the right to narrow his interests to a single family of beetles, but also because the whole of biology is at present encumbered with unco-ordinated

details that clog the machinery of progress instead of acting as motive power.

In zoology, however, as in all branches of knowledge, it is worse than being narrow-minded to assume an interest if we have it not. One of the most unpleasant persons I ever met was a young student who emerged from a very dirty house in Iceland and remarked: "Good-morning! Do you think Lord Verulam wrote the plays of Shakespeare?" He took no more interest in the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy than I did in Icelandic politics, but wished to impress the foreigner. You may apply this parable to zoology as you like.

In recent years zoological controversy, like most other branches of criticism, has grown more refined, but we are still far from that urbane irony which an American critic regards as one of the highest manifestations of the literary spirit in modern England. Courtesy is apt to degenerate into irresponsible and often irrelevant insinuations, such as, in Europe, slackness in war, or, in this country, an anti-Indian spirit. In some branches of zoology, notably in pure taxonomy, opinions are so varied that no general consensus seems possible. I have observed a tendency among young zoologists in India to treat conclusions, based presumably on ascertained facts, somewhat lightly, in order to avoid controversy—as in the case of a young man who brought to a friend of mine a paper in which far-reaching conclusions were derived from somewhat meagre research. My friend pointed out that the evidence hardly justified the conclusions.

"Oh," said the author, "but I can change the conclusions!"

On the other hand, it is quite unnecessary to call a man a liar because you disagree with him on some controversial point, or even on some matter of observation. All men cannot think, or even see, alike, and because a man is senior, or belongs to a different race, he is not necessarily wrong.

If the majority of zoologists were endowed with a sense of humour (which, after all, as Thackeray has pointed out, is essentially the same thing as a sense of proportion) much controversy would be avoided altogether, the real point at issue not being any point of fact or even of interpretation but merely some personal fad, jealousy or spite. I was once buying some sleeping-mats in the Malay State of Kelantan. The man who had brought them for sale stated that it had taken him two months to make them. I turned to another Malay who was standing by—an uneducated man, but endowed with the ready wit and delicacy of feeling so characteristic of the Malay race—and enquired if this could be true. "Doubtless, *Tuan*," was the reply, "but perhaps he only worked one day in each month." The retort was a retort courteous; no offence was caused, and the bargain was concluded in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

The true test in all controversy is the inner feelings of the disputants. So long as a man respects his opponent and feels no bitterness towards him, controversy is a good thing; but in scientific controversy there must be no reservations, no quibbling. We must play with all our cards on the table. A plan I have adopted in the *Records of the Indian Museum* seems to me a good one. Some years ago I published a paper in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in which I pointed out that there was considerable diversity in the frogs usually grouped under the name *Rana tigrina*. I, therefore, suggested that several distinct species should be recognised. Dr. G. A. Boulenger, then in charge of the Reptiles and Batrachia in the British Museum and still recognised as the leading herpetologist in Europe, did not agree with me. He paid me the great compliment of sending me a paper for publication in the *Records of the Indian Museum*, refuting my claim for the specific recognition of the different forms of *Rana tigrina*, which he regarded as merely races or varieties.

In certain points Dr. Boulenger was evidently right and I wrong. So I wrote a second note expressing my views as modified by Dr. Boulenger's argument. Of this I sent the manuscript to him; and he replied in a third note. The three notes were then published together as a kind of dialogue, so that all the facts and arguments of the case were submitted to the zoological world together, without the slightest bitterness, loss of mutual respect, or ill-feeling on the part of either the senior or the junior author. Far otherwise was it with the famous controversy on the proper generic name of the bed-bug that raged round the world some years ago, from Hawaii to Belgium and from England to Canada.

In setting forth this ideal of urbane controversy I do not mean to say that there are not cases in which the experienced zoologist does well to be angry. Dishonest or grossly careless work, work done merely for the sake of effect or to satisfy the investigator's personal ambition or further his official promotion, must always meet with unqualified condemnation, in which there is no room for mutual respect.

In the official document whereby the Zoological Survey of India was constituted in 1916 our relations with the technical departments are laid down as being those of "co-operation without subordination." The thanks of all Indian zoologists are due to the man who discovered this formula. I do not know his name. The formula implies not only the recognition of pure zoology on the part of the Government of India, but also its independence of direct economic aims. I have nothing to say against applied science, provided that it be science at all, but the term is often "applied" to something akin to the Holy Roman Empire, which has been described as neither holy, Roman, nor an empire.

Even in the purely physical branches, in which the mathematical demonstration of facts is possible, "practical

results" often rest on a very small basis of research. The whole affair is in fact an inverted pyramid, liable to topple over at any moment and overwhelm its supporters. As soon as the question of life enters into applied science the matter becomes vastly more complex, and just as the life of the animal is more complex than that of the plant, so is applied zoology more difficult than applied botany. Some day we may know something about life, and understand how a plant or an animal lives, how and why it reacts to its environment. At present we know practically nothing. The great triumphs of applied biology are empirical, such as the discovery of the value of Cinchona bark ages before the malaria parasite was known. And yet they are triumphs of pure research, for research is only experiment and its interpretation. The practical knowledge of the primitive fisherman or agriculturist is based unconsciously on the experience of a thousand years. At present all we can do in a laboratory or a museum is to speed up experience, to attempt to learn in a few months or years what the peasant has taken centuries to learn, and has sometimes learned wrong in the end.

Applied zoology should be, and perhaps some day may become, the great philanthropic agent of the world. At present, it is often a wolf in sheep's clothing, a devil masquerading as an angel of light. No government or commercial body can resist the temptation of demanding results, and in India we hear of even professors expecting from their students a research a month. Such demands often meet with a ready response, especially from the young and ignorant. This can only result in a furtive and subtle dishonesty fatal to all true progress. I am firmly convinced that applied zoology is at present, with our inadequate apparatus of research, largely a chimera, indiscriminate faith in which is akin to that in the stories told in the *Physiologus* and its successors, the mediæval bestiaries of Western Europe, about such animals as the elephant and the leopard. These stories were not written

in the interests of material truth, but with a strictly moral or religious aim. They completely ignored facts, but yet were based on existing things. It was not until considerable numbers of Europeans went into the countries in which the libelled animals led their own unmoral lives that the true facts became apparent, and I do not think that either the morals of Europe or the interests of zoology suffered in the revelation.

In his *History of English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest* Stopford Brooke translates an account of the leopard from an early poem on the *Panther, the Whale and the Partidge*. The panther lives, we learn, "In the far lands in deep hollows....., glittering in a many coloured coat like Joseph's, a friend to all, save to that envenomed scather, the Dragon." After feeding (on what we are not told), he sleeps for three nights. When he awakes, "a lofty, sweet, ringing sound comes from his mouth, and with the song a most delightful steam of sweet-smelling breath, more grateful than all the blooms of herbs and blossoms of the trees." This mystic aroma is compared by the early English poet to the hope of divine salvation.

However fair the flowers of applied zoology may seem, the ripened fruits are often Dead Sea apples, disappointing as the breath of the leopard, not to mention his unfriendly disposition, must have been to the first lettered Englishman who stumbled upon him in the jungle and awoke him from his slumbers.

Virgil in his *Georgics* wrote what was accepted for centuries by the learned as a manual of practical agriculture poetically expressed. Among other processes he described the manufacture of a swarm of bees from the carcase of a heifer. Imagine the poet reclining in his cool verandah with a manuscript of Hesiod half-unrolled on his lap, and pausing in his dictation to gaze over the countryside and muse for a moment on his own love for the simple farmer's life. Fortunately for his reputation as a practical agriculturist his (or

rather Hesiod's) process for the abiogenetic production of honey-bees, which involved the slaughter of a prime heifer, was as unsound economically as it was biologically impossible. No one tried the experiment, and so the process was accepted from generation to generation as practical. In fact, the light-hearted, and doubtless illiterate, Samson, who slew a lion on his way to visit his lady-love and afterwards found a comb of wild honey in the skeleton, and made a riddle of it to puzzle the Philistines, was much the more practical man of the two. In modern times the man who introduced mongooses into the West Indies, rabbits into Australia or sparrows into North America, doubtless thought that he had accomplished a great work of applied biology—at first.

In discussions on the value of zoological work there is nothing that makes me more indignant than the saying that this or that piece of Indian research is good work—for India. This usually means that it is of inferior quality, but must not be judged too hardly because it has been done either by an Indian or by an Englishman working amidst Indian difficulties. We Indian zoologists, to judge by the work of our predecessors—Hodgson, Blyth, Stoliczka, Blanford, Alcock and many others—have no reason to claim indulgence. There can be nothing more fatal to Indian science than to aim at a low ideal, and no greater insult can be paid to any branch of scientific effort than to judge it from a racial or a geographical standpoint. Zoology is often regarded in India as the Cinderella of the sciences, and it is, therefore, necessary on occasion for zoologists to mingle the meekness of the dove with the subtlety of the serpent. Some years ago, in my zeal to bring about a certain unity of purpose in the administration of the Indian Museum, I incurred the accusation of latent kaiserism from one of my colleagues. I replied that it seemed to me improbable that the youngest and poorest of the scientific departments under the Government

of India would arise from the mud like Pharaoh's lean kine and swallow its more prosperous brethren. However effective such replies may be for the moment, the necessity for them does not tend to edification. One branch of science may be poorer in loaves and fishes than another, but all are equal.

Zoology is so closely connected with other branches of biology, and so dependent in the last resort on geology, chemistry, physics and mathematics, that in my own work I find it frequently necessary to apply to members of other departments for special information. My experience has been that such information is always given in a most ungrudging and generous spirit when applied for personally, but that any official move towards closer co-operation is met with suspicion. I am heterodox enough to believe that the first duty of every scientific department, whether official or otherwise, should be to assist all scientific men in their work, and especially in their research, but to the gods, alas, it has seemed otherwise. The gods of Olympus led a free and joyous life, feasting on nectar and ambrosia: in files and official etiquette the gods of the Himalaya have found more congenial fare. A witty Chairman of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, in which four Imperial survey departments are concerned, once remarked that the chief difficulty in its administration was that the parts were so much greater than the whole. Hypertrophy of the departmental consciousness is a disease to which we heads of scientific departments are by no means immune; a disease, moreover, which the Board of Scientific Advice, despite its zeal in preventing "the overlapping of functions" has failed to cure. In placing zoology on a sound basis in India, individual effort alone is of any avail, but the effort though individual must be unselfish, it must not be inspired by any kind of bitterness or self-seeking. We must realize with a sigh that the intelligence of a committee is often much lower than that of its least intelligent member.

Even a committee, however, is preferable to individual patronage. I am of the opinion that private donations to science often do more harm than good, not only because of the conditions that usually hedge them round but also because they weaken individual effort in research. Unlike Art, Science abhors patronage and flourishes in hardship and opposition. We are told that in ancient Greece Alexander the Great was the patron of Aristotle, and yet that scientific thought was absolutely free. By the time of Alexander, however, the intellectual light of Greece was fading out, and democracy, the most official form of Government known to mankind, had already found its supreme victim in Socrates, the philosopher whose test for all things was truth.

At all periods and in all countries of the modern world — whether it be in the dealings of Pope Urban with Galileo or in those of the British Government with scientific men in the early part of the War—ignorant members of the official hierarchy—and even a high official of the most excellent administration may be very ignorant of science—have attempted to treat science much as St. Columba treated the practical experience of St. Oran. The story is told in full in a comparatively late Irish life of Columba and is barely hinted at in more authentic documents. It seems to me, however, to bear in its primitive simplicity the impress of truth. No mere hagiologist would ever have invented such a story. Here is the story. An important religious work was to be undertaken on the island of Iona and it had been decided that one man must die for the community and become its guardian spirit. St. Columba called for volunteers and St. Oran, who is said to have been his brother, offered himself. St. Oran was accordingly buried alive. After three days St. Columba caused the grave to be opened. St. Oran was not dead, but thought he was. He opened his eyes and said, "There is no mystery in death and Hell is not like what it was said to be." St. Columba, doubtless thinking that his brother was possessed

of a devil, cried out in alarm, "Earth, earth on the eyes of Oran, lest he blab more!" And so it was done. "Earth on the eyes of Oran" has become a proverb in Gaelic.

I had recently in London an opportunity of discussing the position of zoology in this country with one of the greatest of living zoologists. He maintained that zoology should not be encouraged in India until India was in a position to do independent work. By independent work he meant research independent of official control. Apart from all personal considerations, I was unable to agree with him, for I see no way of fostering zoological research at present in India but through the agency of Government. It is quite true that no branch of science can be said to be on a sound basis unless it is independent, and that the flame of research must burn feebly so long as it is not fed by the spirit of individuality. Moreover, the age has not yet come in which the true value of the independence of science will be appreciated by the powers that be. Science and officialdom are as antagonistic as the mongoose and the snake, but officialdom in its dangerous form is a matter of the spirit rather than of material conditions. To confound government with officialdom is a mistake. No government that consisted merely of officialdom could exist for a month. I prefer to regard red-tape as the excreta of government. It is unfair to judge any organism by its excreta, nor is it fair to confound the Imperial policy with the tactics of some harassed secretary afflicted with a dysentery of notes and minutes and trembling at the name of the Finance Department. Zoology throughout the world owes a great debt to the Government of India as the only government that has founded a zoological survey on a basis of pure research. At the present time zoological posts sanctioned in previous years are kept vacant in Great Britain in the interests of so-called economy, while in India the Government is at any rate attempting to place zoological research on a sound financial basis. The constitution of the Indian Museum is

now, especially in the matter of zoology, much more liberal than that of the British Museum from which it was originally copied. We have, therefore, in India justification for the hope of a brighter age. With faith in our calling and hope in its future we zoologists are in a very strong position.

In the whole course of human history there is nothing that has caused more waste of genius, the rarest and most precious of human possessions, than the opposition of officialdom to the progress of knowledge; but even in our struggle with the spirit of officialdom we must preserve two essential qualities, reason and good humour—which does not exclude a sympathetic understanding of shortcomings, both our own and those of others. The lack of reason in scientific men has done almost as much harm as the ignorance and stupidity of officials. Charity is not only a virtue but also a very powerful weapon in the cause of science, which is the cause of truth. The Scot's half-reverential pity for the Devil (the great Adversary, but for all that the "puir De'il"), has done good work for morality and efficiency. The fever of fanaticism is all-powerful in initiative, but in the end produces without fail an antitoxin of officialdom. Science can afford to be magnanimous, and the petty politics of the passing hour need not concern us. Truth is great and will prevail. Whatever may be our political views, whatever our race, or creed, or caste, Pope's words stand true in science:—

"For Forms of Government let fools contest;
What'er is best administered is best:
For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right:
In Faith and Hope the World will disagree,
But all Mankind's concern is Charity."

N. ANNANDALE

INDIAN BANKING REFORM

One need not labour hard to prove that the existing banking system of India needs thorough reform. There is hardly "a banking system" worth its name. A banking system where the several component banks remember their close affinity of relations and extend mutual sympathy and help is absent in this country. India does not possess a close-knit banking organisation as in the case of Germany, Japan, France or the United States of America. This absence of "thirst for system or wholeness or close-knit organisation" which is so characteristic of Germany is chiefly due to the tendency of the Indian banks to do business "each for itself." The Indian Exchange Banks, the Presidency Banks and the Indian Joint-Stock Banks work severally and not collectively. The latter have striven hard to protect their business from competition with the Presidency Banks; which have never helped the Indian Joint-Stock Banks either with wholesome advice or money at their hour of trial.

These Banks copy the tendency of the English Banks which justify their existence solely on the ground of profits. They aim at becoming professional bankers having no connection with industrial finance. It is true that short-term loans are granted to industries but they never sacrifice the principles of safety and liquidity of assets which commercial banks have always to keep in view. But commercial banks alone will not create the needed credit for our agriculture and nascent industries. New banks should arise to satisfy the needs of small men and small industries. Just as the Co-operative Credit movement of our country is borrowed from Germany, the German feature of close relationship between industry, finance and transportation is also worth imitation. Indian economic development cannot be fostered unless there is a close alliance between banks and industries

as in the case of Germany or Japan. Either new Industrial Banks having nothing to do with short-dated deposits should arise or the existing Banks should take up industrial financing. The Government of India should prevent by legislation a repetition of the previous disasters.

That the Indian Banks have borrowed, copied and translated the chief features of the English Banks is an undisputed fact. They have copied the tendency of the English Banks in having huge Authorised Capital, a part of which is subscribed and out of which very little is paid-up at the beginning. Like the English Banks, the Indian Banks wish to trade largely on credit. The Government of India have followed the Government of the United Kingdom in their *laissez-faire* policy in the matter of banking business. Imitation for imitation's sake has produced unworthy specimens. The superficial elements alone have been copied while the really vital and progressive features of English Banking have not been engrafted on our system. Banker's Associations, Banker's Institutes and Banker's guilds have not been created on the English model. The Presidency Banks were only in a very remote sense the guardians of the whole system. They were not full-fledged Central Banks acknowledging all their responsibilities. The present Imperial Bank of India itself does not possess the traditional glory, respect and power enjoyed by the Bank of England in the London Money Market. There is a noteworthy absence of control either by the Government or by a Banker's Association.

Again a part of the financial system alone has been imitated. The Indian Banks are merely pursuing commercial business. In England besides Banks, there are trustworthy promoters, capable underwriters and issuing houses so that industrial companies derive invaluable aid from them. It is but natural that the Indian industrialists would look forward to their banks for this kind of business also, owing to the absence of these specialising concerns.

India made an unhappy choice in selecting the English Banking system as her prototype. The progress of Japan has been due to her selecting the salient features of nearly every banking system in the world and engrafting them on her own banking conditions. The specialising tendency visible in the English Banking system is noticeable in Japan. It has imitated the model of the French mortgage Banks, *e.g.*, The Credit Mobilier and the Credit Foncier of France. It has copied the useful branch-bank system. It has borrowed the continental system of close relationship between the small banks and the Central Banks. It committed the mistake of imitating the U. S. A. National Banking system and after a short trial it gave it up for the Central Banking system with the Imperial Bank of Japan as the crowning head of the whole fabric. The whole credit system was thoroughly organised by banking experts borrowed from foreign countries. State help and control enabled the banking system to work well.

The Indian Banking system should be thoroughly overhauled and re-organised on an improved basis. The materials already exist. The Imperial Bank of India can be utilised as the keystone of the whole arch and the other banking concerns should know definitely their own duties and the help they can expect from this Central Bank. Credit for the rich and the poor and for the big and small industrialists should be created by the existing banking institutions or fresh ones that may arise in the future. The Government of India should see that there is no abuse of the word "bank" as in the past and by restraining legislation, smooth the progress of the banks. An attempt should be made to profit from the experience of the Continental countries by copying all their deserving features. The English banking model is not the best model nor is it suitable to our present needs. Keynes was quite correct when he wrote that England's was the worst currency model that India could imitate. Even in

the matter of banking business the Indian people should realise that their salvation lies in selecting the salient features of all banking systems and adopting or adapting as Japan has done.

The existing Indian Banks can be divided into three classes. The Imperial Bank of India, the friend and ally of the Government of India, the foreign banks and the local Indian Banks. The Imperial Bank of India finances the internal trade of India to a great extent by discounting commercial bills. It lends money on raw produce and imported goods. The Foreign Banks develop Indian trade with their own countries and naturally assist their own countrymen. It is only with their surplus money that they give help to Indian Industries carried on, on a large scale. The local banks slavishly imitate the Presidency Banks and conduct commercial banking business. They lend money on zemindary properties in preference to Indian Industrial securities.

Many of these Banks are managed by foreigners who only come into contact "with a few of the aristocracy" and so ordinary traders and small industrialists do not receive much help from them. So they have to pay high rates of interest for any accommodation they may get from the public and sometimes thriving industries suffer from insufficiency of capital. Industrial financing, thus is not on a sound and proper basis.

It is not the financing of Industries alone that is being neglected, but rural trade and credit is not properly designed and the existing banks do not care to change the existing methods of rural credit. It is growing more evident day by day that the present insufficiency and waste involved in our export trade business should be rectified as early as possible. Our export trade is left to the mercy of funds outside the country. As in "capital poor countries" our export trade is being financed by the importing country to a great extent. The big export and import houses are in the hands of Europeans

who employ their agents to collect produce from the interior and send it to the port stations whence they are shipped at their own risk and cost. The agents or *gomasthas* necessarily finance the cultivators from the beginning and the crop is hypothecated to them.

This system of financing our internal trade for exportation purposes is not to our best national interests. The chief harmful result of this process is that the foreign merchant houses are exploiting our agriculture in their own interests. Export of rice and wheat is increasing while their production is not on the increase at all. Cotton and jute cultivation is increasing while food production is not progressing satisfactorily. The production of non-food crops for export purposes is chiefly due to the influence of cash advances of the foreign merchant houses. Thus our economic prosperity is mainly dependent on these firms.

This system of exploiting agriculture in the interests of foreign exporters should be given up. The introduction of co-operative credit societies combined with co-operative sale societies will go a long way in remedying this state of affairs. The question of removing this rapacious middleman requires patient tackling for a long time. This is so far as rural trade and credit are concerned.

The same is the story with our international trade. The Exchange Banks finance the export trade bills with their funds attracted in London. They rediscount the D/A Bills in the London Money Market or with the Bank of England. The import bills are also financed by the Head office of the Exchange Banks. This is indeed a danger.

Every one of these Banks is the offspring of European countries, Japan or America. They have steadily taken up the financing of our external trade with their countries. They are alive to the interests of their own countries. They display no keen desire to take part in the economic reorganisation of our country. They evidently do not harbour

any ambitious national programme for India's uplift. These Banks remain distinctively foreign, much the same as they were at the start. They are more willing to help their own countrymen and trade with European business companies and are not anxious to attract the accounts of small and young firms started by the Indian people. It has been repeated several times by competent men that an Indian firm trading under a European designation, is more fortunate in obtaining accommodation from the existing Banks. These are some of the drawbacks of the existing powerful Banks.

It is indeed high time that our banking system should be re-organised on a healthy basis giving scope for the proper mobilisation of our money. The healthy development of our trade, the careful promotion of our industries, a wise economy of our precious metals and a real increase of our national wealth—these are the problems that a soundly organised Banking system has to solve.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

BENARES

Hail, Kashi! hail, imperishable Queen,
Mysterious, shining through the mists of Time,
To Age opposing a perennial prime!
Nor is, nor will be, nor hath ever been
Aught like to thee or dreamt, or heard, or seen
Earthly yet not of Earth, but poised sublime
On Shiva's trident, thine all-healing clime
Hath God ordained as Mercy's own demesne.

Though thou, alas, thy blessing dost deny
To alien, and thy shrines forbid his tread,
Though he revere and love thee e'en as I,
Or with thy cloistered Brahmans long have read,
He still thy hallowed name will magnify,
Since all may quaff thine ancient fountain-head.

THE PANDIT

The heart of India's truest self I sought,
That gracious blend of faith in gods untold
With visions of the One, of manifold
Philosophies and schools of subtlest thought
With tolerance and the gentle kindness taught,
With otherworldliness and scorn of gold,
By all those saints and seers in days of old
Whose oneness with the One Ind's fame hath wrought.

I sought it for the lesson it might hold
For careworn souls elsewhere, for aye distraught
With getting ; but, so changed is Ind, I caught
No glimpse of what I quested and extolled
Until mine eyes were opened to behold,
Within the Pandit's breast, the heart I sought.

TAT TVAM ASI

The flowery tarn, icebound amid the snows,
The high, unmelting snows of Himalay ;
The stately Ganges, sweeping on her way
Through burning plains that bless her as she flows ;
The sparkling dewdrop nestling in the rose,
The creeping mist, the bow's refulgent ray—
Howe'er diverse, one nature all display,
And oneness with the Ocean's self disclose.

Thus thou with Him art One, O tiny Soul,
That now Earth's blindness fain would count as mine ;
Existence there is none apart from Him
Whose quickening breath, eternal and divine,
Through all of Life doth breathe, all Nature brim,
Creator and created, part and Whole.

D. B. SPOONER

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, PAST AND FUTURE

Pierre Loti came to India and wrote "*L'Inde sans les Anglais*"—India without the English. It was at the time of the Boer War and not long after Fashoda. The minds of Frenchmen were then sore against the English, which disposed them to approval of the lordly snub administered by their famous countryman; but it is a question whether Loti would not have been moved to the same *geste*, if Fate had brought him to India in 1919 instead of in 1900. From the dim chambers of one's remorseful mind there comes a voice saying that he probably would have been. We English have done wonderful things in India; our race may well be proud of its record; but we have left things undone that we should have done, whether from being too absorbed in material matters to have time to attend to them, or as too deficient in some quality of the imaginative mind ever to think of them.

Of the kind of thing that we have left undone this is as good an example as any. We have not established a copyright library. As I am writing for people, many of whom are not familiar with that term, I may explain what a copyright library is. It is one upon which the law of a country confers the privilege of receiving a copy *gratis* of every book published in the country. There are five such libraries in the United Kingdom—the British Museum Library in London, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and Trinity College Library, Dublin. They have nothing whatever to pay for the books published in Great Britain and Ireland. When they buy books, they are the publications of other countries.

The strange thing is that, though there is no copyright library in India, there are two libraries that have the privilege of copyright libraries for everything published in India.

They are neither of them in India. One is the British Museum Library, the other is the India Office Library. Under the Press and Regulation of Books Act, 1867, passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, both those libraries are entitled to a *gratis* copy of everything published in India. Had the Imperial Library been in existence in 1867, there can be no doubt that it would have had the same privilege conferred upon it. The least imaginative could not have overlooked it. The thought of creating such a library then, seeing that one did not already exist, ought not to have called for too great a stretch of the imagination; but it did. Lest someone should accuse me, in my turn, of a failure of imagination, saying: "Why do you not suggest that the books in the British Museum or at the India Office should be packed up and sent back to India?" I would say before I pass on that I do suggest that. It is obviously the only way in which to atone to India for a great error.

My contention that we have been unimaginative is one that I wish to drive home. I will explain in a moment why I do. We have shown our unimaginativeness in other ways, and the instance that I am about to give, a homely one, will perhaps appeal more to people. Lord Curzon presented some valuable books to the Imperial Library. He directed that they should be kept in the Reading Room, in a bookcase by themselves, and he gave as his reason that he wished other Viceroys, seeing them there, "to go and do likewise." (His Lordship's own words—I would not dare put such common words in his mouth.) Lord Curzon could not conceive of any Viceroy as not deeply interested in so radical a part of the provision for the intellectual and spiritual advancement of India as the chief library in the country, and (apart from the utter misunderstanding of Viceroys in general) his thought was right; yet the fact is that no other Viceroy has yet set foot in the library, nor shown any interest in it. A Governor of Bengal visited it once—Lord Carmichael—but he came at

our special desire, and he never came again. He would send to us, when he wanted a quotation from Dante verified, and would set us wondering, as the verse was obviously not one to quote in a public speech, to what fair correspondent he was writing; but he never helped us in any way, though in his time, and though we let him know it, we had very pressing need of help that he could have rendered.

I would extend the accusation. Individual Englishmen have desired to help us, have even deeply desired to do so; but there has been too heavy a mass of indifference for anything of great moment to be done. The late Mr. Harinath De, the second Librarian, asked that the library should be made a copyright library. That was fifteen years ago. It is not even now one; but we are glad to say that there is a promise that it shall be one soon.

The state of the case was put most briefly by Mr. Van Manen, the Officiating Librarian from 1919 to 1921. Writing to me early in the last year he said: "the fact is, nobody is interested in the library."

The point of my driving this contention home so is simple. We English have not done too well; but a new hour has struck. The future lies with the Indians themselves. Let them do better. It is a reasonable hope that the interest that the library serves, the cultivation of the things of the mind and spirit, will appeal more to them than it has done to us.

The Past.

I wish to make better known what the institution is for which I am pleading, and I cannot do that better than by briefly recounting its history. It was founded by the Government of India, at Lord Curzon's instigation, in 1902. He had found in India no working-place for students of the religion, philosophy, and history of India that could for a moment be compared with the British Museum, or the India Office

Library, or a score of other libraries in Europe. There was very possibly a greater mass of books on India in Berlin at that time than anywhere in India. All we had were the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Madras Literary Society's Library; all relatively small collections, and all private. There was one other—the Secretariat Library—and it was on the foundation of it that Lord Curzon proposed to build.

There was another library, the Calcutta Public Library. It was important from Lord Curzon's point of view, but not because of the books in it, which were novels for the greater part, but because of its building—Metcalfe Hall, built by public subscription in Lord Auckland's day. It was much too small to be thought of as more than a temporary home for the Imperial Library; but it would serve admirably as that, and Lord Curzon secured it, with as many of the books in it as were worth keeping.

A building sufficient for a time, the Secretariat Library, a very valuable collection of about 10,000 volumes, most of them about India, and the books of the Calcutta Public Library, when the weeding-out was finished, about 10,000 volumes—those were what we began with twenty years ago. It was something, indeed it was a great deal; but if an Imperial Library had been founded in the time of Warren Hastings, which surely it should have been, by 1902 it would have grown so big, that Metcalfe Hall and 20,000 volumes would almost have been lost in it. So, though we had 20,000 volumes, they were but a fraction of what were wanted, and not a single book of them had been catalogued.

We have many catalogues now, and the advance that has been made in the twenty years can be sufficiently shown by an enumeration of them, and the number of entries in them. Some parts of the library have not yet been catalogued. I will add a summary of them.

Catalogues.

			Entries.
Author-Catalogue of Printed Books in European Languages. With a supplementary list of newspapers.	2 Vols.	1904	24,600
———First Supplement ...	2 „	1917-18	20,000
———Card Catalogue of accessions			15,400
Subject-Index	2 „	1908-10	31,000
———Card Catalogue of accessions			17,600
Card Catalogue of Sanskrit Books ...			2,600
———Bengali Books ...			4,900
Maps			600

Not Catalogued.

Books in European Languages ...	2,000 Vols.
British Parliamentary Blue Books ...	10,000 „
Indian Official Publications ...	50.000 „
United States Congressional Documents	8,000 „
Persian Printed Books ...	(Not counted.)
Urdu Printed Books ...	(Not counted.)
Sanskrit MSS. ...	310

Then as to the constitution and rules of the Library. Many a man has said: "How can I become a member of the Library?" Our answer always is: "You are already a member: you have been a member since you reached the age of 18 years. You only have not known it; but you know it now, and you can begin to make use of the privilege." It is true: every person in India, who is 18 years of age, is a member of the Imperial Library. He or she may walk in whenever it pleases them, and they may take books from it to read at home. If people cannot come, they may have books sent to them. We have sent books as far as to the frontiers of India, and even beyond them. A collection of autographs could be made from our files, which would include the

signatures of almost all the notable men in India, whose "trade" compels them to make use of books. They would be men as wide apart as the late Mr. Gokhale and Sir Aurel Stein, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Principal Woolner, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, and Dr. Gour, Sir Michael Sadler and Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, the late Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Salauddin Khuda Bukhsh and the Secretary to the Jain Digambara Sidh Kshetra Sri. The autograph of the last was as quaint a document as one could wish to see. It ran, all without punctuation, as follows: "It was most lucky and cheerful day for me that I visited your Library on the 16th May 1918 last and during the visit I found your manage so nicely arranged that is unmentionable."

The Future.

The thought that I should write this paper arose out of a visit paid the other day to the Library by Mr. S. K. Agasti, an old friend, and one whom he had brought, Rai Bahadur Radhachurn Pal. These two gentlemen came to ask what we most wanted people to do for us. "Two things," we replied.

We want another building, and for two reasons. The first is that we have so outgrown the accommodation of Metcalfe Hall, that it is now no longer only a question of how to re-arrange the shelving so as to make room for more. We are crowded to such an extent that we cannot do our work properly. There is no need, however, to dwell on one reason, when there is another, and much stronger one.

The other reason is that the Library is being *ruined* by the perishing of the paper of the books. That is not a rhetorical exaggeration, but the literal fact. There is a remedy. It is to have the books transferred to a building in which, by means of an air-conditioning plant, the atmosphere could be rendered innocuous to paper. A uniform temperature and humidity would be maintained, those proved to be the best for paper.

Conditions could be obtained that would be as favourable to paper as those of London or Paris, and there is no reason why they should not be more favourable.

For all the talk there has been about the perishing of paper, it is still far from generally known how completely and utterly a book may perish. Dr. Fermor remarked to me only the other day, that he understood that I contemplated a building for the Imperial Library that should be so large as to provide space in which other librarians in Calcutta should keep anything of great value that was perishing. He went on to say that he and his colleagues, the officials of the Geological Survey of India, would rather have their books close at hand, and let them perish. His thought was that, however books might have perished, they would still be legible. Now a time would come, and it might be soon, when they would not be. A book that has not perished may be thrown on the floor a dozen or twenty or a hundred times. It might part company with the binding; it might become a collection of loose pages, but it would still be perfectly legible. Let a perished book fall to the floor once, if you are to pick it all up, you must get a shovel and a fine brush. And books perish as completely, turn, that is, to fine dust, while standing, never touched, on shelves. It is not necessary that someone should have let them fall.

The other thing that we wish people to do for us, is to prevent effect being given to a proposal that has been made once, and will no doubt be heard of again—the proposal that the Imperial Library should be moved to Delhi. That would be a wrong thing to do. If it is not to be done, it can only be by persuading people not to do it. Those, first, who have made the proposal, and whose good intention in making it I should be the last to doubt, and, secondly, those other members of the Legislative Assemblies without whose support and votes the proposal could not be carried. That means persuading the educated public of India generally.

There are people who quite honestly think (it is true that they have not thought much about it) that a library simply cannot be the Imperial Library in India if it is not at Delhi. What makes a thing imperial, they think, is precisely its being at the capital. That is not so. Where a thing is counts in itself for nothing. What counts is the service the thing renders. If an institution serves a whole empire, it is imperial, whether it be an army, a library, a geological, zoological, trigonometrical, or other survey, or what.

Consider this. There were admittedly imperial services in India when Calcutta was the capital. Their headquarters were then in Calcutta, or if they were elsewhere, it was not at Delhi. Did they all cease to be imperial, and become local, the moment Calcutta ceased to be the capital, and will they remain local until their headquarters are set up at Delhi. Most of them never will be, and possibly not one of them ever will be.

If being at Delhi was what made an institution in India imperial, then there would now be no imperial institutions in India except such as the sweet-meat shops of the Delhi bazars.

To pass on. What made our library an imperial library from 1903 to 1911 was not its being in Calcutta, but its serving all India, and it is because it serves all India still that it is imperial. It serves all India by sending its books all over India. It could do that as well from Delhi. It serves all India by acquiring books on an imperial, not a local, scale. If it were only a question of money, that could be done as well in Delhi; but it is not only a question of money. To acquire books on an imperial scale is a question of *knowledge* as well as money. There are so many books published in the world, that amounts even larger than our grants could be spent in getting books, not one of which would be of use to any one in India. It would not even be a feat of Mephistophelean ingenuity; it could easily be done.

You must not look to find so much knowledge in the head of a librarian, or in the combined heads of the members of any library staff. The librarian, if the right books are to be acquired, must be in such a position as that of the Chief Librarian of the British Musuem, a man surrounded by carefully chosen representatives of the students of practically every subject that man is studying. The Librarian of the Imperial Library is in very much such a position, while the library remains in Calcutta, and he would be in much such a position, if it were removed to Bombay. He would not be, if it were moved to Delhi, or to the middle of the Sahara Desert. It must not be moved to any place in which the librarian would not be in easy contact with such men as the professors of the Calcutta University and the Calcutta Colleges, the officers of the Geological, Zoological, and other surveys, the medical men, the schoolmasters, and so on. The circle required is even larger than that, for at any moment the man whom a librarian may want to consult may be a manufacturer, or a merchant.

It is, too, not only in connexion with the acquisition of books that there must be men at hand for the librarian to consult. He must be helped in an even more important thing—the indexing of the books. It is a more important matter, and a much more difficult matter. It is more important, because if books in a library are not indexed, most of them will remain unread. The people who would read them have no means of ascertaining that they are there. It is more difficult, because it calls for so much more knowledge.

If the books in a library are to be indexed, it must be largely with the help of volunteers. The London Library Index was compiled with the help of such persons as Professor Ingram Bywater, Dr. Adolphus William Ward, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Miss Lee, Dr. Cowley, Professor Bury, and many another.

The argument having led me to the subject of the volunteer labour in a library without which indispensable work cannot be done, this is a good place in which to speak of volunteer labour that hardly belongs to that class. There is always more work to be done in a library than the permanent staff can get through. It may not be work that *must* be done, but it is very valuable. There is hardly anything that can be done in a library that does not prove of value to someone or another, and the number of possible things to do is almost infinite. If they were all done by paid men, the cost would be more than could be borne: so your librarian is always looking about for volunteers. I do so. Perhaps I have not done so in the past as much as I should have done. But work has been done in the Imperial Library by volunteers, and I am confident that more and more will be done. That is, *if the library remains in Calcutta, and is not transplanted to where there are not many educated people.* I hope that is not an unfair description of Delhi.

I will conclude with one more argument against the transfer of the Imperial Library to Delhi. As I have said, it is what an institution does, and not where it is that makes it imperial. So, apart from the acquisition and indexing of books, and getting volunteer labour, it may be said that it does not matter where an imperial library is. *But wherever it is, and it must be somewhere, it will benefit the people of the locality most of all.* There is, then, an obvious advantage in having it in a large city, in a densely populated province. To put it at its very lowest—you want to get as good a return as possible for all the money spent on an imperial library. The money is provided by the whole empire. You cannot have the library everywhere, so that no division of the people should benefit more than others. One division must benefit most of all. Surely there is wisdom in making it the largest you can find? And when that division has been found, and the library has been long established

among those people, surely there is wisdom in leaving it alone?

Some people will say, no doubt, that all this argument only means that Mr. Chapman does not want to live in Delhi himself. It is not so. I should much prefer to live in Delhi.

J. A. CHAPMAN

THE MAN OF STRAW

(*From Sanskrit*)

The lightest things upon this earth
are thistle-down and straw;
No man may guess the path they trace,
they know but Vāyu's law.
But yet the beggar, whom all know
a man of straw to be,
Keeps on his feet through fiercest storms:
can't you the reason see?
Vāyu is sore afraid, he knows
the beggar's little game,
In mid-space e'en he'd beg from him;
so dead he is to shame.

POST-GRADUATE

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT I; SCENE II

[*Scene.* Near the Harbour Wharf, Cæsrea, Habban (an Indian Merchant) and Isaac (a Jewish Merchant) discovered.]

Habban—

Nay, for so low a price I dare not give
The Maharajah's diamond. Look again!
Feast thy keen eyes upon the glittering gem.
What size, what flawless purity is here!
Worth half thy temple's treasure, nay the whole.
Isaac. in life's short limit such a chance
Comes once, once only to the luckiest.

Isaac—

O brother Habban, be not too exact
With us poor Cæsarean merchantmen.
Have I not offered thee a goodly price,
One hundred talents, half as much again
As half my substance? Yet I add ten more.

Habban—

Salaam! may be our brother Abraham
Will by more generous offer prove himself
The worthier to possess the priceless stone.

Isaac—

O Habban, stay! though it should ruin me,
I add another five—give me the gem.

Habban—

For twenty more I give it—not a mite
Under that sum may such a diamond buy.

Isaac (coming closer)—

Have we not always been the best of friends?
Have I not sold for friendship's sake, dear Habban,
To thee at my own loss? Dost mind that carpet?
'Tis a life's sorrow thus I let it go!

Habban—

My price is but to mine own self unfair,
And should be thrice as heavy, did my time
Admit delay. Already I should be gone,
And, tide what will, my ship must sail to-night.

Isaac—

Habban, of that twice ten I grant thee nine.

Habban—

A bargain, write; the diamond, it is thine;
And thou hast half the wealth of Lydia.

(*Isaac tremblingly writes money order and grabs at the diamond.*)

Habban (giving money order to servant)—

Draw from the bank these monies, then return,
Bearing the golden talents to the ship.

[*Exit servant.*

Isaac (gleefully)—

This is the day, the day the Lord hath made!

(*Enter St. Thomas, and passing Isaac.*)

St. Thomas—

This night thy soul may be required of thee,
Then whose shall be the wealth thou gloriest in?

[*Exit Isaac with a gesture of indifference.*

Habban—

Doth sight deceive me? Thomas Didymus!

Thomas—

Friend Habban, greeting! Peace be unto thee!

Habban—

Salaam, Mahatmaji! such happy chance
I did not look for, but 'tis omen good
To speed me in my parting from these shores.

Thomas—

So soon thou leavest? When and whither bound?

Habban—

This very night, and where but India?

Thomas—

To India! My fate has met me now.
O Lord, thy will is mighty and prevails
Howe'er men strive against it. I have striven
Since those dread lots in solemn hush were cast,
The world dividing in as many parts
As we are numbered, unto each his share—
To me the mighty plains of India.
And e'en as Jonah shrank from Nineveh
So I from this allotment. How should I,
A Hebrew, teach the dark-skinned multitudes
Of those vast regions towards the rising sun—
How face a people fierce and barbarous?

Habban—

Didst thou in me so read my countrymen?

Thomas—

O gentle Habban, that thy gentleness
Were child of what it seems, the gracious fruit
Of true believing! Yet 'twill come to pass.
But to my own sad tale—I turned away
From that great beckoning out to bring the light
To India's darkness, and took ship instead
To Media—thence to Ethiopia—
To Persians and to Bactrians preached the word,
The Spirit working with me mightily,
Though fleeing from the presence of the Lord.
His thirst for these prevailing against His wrath
On my perverseness. He made use of me
To bring His scattered sheep into His fold.
But, once returned to Jerusalem,
I saw Him in a vision of the night:
Then hid my face and heard His voice again:
"Go now to India, and to those who sit
In darkness, bring the light of endless life."
Then answered I, "Lord, wheresoe'er Thou wilt,
So be it not India!" and the Voice replied,
"Fear not—in thee I will be glorified
And, though thou suffer, will be with thee there.
And when before her nations and her tribes
Thou hast confest my Name, will summon thee
Thence to my Kingdom and thy great reward."
Whereat I murmured, "Lord, Thy will be done";
And taking leave of Peter and the rest
Came straightway hither, by the grace of God.
Scorning temptation's whisper to look back
When once my hand was set unto the plough.
And, Habban, thou those voices once for all
Hast put to silence. Here I find my way
Prepared and ready: and I am ready now
Thy ship waits yonder not for thee alone—
To-night with thee I sail to India.

Habban—

Ishwar be praised ! first for His gift to me
Of thy companionship on watery wastes,
Pledge of safe voyage and propitious winds ;
Next that I now with forehead unabased,
Can in my master's presence-chamber stand ;
For should he at the prices of his gems
Be ill-content, and like a thundercloud
His frown be on his servant, the sky
Shall clear to sunshine on beholding thee.

Thomas—

How should a stranger move him thus to joy ?

Habban—

I shall present thee to his royal grace
Thus saying, " Behold from far Jerusalem
A mighty *Sadhu* and a master hand
In art of building and masonic skill,
Who straightway will at thy command erect
A palace to surpass thy loftiest dream !

Thomas—

Nay, in such craft I have but little skill
My masonry is otherwise applied
And goes to build the New Jerusalem.

(*Re-enter servant.*)

Servant—

The bags of gold are safe within the ship.
The Captain bids my master come with haste,
Since he would anchor weigh at turn of tide.

Habban—

Tell him I come. (*to Thomas*) And thou ?

Thomas—

I go, content
To kiss the coral shores of India.

[*Exeunt.*

(*Sunset glow—flute music—a voice singing.*)

Homeland and hills of mine,
Steeped in the sunset's glow,
Regrets more sweet than you enshrine
No exile's heart can know.

On half my life to-day
The evening shadow falls,
Hands beckon out from far away;
I hear a Voice that calls.

Bring to the barren mount,
Bring to the thirsty plain,
The living well, the sparkling fount,
The gracious letter rain.

So be it—but eyes must weep,
So be it—but hearts must break;
'Twixt two must roll the boundless deep
For a far-off people's sake.

Pass from me, homeland mine.
Fade with the purple glow!
Christ, walk upon the darkening brine,
And meet me where I go!

(*Enter Salome and Mary Magdalene: from the other wing men carrying a stretcher.*)

Mary Magdalene (recoiling)—

Ah, who has come to this untimely end—
What soul launched out into Eternity
Less the great tidings and the Faith that save?

Man in the crowd—

Isaac the Jew—he perished suddenly—
Richest of Cæsarea's merchantmen :
A lonely soul withal—he hath no kin.

Mary—

Pity the souls, O Christ, who know Thee not !

[*Exit crowd, etc.*

(*Enter a fisherman and child.*)

Child (running up to Mary)—

O lovely, see what I have found !
It glittered on the roadway in the dust.

(*Shows Maharajah's diamond.*)

Mary (to fisherman)—

It is a wondrous stone. Is this thy child ?

Fisherman—

Ay. Though no fish came to my net to-day,
Belike the toy will pay me for my loss.

Mary (giving it back)—

There is a pearl so wondrous that the wise
Sell all they have to buy it. 'Tis in reach
Of the most childlike and the lowliest.

Salome—

Mary, we must not tarry on our quest,
If we of Thomas yet would take farewell.
God grant we be in time ! (*to fisherman*) pray, honest friend,
Sails any ship these days to India ?

Fisherman—

But now one weighs her anchor. Yonder, see,
Habban the merchant sails for India—
Gone with one Thomas of Jerusalem !

(*Salome sinks on her knees. The Magdalene gives a cry of anguish and stretches out her arms towards the sea, where a ship is seen slowly moving outward.*)

END OF ACT I.

(*To be continued.*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

AUGUST STRINDBERG

III

The Inferno-period—1894-1896

We have slightly deviated from the strict chronological order of events by our references to Strindberg's dramas written after 1896 in order to deal with the question of "theme and treatment" as a continuous narrative and have also noted a significant change in his attitude towards certain problems and in his general outlook on life.[1]

We must now glance back at the particular stage in his life history which is connected with the alarming symptoms of an unbalanced mental condition that began to show themselves in a mild form so early as the year 1884[2] when he entered upon the first phase of his literary career. Premonitory symptoms of mental derangement appeared now and then long before the final break-down of 1894-95.

We have to briefly touch on significant facts in his previous life history which alone can furnish a satisfactory explanation of the baffling problem of his great spiritual crisis at this stage of his growth.

All his life Strindberg was nervously sensitive to impressions, subject to sudden emotional explosions and unusually defiant in spirit.

Never could he trudge regularly along the beaten path of life. His was, indeed, a woe-begone soul wandering lonely like an Ishmael in the pathless desert of human life, possessing a cosmic consciousness bent upon the liberation of his own self as well as of the world at large and always goaded to fitful activity by the chaotic elemental energy to

[1] *Cf.* pp. 119, 121 and 122 of January Number of the Calcutta Review, Vol. II, No. 1.

[2] *Cf.* p. 59 of October Number of the Calcutta Review, Vol. I, No. 1.

create and destroy. A strange strain of wildness and rebellion runs through his whole career. He attacked every body, every system, every idea with corrosive bitterness and revolutionary recklessness.

The nomadic barbarism of this eccentric personality perplexed the critics who hastily condemned him as a loathsome *parvenu* and blasphemous maniac—nay, as the evil incarnate.

Strongly subjective in temperament, he fell at the early age of *nine* desperately in love in a Byronic fashion with the Head Master's little daughter while at the Klara School and again at *fifteen* with a woman twice his age and by the time he reached his *twentieth* year he managed to complete his *eighth* love-affair!

His father's marriage with the house-keeper after his mother's death when he was only thirteen plunged him into morbid moodiness.

At the age of twenty he felt the attractions of the free artistic life on the stage irresistibly but was quickly disillusioned and at once decided on suicide. At another time he feared that he was losing his mental balance and actually applied for admission to an asylum. While at the Upsala University (1867-72) like Shelley he set at naught all academical routine.

As early as 1866 he had become a pronounced free-thinker who cared little for current morals, accepted conventions, social decorum, respectability, restraint on natural impulse or even self-gratification and flung with cynical candour to the winds all reticence on sexual matters. The influence of Byron and Schiller made his revolt complete. It was now that the poison of scepticism entered deeply his very soul and he gave to the world three dramas on religious rebellion and on the conflict between the spirit and the accepted dogmas of the church, such as, "The Free-thinker" (1869), "In Rome" (1870) and "Outlaw" (1871). His mental tension grew abnormally acute when he next produced "Master Olaf"

(1872)—a drama on the soul's crisis full of rebellious self-assertion and the spirit of revolution, combined with spiritual fervour at war with prudence, opportunism, superstition and the avarice of the church. This play is very significant as a remarkable drama of storm and stress.

Then for a time he became the centre of destructive criticism in society and art and of individualistic rebellion against the established order as the head of a Bohemian circle which met in the Red Room of Berns Restaurant and deliberately proposed to shatter even the established fame of Shakespeare as he had attempted to do that of Dante.

Poverty and struggle ever kept him company in the thousand walks of life into which his unsteady roving spirit and adverse circumstances successively drove him and doubt and discontent took a firm hold of his mind.

His amazing self-contradictions and inconsistencies in ideas and conduct form by themselves an interesting study and make his personality a veritable riddle to mediocre people, unsympathetic readers and conventional critics.

His sex-antagonism, for instance, was egoistic and in sex-relations he was a great sinner having lived too free a life. He may be charged with having injured women as a class and his representation of woman's character in his dramas, novels and short stories is neither quite correct nor fully just. "The Confession of a Fool" (1877-87) as an autobiographical novel contains a horrible confession regarding what he considered his ten years of hellish bondage in marriage and is full of abnormally hideous revelations of personal experiences. Here he is simply furious in his anathema against woman. Yet he was extremely susceptible to feminine charm and invariably fell at the feet of the first woman he came in contact with. At bottom he is an idealist in quest of his holy grail of true love. Similarly though laying himself open to the charge of being a blasphemous woman-hater full of profanities against the sacred tie of marriage and an anarchist regarding family

life, he, however, makes the child "the apotheosis of sexual union" and in "Sir Bengt's Wife" (1882) fully recognises the sterling merit of the sacred bond of marriage accepting the inviolable sanctity of "home" and evincing a striking appreciation of the spiritual function of motherhood. Again, all his ardent anti-feminism notwithstanding, in his "Real Utopias" (1885) we have the idealist's sublime vision in respect of the noble future of womanhood in which her claims to equal opportunities with man in every important sphere of life are freely and frankly accepted.

Though hardened by the intense cynicism of something like a misanthrope, his heart was deeply touched by the degradation and poverty of the submerged classes and his tender sympathy for the down-trodden became at times abnormally keen. He actually looked upon the regeneration of man as the one mission of his life. This merciless dissector of all human frailties always retained intact a heart throbbing with compassion.

Once he even became puritanical and extremely eager for *election* but soon there was a reaction against religious formalism and he freely gave himself up to jollity with boon companions and fell a victim to alcohol. This fit of self-indulgence over, he commenced a ruthless self-analysis with the exactitude and accuracy of a scientist surpassing Rousseau and Tolstoy in his bold, frank and truthful self-confession, perfectly free from the sickly sentimentalism of a Byron or an Amiel, and laying bare his failures, infirmities, whims, little slips and escapades as well as sins of a deeper dye with passionate self-accusation after the style of a religious flagellant like St. Augustine, Savonarola or Bunyan in such pieces as "Bondswoman's Son," "Fermentation Time," "In the Red Room" and "The Author"—all belonging to the period of the tumult of his soul (1886-87).

To these scattered evidences of an unbalanced mind we may add a few more facts to complete the picture of

the forces that conspired to bring on the awful crisis of 1894-95.

The influence of the Scandinavian rebel Björson whom Strindberg met at Paris about 1884 and temporarily acknowledged as his friend, philosopher and guide and the vengeful fury of his hostile critics in 1889-91 who raised a storm of indignation against him after his divorce with his first wife—Siri von Essen who had scandalously deserted her first husband Baron Wrangel, Captain of the Life Guards—had their share in creating a serious mental disturbance. To the awful experiences of a wild spirit roving without a fixed abode and fixed aim in life goaded by intellectual ferment and divine discontent were added terrible blunders in family matters and in relation to love affairs. These were combined with the pessimism and cynicism of a profane satirist and a merciless analyser and critic of things generally held sacred. Next followed the hallucinations of a delirious visionary haunted as a spiritualist and "medium" by the spectre of a persecution mania. On top of all these sufferings and trials came at last his second unhappy marriage in April 1893 with Fraülein Frida Uhl, the young Austrian girl in Berlin from Vienna and its bitter consequences. He headed straight towards the severe mental and moral crisis of 1894-95, the culminating point in the Inferno-period of his existence which meant a catastrophe of which the significance can hardly be over-rated.

Strindberg was all his life full of strange abnormalities usually associated with erratic genius which prove the greatest stumbling-block to success in life and internal peace as much as to the general appreciation of greatness in such a person.

Comparisons have been made between him and Rousseau (of the *Confessions* and *Reveries*) and, even if we pronounce him to have become temporarily insane, his madness must be considered to be of a peculiar type like that of Tasso, Cellini, Blake, Lamb or Poe.

Alienists have made a diagnosis of his psycho-pathological condition and given hard technical names to his morbid state. It was surely a case of hyperœsthesia making the patient particularly supersensitive to the occult. He possessed rare gifts of a somnambulistic consciousness, of telepathy and clair-audience but his knowledge of scientific psychical researches was extremely limited and his ideas of modern psychology very crude. He busied himself with uncanny experiments in his solitary laboratory—experiments in Physics and Chemistry were with him as with Shelley quite a rage—turned to medical studies to discover life's riddle and plunged recklessly into the Serbonian bog of Alchemy. He then claimed weird visions and abnormal psychical experiences to which he ascribed a supernatural origin and which he interpreted as full of spiritual import. His energies were also concentrated upon vigorous efforts to successfully combat the influence of his former materialistic mentality and sceptical tendency and though in a manner highly profitable to his further development the severe strain of the conflict brought on a serious nervous depression ending in a complete break-down.

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE ABBASIDS IN ASIA

III

As soon as the news of his father's illness reached Amin he sent a reliable friend to Khorasan with three letters which were to be delivered simultaneously on the news of the death of the Caliph. One was meant for Mamun, and contained an order for immediate homage and surrender of the governorship of Khorasan. The other two were for his younger brother Saleh and the *Wazir* Al-Fadhl Ibn Rabia, who was forthwith commanded to return with the army to Baghdad. On the death of his father Mamun, with a small portion of the troops, was in Merv, and it was therefore easy for Ibn Rabia, who was in Tus, to return home with the army. Although this was a distinct violation of the will of Harun, according to which the army was to be at the disposal of Mamun for fighting the rebels in Khorasan. When Mamun was informed of these happenings at Tus he, at the instance of his faithful Fadhl Ibn Sahl, sought to remind the troops of their duty to follow him. But his messenger was treated with scorn and had even to put up with many insults to his master. Now Mamun was faced with the alternative of either complete surrender or open defiance. Ibn Sahl counselled the latter course on the ground that Mamun, being of Persian descent, could always count upon Persian support. While Mamun was guided by Ibn Sahl, himself of Persian origin, Amin selected as his counsellor Ibn Rabia, of Syrian descent. The fight between the two brothers—scarcely of twenty-four summers—assumed a dangerous complexion by the fact that it was really waged by two men who were inspired by personal animosity and national hatred towards each other, and were aspiring to the *wazirat* like the two brothers who were intensely eager to snatch at the throne

Even in the past Ibn Rabia's father embodied the Arab hopes and aspirations. On the execution of Abu Muslim he was appointed *Wazir* by Mansur. Ibn Rabia was the bitterest enemy of the Barmacides (whom he strenuously strove to bring under the suspicion of being Magians), and to the Barmacides Ibn Sahl owed his position at the Court. The war between the two brothers and their Wazirs therefore assumed the character of a war between the East and the West, between the Persian and the Arab nationalities. Amin, led by Ibn Rabia, allowed himself to drift more and more into the path of violence. Only a portion of the provinces originally allotted to Kasim he permitted him to retain. He appointed his son Musa as third in the order of succession. Mamun, at last, broke openly with his brother, and set himself up as an independent ruler. Thereupon Amin entered into fresh negotiations with him. He suggested Mamun as second but Musa as first in the order of succession. He called upon Mamun to remit a portion of the revenue of Khorasan to him and to come to Baghdad to do homage to his nephew as the next Caliph of the Muslim world. Mamun hesitated, because, forsaken by the Caliph, he thought he could not alone fight the enemies in the East and the North of Khorasan: the prince of Kabul, the Khaqan and the rebellious Turkoman. Ibn Sahl, however, persuaded him to grant concessions to foreign enemies; even to form alliances with them, and all this to keep his hand free against Amin. Amin thereupon declared his brother a rebel, and caused homage to be done to his son Musa (810) as the first, and his second son Abdullah as next in the order of succession, and despatched 50,000 men to Persia against Mamun.

At Rai these troops were surprised by the Persian Tahir Ibn Husain, who commanded Mamun's vanguard. Their leader fell in the fight, and the army took to flight. Informed of this victory Mamun had himself proclaimed Caliph, and issued orders to Tahir to advance against Baghdad. Tahir,

after defeating a second army of Amin at Hamadan, advanced without opposition to the neighbourhood of Hulwan, where he took up a strong position. So great was the consternation at Baghdad that only with difficulty could Amin find generals to face or fight Tahir. When at last the army was on its way to Hulwan, Tahir caused a report to be circulated through his spies in the camp that Amin was lavishly distributing money among the garrison of the capital. This called forth great indignation among the troops, who refused to proceed further, and forthwith returned home. In two great divisions Mamun's forces now advanced nearer and nearer Baghdad: one division under Tahir from the south across Khuzistan, Basra and Wasit and another under Harthama, by the nearest route, across Khanikin and Nahrawan. After defeating the troops of Amin at Ahwaz, Tahir met with no serious resistance. Kufa, Basra and Wasit welcomed him with open arms. Even Arabia declared for Mamun. Harthama, who came from the north-east, won a victory over the enemy at Nahrawan, 12 miles from Baghdad, and took possession of the town. While Tahir, from south-east, advanced as far as Sarfar, nine miles from the capital.

Amin's troops chiefly consisted of the Iraqians who, on every occasion, proved themselves cowards and traitors. The Syrians, on whom he mainly relied in the war against the Khorasanis, looked upon this fratricidal feud with malicious joy, and sought to use it for shaking off the hateful Abbasid yoke. They would have succeeded too in their attempt had it not been for the ancient hatred between the Kaisite and the Kalbite, which stood in the way of their union and co-operation. After his attempt to bribe Tahir's troops had failed, Amin could do nothing but defend the capital as best he might. But one by one his generals went over to the enemy, and as early as March 812 Tahir obtained possession of a portion of the eastern Town. Nevertheless, on account of the many canals which intersected the town,

and the well-fortified castles which it contained within its walls, almost every street had to be conquered with the sword or destroyed by fire and throwing-machines with the result that the delightful residence of the Caliph was changed in this war into a dust-heap. A conspiracy in favour of Mamun failed because of the opposition of the people, who feared the Khorasanis. Thus the siege was protracted until September 813, when the eastern portion of the town was surrendered to the troops of Tahir, who soon crossed the Tigris and surrounded the City of Peace built by Mansur, wherein lay the castle of the Caliph.

At one time Amin, with his seven thousand Cavalry thought of bursting his way through the troops of Tahir, and repairing to Syria, but his suite dissuaded him from this course, and thus there was nothing left to him but to surrender. So great, however, was his aversion for Tahir, that he wished to surrender, not to him, but to Harthama. But when, on the night of the 24th of September, he was crossing the Tigris on a boat with Harthama to go over to his camp, he was pursued by Tahir's troops, who threw stones at the boat until it sank. Harthama was saved by a sailor, but Amin, who managed to swim across the bank, was seized and brought to a house where he was beheaded by some Persians. Possibly this was at the instance of Mamun. Possibly out of anger and resentment that he did not seek the protection of Tahir, Tahir had him killed. It is difficult to decide what the real motive was for the deed.

Amin's death did not, however, restore peace to the deeply-shaken empire. The treachery of Tahir provoked such anger in Baghdad that he could only save himself by a speedy flight. But when, once again, he occupied the town with re-inforced soldiery, unrest showed itself in the provinces, engineered by men who saw with indignation the Arabs and the old Muslim population of Iraq and Arabia ruled by the Persians, who were partly non-Muslims and partly recent

converts whose acceptance of Islam was neither genuine nor sincere.

Even the Alides made use of the aversion of the Arabs from the Persian regime, and put forward afresh their claims to the Caliphate. They gradually became masters of Rakkah, Kufah, Basra, Wasit and the whole of Arabia. In the spring of 815 they even occupied Madain, and arranged to advance against the capital. Their fall, however, was more sudden than their rise. As soon as Harthama assumed command of the troops of Mamun, he received at many places support even from the earlier adherents of the Alides themselves, who found with sorrow and grief that these descendants of the Prophet, like other rulers, yielded to violence, cruelty and all manner of excesses. But, for his brilliant feats of arms, Harthama was ill-paid. After his victory over the rebels he wished to travel to Mamun (who resided more and more in Merv), to advise him to repair to Iraq, to prevent fresh insurrection there, and to prevail upon him to appoint in place of the hated Persian Hasan Ibn Sahl, brother of Fadhl, another as governor of Iraq.

Fadhl, however, tried his utmost to thwart this intention. He represented to the Caliph that Harthama's long absence would spell disaster to Mamun's cause, and persuaded him to appoint Harthama governor of Syria and Arabia, and to issue orders to him forthwith to proceed to Damascus. But despite this Harthama,—relying upon the services rendered to the Caliph, and incited by his hatred for the sons of Sahl—made his journey to Merv. For this he was treated by Mamun as a rebel, and was thrown into prison, where, after a few days, Fadhl murdered him.

The murder of Harthama aroused in Baghdad and the whole of Iraq no less indignation than did the murder of Amin. Even before this shameful deed a mutiny of the soldiers—because of the reduction of their pay—had broken out in Baghdad and was put down with great difficulty.

Now fresh troubles arose, in which some of the disaffected generals of Hasan Ibn Sahl took part, and even Tahir —lying inactive at Rakkah and jealous of Hasan Ibn Sahl—was not altogether free from blame. The Prefect of Baghdad was expelled from the town (July-August, 816) and Fadhl Ibn Rabia—the hitherto concealed *wazir* of Amin—once again stepped into light and led the movement. In the battle against Hasan before the walls of Wasit, the rebel leader unfortunately fell, and his son, who assumed the chief command after him, was bribed by Hasan, with the result that he did not press the fight against him; in fact, he eventually went over to his side. In addition to this, the wealthy portion of the population were longing for peace; for the political confusion was made use of by the populace for the purposes of robbery and plunder.

Thus this insurrection, too, ended in a voluntary submission.

Mamun, however, soon flung fresh combustible material amidst the inflammable Arab population of Iraq, Syria and Mesopotamia. His *Wazir* Fadhl impressed upon him that all rebellions hitherto had been due to the affection of the Arabs for the Alides; that the Omayyads were overthrown by the Shiite doctrines, that the whole of Persia accepted these doctrines; and that Mansur and Harun were wrong in rejecting and repudiating them.

He counselled the Caliph to revert to Shia-ism, and, as a sign and symbol of his good faith, to appoint an Alide as his successor, and to give one of his daughters in marriage to him.

To unite the Abbasids and the Alides and to effect a reconciliation between them and to restore peace, was a plan thoroughly commendable in itself; but, to be effective, it should have been taken up and carried out much earlier. Under Mamun no such reconciliation was possible. The Alides could not forget how much of their blood had been

shed since Mansur, and, once restored to power, it was inconceivable that they should not wreak vengeance on the earlier supporters of the Abbasids. These latter were well aware of this fact. Moreover they had been too long in possession of power to share it with others without bitterness or opposition. They, moreover, knew that in the capital there was no genuine sympathy for the Alides; that in Basra the supporters of Othman were always in a majority; that Syria was ever loyal to the Omayyads and that in Mesopotamia, where the free Arabs of the tribe of Rabiya constituted the bulk of the population, every monarchical state, and most of all one founded on the Shiite doctrines of transmigration of the soul and the Incarnation of Divinity, was absolutely distasteful, positively hateful to them. Worst of all—they regarded this political revolution as the work of the odious Fadhl—known as a Shiite and a free-thinker—who was steadily enslaving the Arabs to the Persian yoke, and was striving for the transformation of Islam by means of ideas—Indian and old-Persian.

As soon as the Prefect of Baghdad called upon the people and the troops to swear allegiance to Ali Ibn Musa—the son-in-law elect—as the next Caliph (April, 817) after Mamun, two parties were formed. The moderates contented themselves with refusing to swear allegiance to him and proclaiming Ibrahim, the son of Mahdi, as successor to the Caliph Mamun, but the other party insisted on deposing Mamun and doing homage straightaway to Ibrahim. After long and painful discord and unrest the latter succeeded, and on the 24th of July, Ibrahim appeared in the mosque as the Commander of the Faithful.

Ibrahim was scholarly and of winning personality. A good poet, orator, musician was he but wholly without the talents of a prince or the qualities of a general. The commanders chosen by him were unreliable and faithless and they abandoned him as soon as good luck began to desert him. Mamun's

altered politics contributed more than either the incapacity of Ibrahim or the worthlessness of his generals towards the speedy restoration of his rule over the whole of Iraq. Mamun, though still under the influence of Fadhl and the Persians, discovered the true reasons for all these insurrections and revolts, and was soon convinced that unless he altered his policy Iraq, Mesopotamia, Syria and all the western provinces would slip away from his hands and he would be reduced to a mere shadow, a will-less instrument of the Persians. No sooner, therefore, had he heard that Ibrahim was proclaimed Caliph; that even Hira, Kufa and other places had partly declared for him and were partly occupied by his troops; than he set out from Merv, ostensibly to lead an army against the rebels. On the way he caused his *Wazir* to be murdered in his bath, and his Alide son-in-law to be poisoned; but, in order to keep the Persians in hand and to avoid the appearances of concession to the rebels, he affected deep sorrow, set a price on the head of the murderer, appointed Hasan (hitherto Governor of Iraq) brother of the murdered Fadhl, his *Wazir*, and Ibrahim, a brother of the poisoned Alide, Governor of Yaman and the Leader of the Pilgrims. Hasan, however, could not take up his post as *Wazir*, being insane, or at least being treated as such until Mamun had firmly established his rule over Iraq. Then he appointed him Governor of Wasit. While, in outer seeming, Mamun ruled as an absolute despot—his emissaries used the death of Fadhl and of the Alide, as also the removal of Sahl from the governorship of Iraq, to bring about the downfall of Ibrahim. In June 819 Ibrahim was forced to renounce the throne, and a few weeks later Mamun was saluted as Caliph at Baghdad. As soon as the Arabs were reconciled with Mamun, the Persians, under the leadership of Babak, rose against him. Babak who belonged to the extreme Shiite sect, professed himself to be, according to one report, an incarnation of divinity;

but in any case, he was, not unlike Mamun, a free-thinker and a disbeliever in revelation. He believed in the old natural religion of the Persians, to which, in process of time, was grafted from India the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul—made use of for political purposes.

So great was Babak's following that he managed to defy the might of Mamun throughout his reign; and only under his successor—after fighting for sixteen long years against the troops of the Caliph for the mastery of Northern Persia—was he conquered not by force .but by fraud and cunning. Mamun carefully concealed his unbelief, and yet he did not hesitate to drink wine openly and to adopt not only the free doctrines of the Mutazalites but also to press them on his subjects. Later he even stepped forward, once again, as the supporter of the Alides and the Persians. He married one of his daughters to the son of the poisoned heir to the throne [1] and took the daughter of Hasan Ibn Sahl as his wife. He conferred the governorship of Khorasan on the Persian Tahir; that of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt on his son, Abdullah; and that of Sindh on a son of the Barmacide Yahya. He testified and emphasised his love for the Alides by ordaining severe punishment for those who spoke well of Moawiya or ill of Ali. Mamun was, indeed, an oriental despot in the fullest sense of the term. Not only did he regulate the affairs of his subjects, but he also presumed to guide their thoughts and shape their religious views. This spiritual tyranny—hitherto unheard of—weighed heavily on the Arabs and was all the more intolerable to them as it did not proceed from a religious fanatic, but from one who was not himself a true believer—and yet one who far outdistanced the orthodox in his proselytising activity and intolerant zeal.

The doctrine of the 'created character' of the Qur'an, adopted by Mamun, met with the stoutest resistance, but notwithstanding all inquisition and all efforts to put into prison

[1] Ali-Al-Reza, son of Musa-ul-Kazim who perished in the prison of Mahdi.

the defenders of the opposite view, namely, the 'eternal character' of the Qur'an, many distinguished theologians remained true and loyal to it.

Philosophical and theological interests did not draw off Mamun from an active life. He exchanged embassies with the Frankish and Indian princes, and undertook several campaigns against the Emperor Theophilus, who, in conjunction with Babak, sought to wipe away the disgrace inflicted upon him by Mamun's predecessor (830-33).

Mamun even repaired to Egypt—the scene of continual revolts and civil war. But before Mamun, Abdullah Ibn Tahir had to go with an army to Egypt (826), to expel the Andalusian emigrants who had settled in Lower Egypt, and had made common cause with the discontented Copts and some Bedouin chiefs, and to punish the governor, who had taken up the attitude of an independent chief towards the Caliph. After the departure of Abdullah, who had at first to fight Babak in Adherbaijan, and then to assume charge of the governorship of Khorasan, the oppressions of the Lieutenant-Governor called forth fresh troubles, which assumed a more and more portentous character, until Mamun proceeded to Egypt (832) with a powerful army, and caused the rebels who would not submit partly to be beheaded and partly to be transported to Iraq.

Theophilus not only failed to win laurels in Asia Minor but also had to suffer the loss of Sicily, like Michael II who had to bear the loss of Crete. Crete was conquered by the Andalusians expelled from Egypt (832), while the Greek fleet lay at anchor before Constantinople for the protection of the capital against Thomas. Sicily was brought under the Muslim yoke by Ziadat-ullah (son of Ibrahim), the founder of the Aghlabide dynasty.

This prince who began to rule in the year 817[1] directed his attention primarily to the fleet. Hemmed in between the

[1] See Lane-Poole, Moh. Dynasties, p. 36.

Abbasids and the Idrisides he could only look to the extension of his dominion in the interior of Africa—barren and difficult to govern. An efficient navy not only promised rich booty from the islands of the Mediterranean and the French and the Italian coasts but also was a sure and necessary protection against the Greek, Norman and French conquerors and freebooters.

Even before 822 he undertook an expedition to the Island of Sardinia, which had already been attacked by the African and the Spanish moors, but was saved by the timely aid of the Franks. Even Sicily had suffered several predatory expeditions since the settlement of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Traitorous Christians, here, as earlier in Egypt, Carthage, Spain, helped the Muslim conquest. Euphemius, a Byzantine general, threatened by the Cæsar with punishment for a serious crime, rebelled, took possession of the town of Syracuse, and killed the imperial prefect. The Cæsar sent Photin with an army to Sicily, and Photin drove away Euphemius and his adherents from the Island. He fled to Ziadat-ullah to Africa, concluded an alliance with him, and landed at Mazzara in the summer of 827. Asad-Ibn-ul-Farat, the African admiral, defeated Photin in the neighbourhood of Platana and forced him to withdraw to Enna. From Platana the Arabs, who received re-inforcement from Africa, and were also assisted by the Spanish navy, gradually extended their rule over the whole Island. They even laid waste later the whole of Lower Italy, and on one occasion advanced as far as the suburbs of Rome. Messina fell in 831. Palermo in 832. Only Enna held out till 859, and Syracuse till 878.

The rule of the Arabs over Sicily was a gain, not to the Abbasids, but to Islam. In fact the more powerful the Aghlabides grew, the greater became their independence of the Caliphs. When he took up the reins of government Ziadat-ullah, in outer seeming, sought official recognition from Mamun as governor of Africa, but he threatened to go over to the

Idrisides when it was required of him that he should mention Abdullah Ibn Tahir, the chief governor of the West, in the prayers, and in certain measure acknowledge him his superior officer.

In point of fact, under Mamun, Africa was practically cut off from the Caliphate.

(*To be continued*)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE POND-HERON

One of the commonest birds in Bengal is the Pond-heron or Paddy-bird. My official duties are unfortunately not of a peripatetic nature and therefore I have not had the opportunity of observing whether this interesting bird is as exceedingly common in other parts of India as it is in Bengal. For many years have I been a resident in Bengal, and during the course of my stay in that Presidency I saw more pond-herons than I have ever seen since I left it.

It is a noteworthy fact that certain species of birds are found in great numbers in particular districts. For instance, Mr. D. Dewar has noticed that a certain well-known town, which it would be best not to name, is infested with cuckoos of many kinds,—so much so, that he thinks the place might well be named Cuckooabad. To take another example, the Delhi district is full of doves. You see them all over; in the garden, in the streets, in the fields, and all along the telegraph wires bordering the railway lines. In the same way Bengal is full of cocoanut-palms, ponds—and pond-herons! Of course, pond-herons are so numerous in Bengal because of the damp, marshy nature of the country. It is hard to conceive a pond-heron in a locality where there is no water: one might as well search for a party of noiseless babblers, which, as everyone knows, are instruments of torturing cacophony.

The pond-heron is easily recognised and is familiar to most bird-lovers in this country, but a brief description may not be out of place here. It is a thin, or a better word would be "lean," bird, with a body about as big as that of a common house-crow, and, after the fashion of the herons, it has a long neck, a long bill, and long legs. If I were to stop here, this description could be applied to quite a number of Indian birds, but by adding a few words about colour, my description can apply to no other bird but to a pond-heron. It is for the

most part a white bird, but its back and shoulders are of a dull, inconspicuous drab hue. I may add that the head and neck are not pure white, but this is a detail which is of no consequence to the bird-lover who is not an ornithologist. The peculiar drab in the pond-heron's plumage helps to single this species out from all other birds with which it can be confounded. Those who advocate the theory of "protective coloration" will tell you that this drab garb is a wonderful device which affords protection to its wearer. This may be so, but I should like to know how this ingenious theory could be applied in the case of the Snowbunting which turns darker in winter in its snowy habitat! Nevertheless, the pond-heron does appear to furnish a good example of the use of protective colours. In its natural surroundings, at the edge of a muddy pool, especially if the bird is in the shadow of a tree,the pond-heron is not easy for the novice to find. Its huddle attitude results in the whiteness of its wings being hidden by its drab feathers which assimilate with the colour of the mud. Moreover, activity is not a strong characteristic of the pond-heron, and it will not readily fly if it can possibly avoid taking wing. Once it flies, however, an astonishing change takes place, with the same suddenness as the designs formed by the pieces of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope vary. From being a dull mud-coloured bird, this heron is transformed into a beautiful creature which flies off on a pair of snowy pinions. For this reason, I believe, it has been called the "Surprise-bird."

Pond-herons are always found in the vicinity of water, for their food consists of fishes, frogs and the like. Sometimes you may notice in the open fields, among the cows and buffaloes, a few white birds with long necks and feet. These are not pond-herons but cattle-egrets, a closely allied species. But, as I have just pointed out, pond-herons are inconspicuous birds when at rest, whereas, most of the other birds which at all resemble pond-herons, have more white in their plumage, and this colour stands out rather prominently.

The alpha and omega of a pond-heron's life seems to be summed up in two words, "eat" and "sleep," except during the breeding season, when domestic duties demand some attention. Early in the morning the pond-heron flies off to his or her favourite pool, and here the day, or the major portion of it, is spent. The bird will stand motionless in a most stupid attitude, waiting with feet just covered by the water, for any unfortunate fish or frog that is foolish enough to come within range of its dagger-like bill. When this happens, the bird darts forward with fiendish delight, and with an accuracy of stroke that seldom fails. When tired of standing in one particular spot, it flies off to another suitable site, or perchance, takes a few minutes' nap on some shady tree not far off. But presently it returns for further feeding, and so the day is spent. When the mantle of night begins to wrap the earth the pond-heron wings its way with a regular flapping flight to the dormitory, and, in the company of other boon companions, falls asleep amid the branches of some sheltering tree. Verily, such life is care-free and a happy one!

During the monsoon months, the pond-herons and other water birds breed. Have you ever seen a company of nesting pond-herons? If not, it is a sight worthy of attention and study. Many birds select a particular site and construct a nest thereon where no other birds can worry them. Others build in the one bush or tree along with one or two pairs of their kind, or even in the company of birds of another species. Some again nidificate in colonies, as in the case of gulls, weaver-birds, or swifts. To this last class the pond-herons also belong. When the nesting time is near, many pairs may be observed carrying materials away for the construction of their nests. These are not works of architectural merit, for they are rough-and-ready stick-nests of the oridinary cup shape. Many pairs build on the same tree, or among one particular clump of trees, so that a large number of nests are to be found close together. I once came across five nests on

one branch and all of these nests were touching one another. All over Bengal colonies of breeding herons may be found at the right time. In Calcutta itself, the trees in and near the lake in the Zoological Gardens are a favourite resort. Outlying stations, such as Dum Dum, Sodepore and Garia, are also favourite haunts. Not only do pond-herons breed in colonies composed of several pairs, but they also appear to have no objection to night-herons, cattle-egrets, and cormorants nidificating along with them. The result can well be imagined. Scores of nests of all these species may be found in a very small area. The pond-heron lays four or five greenish-white eggs which measure about 1·48×1·17 inches. A young pond-heron is an ugly object far from good to look upon, so the less said about it the better. As is to be expected a good deal of noise is heard in the vicinity of a colony of breeding birds. These noises are horrible guttural squawks and croaks by no means pleasing to the ear. The nesting birds are not at all shy and will allow one to stand below and watch them for hours, but the general appearance of a colony of breeding herons is *rather* untidy. Though night-herons, pond-herons, cattle-egrets and cormorants breed together, I have never seen any hybrids nor have I heard of any, so that these species apparently do not breed *inter se*.

The pond-heron is also known as the paddy-bird, because it is found in paddy-fields. Another good name for it may be puddle-heron. It has a host of vernacular names, but in Bengali it is called the *Bagla*. Ornithologists have bestowed on this unfortunate bird the scientific name of *Ardeola grayi*.

After all, the pond-heron although it is not a bird of particularly gaudy plumage, wonderful voice, or extraordinarily strange habits, it is still one of those birds which demand attention, and we must not neglect our familiar feathered friend in order to pay attention to the more attractive species. The commonest birds are always worthy of study.

S. BASIL-EDWARDES

VENGEANCE IS MINE

[*Synopsis of previous chapters.*—Nilkanthrai, an officer of Ratnagadh State, died, leaving his wife Gunavanti and his only son Jagat (a boy of about twelve) quite destitute. They were taken charge of by Raghubhai, the Kotwal of Ratnagadh, who promised to look after them and took them home, because he was bound to Nilkanthrai by ties of the deepest gratitude. Raghubhai's wife Kamala was a woman who paid unquestioning obedience to her lord. He had a baby daughter also, Rama by name. Harilal and his daughter Tanman came to live for a short time near Raghubhai. Jagat and the girl soon grew so fond of each other that Tanman practically lived with Gunavanti. Ramkisandasji, an old and tried friend of Gunavanti was a *Sannyasi* who lived in an ancient temple of Ramchandra outside the town. He took the two children there one night to hear some sacred music and there before the altar of the Deity they plighted their troth to each other, scarce knowing what they did. Soon after this, Harilal was transferred to another town and Tanman went away leaving Jagat heart-broken at the parting. Just abont that time Anantanand, a most remarkable man, and the chief worker at the Varat monastery, came to Ratnagadh to ask for the continuance of the state grant which Varat had enjoyed for centuries, but which Revashankar, the niggardly Divan, had stopped. Anantanand even approached the Prince Jasubha (an easy-going but astute man) with his request but it was not granted. Raghubhai was all this time busy with his own little game of supplanting Revashankar in office and at the same time he felt himself strongly attracted by the widow Gunavanti. She repulsed his advances with scorn and one night when he tried to use force she jumped out of the window and sought the aid of old Ramkisandasji. The old man punished the Kotwal in his own summary way by tying him to a rope and leaving him dangling inside the well in his own garden. Meanwhile Ranubha, the faithful kinsman and courtier of the Prince, who had a deep reverence for Anantanand, felt himself powerless to stop the intrigues going on around him. To add to the complications, Champa a singularly attractive dancing girl from Bombay, had been brought over by Jasubha to beguile his weary monotonous life in the insipid little town where he ruled. The Queen of Jasubha grew jealous of Champa, so the Prince, who had noted the quiet passion of Ranubha for the girl, made her over to the latter's protection. Raghubhai tried to get into the good graces of this

new favourite, but here in the very beginning he was met by Anantanand, who told him openly that he would get crushed if he crossed his path. Raghubhai had also heard an old retainer recognise Anantanand and address him as his "Sovereign Prince," which set him thinking. He found out that at the time of the death of Jasubha's father there was a certain *Sannyasi* present, whose name was Amoghanand.]

CHAPTER XIII

The Fallen Woman

Champa—the careless, shameless public woman, Champa—had been experiencing strange sensations during the last three days. The world, which she had been wont to look upon with supreme contempt ever since her childhood, the world, from the filth and sin of which she had learned to extract the gross and fleeting pleasures of the body, that world she now found slipping from under her feet. Jasubha came and went; Ranubha pleaded, quarrelled and got reconciled by turns; and she was still a public woman by force of habit, and still acted her part by selling her body. But unexpected thoughts had begun to crowd in upon her brain; her mind had begun to experience feelings never known by her before. After all these years she began to feel dissatisfied for the first time with her lot and for the first time she felt the need of deep thought, of taking a fresh measure of her life. At first she scarce understood what it all meant; but the distant clatter of wooden sandals and the clashing of a staff upon the polished floor, set her heart trembling as if she had heard in thunder the voice of God. Her studied indifference was gone. The modesty of a blooming virgin—a thing she had so long regarded with supreme contempt—was upon her now and she was frequently overcome by that feeling.

Anantanandji used to come twice or thrice daily to the rooms of Ranubha to meet some one or other. It was but

seldom that Champa saw him face to face, but she paid all her soul's homage to him. Between her room and that of Ranubha was an ancient casement which had not been opened for generations. There was not even a chink in it to peep through; and yet she sat there and listened eagerly to all the voices from the next room. And she thirsted for the sound of one particular voice—a voice that was firm and strong to convert any listeners, that changed from gentle to severe as need arose, and always thrilled all hearts by its indescribable sweetness—she listened for that voice and lived upon the treasured memories of the words it had uttered. Even in the aristocratic drawl of Jasubha's words and in the loving converse of Ranubha she seemed to hear but the wondrous echoes of Anantanand's strong and strength-giving words.

One morning Champa was sitting and waiting—she could scarce have confessed even to herself, for whom. Champa was at that moment experiencing the subtle thrills of love and worship, as they rippled on in a continuous stream towards him, whose coming she was awaiting so anxiously. At such moments this stream of love and worship is replete with the joy and sweetness of uncreated poetry—a joy beyond the power of words to express, a sweetness almost too intense to be endured.

She heard footsteps; her heart was all in a flutter. The steps drew nearer—and Champa's hope was clouded over with the darkness of disappointment. The approaching feet were not shod with wooden sandals but with leather shoes. The concentrated agony of innumerable disappointments overcomes every lover at such moments. Champa sighed; but at the same moment came another thought:

"I am Champa, the fallen woman; what is this the matter with me."

Ranubha came in: "Well, Champa, you are deep in thought?"

"Oh, no; not at all."

"But your face is very solemn."

With supreme effort Champa recovered herself.

"Did you not always advise me to be serious? Now I have begun to take your advice."

"Champa, you are always ready to take my advice. But can you not make even the least return for my love."

"Why are you harping on the same thing all day? Have I not told you already that I would try to like you as much as is possible for one like me? Can I do anything more? I am not a deceiver, Ranubha. I like you very much; indeed, I admire you. But how can I give you what is not within me. Love and myself are utter strangers." Thus pleaded Champa and sighed without being aware of it.

"Thanks, even for what you *have* given," said Ranubha, and he put his hand upon Champa's shoulder.

Champa removed his hand. During the last few days she had begun to get disgusted with her life of sin and shame. She had begun to look down with loathing upon the experiences of her daily life to which she had so long been accustomed.

Ranubha's hungry soul was deeply wounded at this repulse. He looked at her with sorrow and regret and began:

"Champa [1] hath both shape and colour,
Scent as well,—all virtues three"

The sweet melodious voice of Champa took up the quotation; the room was vibrating to her silvery notes; but there was an inexpressible despair throbbing through them:

"But, alas, some unknown fault
Still keeps away from her—"

The verse was never finished; she could not utter the last words—"the bee." The door leading to the back staircase opened and Anantanandji entered. They felt like children

[1] The flower of that name.

caught in the act of eating stolen sweets. Champa shrank within herself for pure shame, and drew her *sari* over her face. She blushed crimson and lifted up her trembling hands in salutation.

"Ranubha, who were appointed to-day in the royal household?"

Ranubha gave the names; they were those dictated to Raghubhai by the Swami.

"Very good," said the Swami with a smile. "And Ranubha," he added with quaint humour, "I had never believed that you two could have got along so friendly. Considering your education and the ideals of your life, this has been rather unexpected."

"Maharaj, do *you* also say so? Of course you cannot have had this experience; but surely you can understand. My heart once was empty, it is now so no longer. I was once alone, now my soul has found out its partner. Maharaj, I now want your blessings." The Swami heard this confession as a father might listen to a confession of his mistakes by a foolish son, and smiled indulgently. More eloquent than the words was the face of Ranubha, and the love shining from his eyes bore full testimony to the truth of what he felt in his heart.

"Champa, here is another great trust for you. On the one side Ranubha, on the other Jasubha. Now *you* shall have to make both lead lives worthy of themselves. You *must* do it!"

Champa wanted to fall down at his feet; she had an overpowering desire to cool her thirsting soul by kissing his feet; but she restrained herself. Her brain was whirling.

"*I* fit for such work! *I*, a low, fallen—"

"No. Never say that again. None is low and fallen. Aim at greatness and greatness shall be yours. To believe yourself low or fallen is to tie yourself to a chain that drags you down."

After a while the Swamiji smilingly took his leave. The two, who were left behind, gazed for a while at each other.

"Champa, did I not tell you, the Swamiji is quite different from all the rest? Who else would have thus forgiven us our shortcomings?"

Champa hung down her head in confusion.

Ranubha too had noted the change that had been coming over her, and he felt that under the Swamiji's guidance Champa would improve. She would soon become steadier, and renouncing her old ways would become a decent woman and be only his henceforth—such was the dream he had begun to dream.

But Champa was asking herself: "Is it true that in this world there are none fallen?"

CHAPTER XIV

Raghubhai's Pilgrimage

"Raghubhai! A pilgrimage at this time? What put this into your head?" queried Revashankar.

"You see, sir, I have been long thinking about it; and just at present there seems to be no important work on hand. So I wish to go first to Abu, and thence to Gayaji if possible for the *shraddh*. Besides I am not feeling strong enough, I need a change."

"Very well. But try to be back within a month."

"Certainly, sir, as you wish. There is just another request. I want to visit Durgapur on the way. I may just as well take the opportunity of seeing the birthplace of the late Queen-Mother. Could you give me an introduction?"

"Of course, I will arrange it all."

Whenever Raghubhai took up any task in earnest, he could accomplish it very quickly. He left Kamala and Rama with a friend and swiftly reached Durgapur. In Durgapur people had a wholesome respect for Ratnagadh and therefore the Kotwal of that place was naturally a very distinguished guest. When diplomats set out on their travels, at every step they leave truth also as far behind them as their own homes. Raghubhai understood that art of the traveller exceedingly well. He gave himself such airs of importance that all Durgapur was speechless at his greatness, although he had no special end to serve in thus astonishing the rustics.

He made all possible inquiries regarding the Queen-Mother and Amoghanand. The Queen-Mother had been a terror in Ratnagadh, and in Durgapur too, as a princess, she had left behind lasting though stern memories. Her periodical visits were indeed visitations to the harmless people there. Moreover she had been a rash and headstrong individual in her youth, so that numerous interesting legends had grown around her memory. It was reported that Amoghanand alone had had any control over her. Since the time of Jasubha's birth she used to live at Dersal whenever she came to these parts. This little village of Dersal was seven miles from Durgapur and her parents, too, were glad to have that much intervening space between themselves and their self-willed daughter. Raghubhai felt sure that he had nothing further to learn at Durgapur. So he sent a special message to Dersal before starting for that place a few days later.

Jolting and bumping over a heavy road and in a country cart Raghubhai arrived safely at Dersal late one evening. A huge ruin loomed up in the deepening twilight. A dim lamp-post had been erected there to light the weary travellers. As Raghubhai's cart drew up, an old-fashioned gentleman crowned with an old, greasy and threadbare Ahmedabad turban came up to him.

"Are you the manager?" asked Raghubhai.

Dolasha nodded his head in reply. The citizens of certain cities of Gujrat have acquired an universal fame for their ability in the management of other peoples' estates and affairs, and especially for the zealous care with which they take great care of their employer's money, by putting it in the safest place,—their own pockets. Dolasha was one of these careful, honest folk; he was a jolly old sort besides, full of anecdote and gossip.

"Yes, dear sir, yes! Are you Raghubhai, dear sir? What a day for us! Welcome, dear sir? Where are you from? From Shyurat[1]? Ah, ha? What luck!"

Although he had lived many years in Marwar, Dolasha had not allowed his palatalised native dialect to get corrupted by foreign influences. Raghubhai was amused to find it at this distance in all its native freshness and purity. He smilingly accepted this hearty welcome and went inside the monastery. Inside an old man in ochre robes was seated on a *gadi* pulling at a *hookah*. His eyes showed clearly the vacant stare of intoxication. Raghubhai was astonished to find such a man the head here. This place, which had produced the simple, modest Karunanand and that great master of men, Anantanand, had this old sot for head now! But Raghubhai did not know that Amoghanand had died in Varat, and so he had had no chance of nominating a worthy successor to this place.

After a few minutes the Swamiji Maharaj retired to his own apartments, leaving Raghubhai in the charge of Dolasha, who was bustling about to make him comfortable. After he had gone, a couple of Swamis came in and began asking for news of Varat. Raghubhai easily perceived that Anantanand had left deep feelings of regard among his many friends here, and that they had also imbibed in a certain measure his spirit and his enthusiasm. Dolasha, too, had the greatest respect for Anantanand, and in moments of confidence he used

[1] Surat as pronounced in the racy Ahmedabad style.

to cite, as an indisputable proof of his veracity, the fact that Anantanand was the bosom friend of his "Chyaman,"[1] who had a small grocery store in Ahmedabad.

Raghubhai needed no instructions as to what tune to play. He made himself out to be the dearest friend of Anantanand and pretended to honour him almost as a god.

Dolasha at last took him upstairs, where he had arranged for his bed in his own room. This was just what Raghubhai wanted. He adroitly drew out Dolasha. Anecdote after anecdote was remembered. He got out from the old fellow all about the Queen-Mother; where she used to stay, how she lived, and how she had brought up Jasubha. He also found out something about Anantanand's life. But when Raghubhai began to talk about the childhood of that mysterious personage, the clever old Ahmedabadi changed the subject and pretended to feel very sleepy.

Raghubhai spent the night in thoughtful cogitation. There was first the mystery of the Queen-Mother, and there was another surrounding Anantanand. In trying to probe one mystery he had stumbled upon another. He understood the reason of Dolasha's sudden sleepiness, but could not make any guess as to the nature of the secret he was guarding.

Next morning Dolasha was obstinately silent for a little while. But that wagging tongue of his could not long resist the insinuating sweetness of Raghubhai's ad ress. The whole day Raghubhai was busy flattering Dolasha and by the time they had retired to the bed-room Dolasha had become soft as butter.

"Dolasha, I am going away to-morrow. Will you remember me or is it farewell for ever?"

"How can you say so, dear sir! Of course I shall constantly be writing to you, dear sir. If you go to Ahmedabad don't forget Patasa Pol.[2] I will also write to my 'Chyaman.'"

[1] Chaman. [2] Alley.

"That is all right, Dolasha. But do you know why I came here?"

"No."

"Swamiji had sent me particularly to see you."

"Did I not say so, dear sir? Swamiji could never forget me nor 'Chyaman.'"

"He requested me to go to Dersal and get some important information from his dear friend Dolasha."

Dolasha looked round with suspicion: "What information?"

Raghubhai began to speak in a whisper. In the dim light of a tiny oil wick they looked like two thieves making their plans.

"*That* information, of course, Dolasha. The Swamiji has said that you alone are left of the old people, and that the time has now come to prove your fidelity. Therefore he has asked you to tell me everything in detail," said Raghubhai beginning his mythical apocrypha. The old fellow, however, got suspicious again lest this stranger might prove to be a rogue after all. But the magic of Raghubhai's open manners was not to be gainsaid, his faith in the man could not be shaken.

"But what reason did the Swamiji give?"

"Can't you see? A deep political game, of course. What else could it be?" he replied pressing Dolasha's hand.

All Dolasha's suspicions vanished in a moment and his tongue now wagged freely. With unsuspecting frankness he told everything he knew—Raghubhai cleverly leading him on from point to point. His astonishment was beyond words. He was beside himself with joy on getting at the heart of the mystery, but he was also somewhat awestruck with the gravity of what he had learnt.

* * * * *

"But is there any further proof of all this?"

"Is Dolasha a baby, dear sir? There are a few letters and documents as well," he protested. And getting up he opened

a small store room and drew out therefrom a small bundle. Blowing away the gathered dust of years he took out two or three letters and a small nativity chart, read them out and handed them over to Raghubhai.

Next morning, as he took his leave, Raghubhai began to hear in his imagination the shouts of victory. He spent a couple of days at Durgapur to make some additional inquiries. At last, forgetting his purpose of a holy pilgrimage, he turned his face homewards, towards Ratnagadh. His heart was dancing with joy, his thoughts were busy with glorious dreams of power and wealth. He felt that even Sir T. Madhavrao's career was a mere trifle compared to what he would surely become some day.

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

INTERRELATION OF THE TWO EPICS OF ANCIENT INDIA

There has been considerable misconception regarding the interrelation of the two famous epics of Ancient India, *viz* the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Thus Professor Macdonell observes in his *Sanskrit Literature*: "The original part of the Rāmāyaṇa appears to have been completed at a time when the epic kernel of the Mahābhārata had not as yet assumed definite shape. For while the heroes of the latter are not mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, the story of Rāma is often referred to in the longer epic. Again, in a passage of Book VII of the Mahābhārata which cannot be regarded as a later addition, two lines are quoted as Vālmîki's that occur unaltered in Book VI of the Rāmāyaṇa. The poem of Vālmîki must therefore have been generally known as an old work before the Mahābhārata assumed a coherent form. In Book III (Cantos 277-291) of the latter epic, moreover, there is a Rāmopākhyāna or "Episode of Rāma," which seems to be based on the Rāmāyaṇa."

In the passage quoted above Professor Macdonell gives three reasons in support of his statement that the poem of Vālmîki was known as an old work before the Mahābhārata assumed a coherent form, namely, the absence of any reference to Bhārata heroes in the Rāmāyaṇa, the occurrence of a śloka of Vālmîki in the Droṇa Parva and the inclusion of a Rāmopākhyāna within the Great Epic.

Now, it is difficult to endorse the view that the heroes of the Mahābhārata are not mentioned in the Lesser Epic. The Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa is full of passages which contain undoubted references to characters of the Great Epic. Thus in Uttara. 63. 20-22 we have a reference to Vāsudeva

of the Yadu family, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa and also to the incarnation of Nara, *i. e.*, Arjuna—

उत्पत्स्यते हि लोकेऽस्मिन् यदूनां कीर्त्तिवर्द्धनः ।
वासुदेव इति ख्यातो विष्णुः पुरुषविग्रहः ॥
स ते मोचयिता शापाद्राजंस्तस्माद्विषिष्यसि ।
ज्ञात्वा च तेन कालेन निष्कृतिस्ते भविष्यति ।
भारावतरणार्थं हि नरनारायणावुभौ ।
उत्पत्स्येते महावीर्यौ कलौ युगे उपस्थिते ॥

The following verses (Uttara 24. 32-42) mention Śyāma (Kṛishṇa) and refer to his victory over Kaṁsa—

य एष पुरुषः श्यामो द्वारे तिष्ठति नित्यदा
एतेन दानवेन्द्राश्च तथान्ये बलवत्तराः
वशं नीता बलवता पूर्व्वं पूर्व्वतराश्च ये
* * * *
यमलार्জ্জुनौ च कंसश्च कैटभो मधुना सह ।

Rādheya and Hārddikya of the following verse probably refer to Karṇa and Kṛtavarman respectively (Uttara. 6. 35)—

राधेयो बहुमायश्च लोकपालोऽयधार्म्मिकः ।
यमलार्জ্জुनौ च हार्द्दिक्यः शस्त्रस्वैवनिशुम्भकः ॥

Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāṇḍavas (Mbh. III. 3. 1-4) appears to be mentioned in Uttara. 1. 4.

ऋषभः कवषो धौम्यः कौशेयश्च महाऋषिः ।

The association of Dhaumya with Kavashî is significant. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Vedic Index, I, p. 314) Tura Kāvasheya appears as a Purohita of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, whose connection with the Pāṇḍu family is well known.

It may be urged that the Uttarakāṇḍa is a later addition. But references to Mahābhārata characters are not confined

to this book. The Ādikāṇḍa (40. 2-3) mentions Vāsudeva and his Kāpilarūpa, *i. e.*, incarnation as Kapila.

यस्येयं वसुधा कृत्स्ना वासुदेवस्य धीमतः।
महिषी माधवस्येषा स एव भगवान् प्रभुः॥
कापिलं रूपमास्थाय धारयत्यनिशं धराम्।

The Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa (64. 42) alludes to King Janamejaya along with several famous kings of bygone times such as Sagara, Śaivya, Dilīpa, Nahusha and Dhundhumāra. This Janamejaya must be identified with the famous son of Parikshit and not with any of the shadowy Janamejayas mentioned in some genealogical lists.

The following verse of the same Book (30. 6) contains a reference to the principal characters of one of the finest episodes of the Great Epic—

द्युमत्सेन सुतं वीरं सत्यवन्तमनुव्रताम्।
सावित्रीमिव मां विद्धित्वमात्मवशवर्त्तिनीम्॥

Satyavat and Sāvitrī are again mentioned in the Sundarakāṇḍa (24. 11-12) which also refers to the principal characters of the Nala episode—

सावित्री सत्यवन्तञ्च कपिलं श्रीमतो यथा।
सौदासं मदयन्ती च कैशिनी भगवं यथा॥
नैषधं दमयन्ती च भैमी पतिमनुव्रता।
तथाहमिक्ष्वाकुवरं रामं पतिमनुव्रता॥

The Kishkindhyākāṇḍa (42. 28) alludes to the acquisition of the famous *śaṅkha* of Krishṇa called Pāñchajanya, while the Laṅkākāṇḍa (119. 15-27) identifies Krishṇa with Rāma—

तत्र पञ्चजनं हत्वा क्षयणीयञ्च दानवम्।
आजहार ततश्चक्रं शङ्खञ्च पुरुषोत्तमः॥

(Kis. 42. 28.)

शार्ङ्गधन्वा हृषीकेशः पुरुषः पुरुषोत्तमः ।
अजितः खड्गधृग्विष्णुः कृष्णश्चैव बृहद्बलः ।

(Laṅkā. 119.15.)

सीता लक्ष्मीर्भवान् विष्णुर्देवः कृष्णः प्रजापतिः ।

(*Ibid*, 119. 27.)

From the verses quoted above it is clear that the poem of Vālmîki is acquainted not only with some of the principal characters of the Pāṇḍu story, but also with the heroes and heroines of some of the finest Upākhyānas of the Great Epic. It may no doubt be urged that the verses in question are late interpolations, but such may also be the case with passages of the Great Epic which contain references to the Rāma story.

Professor Macdonell does not assign any reason why the passage of the Droṇa Parva which quotes two lines of Vālmîki's poem cannot be regarded as a later addition. As the śloka of Vālmîki occurs in a book which was "much expanded" (Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, p. 62), it is not improbable that it is to be included in the "outer layer" of the Great Epic, *i. e.*, the interpolated portions (*Ibid*, p. 79).

As regards the Rāmopākhyāna we should note that the version of the Rāma story contained in it differs in many respects from that contained in Vālmîki's poem. The Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara. 9. 33-35) represents Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhîshaṇa as children of one and the same mother, Kaikasî. The Rāmopākhyāna (Mbh., III. 274. 7-8) on the other hand makes Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa sons of Pushpotkaṭā, Vibhîshaṇa the son of Mālinî and Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā the children of Rākā. Again, the Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 67) represents Rāma as the destroyer of Kumbhakarṇa. On the other hand the Rāmopākhyāna (*Mbh. III.* 286) represents Lakshmaṇa as the slayer of Kumbhakarṇa. These facts seem to indicate that the Rāmopākhyāna is not based on the Rāmāyaṇa. Like the author of the Dasaratha Jātaka

the author of the Rāmopākhyāna may have followed an independent tradition. In this connection we should remember that Vālmîki was not the first to attempt a Rāma Epic. We learn from the Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha that Vālmîki had probably a precursor in Chyavana.

वाल्मीकिनादद्य सखर्जं पद्यं।
जघंथयत्र च्यवनो महर्षिः॥

We learn from the Mahābhārata (I. 6. 4) that Chyavana had the patronymic Bhārgava. Curiously enough the Śānti Parva (57. 40) cites a verse from Bhārgava's Rāmacharita. No doubt Vālmîki, too, is called Bhārgavasattamaḥ in the Matsya Purāṇa (XII. 51). But the verse cited in the Śānti Parva is not found in his poem, though it agrees *in sense* with Rāmāyaṇa II. 67. 11. We are told in the Ādikāṇḍa that the Ākhyāna called Rāmāyaṇa first originated in the Ikshvāku family and that Vālmîki knew Rāma only by hearsay.

इक्ष्वाकूणामिदं तेषां राज्ञां वंशे महात्मनाम्।
महदुत्पन्नमाख्यानं रामायणमिति श्रुतम्॥

(Ādi. 5. 3.)

इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवो रामो नाम जनैः श्रुतः।

(Ādi. 1. 8.)

Hopkins (The Great Epic of India, p. 60) draws our attention to the fact that neither of the two epics of Ancient India is recognised before the period of the Gṛihyasūtras, and the first epic recognised here and in other sūtras is the Bhārata. But he says (p. 385) that the oldest heroes of the Bhārata are not of the Pāṇḍu family. He draws a distinction between the original Bhāratîkathā and the Pāṇḍu story and says that the Bhāratîkathā is older than Vālmîki's poem but the story of Rāma is older than the story of the Pāṇḍus (The Great Epic of India, p. 64). We should, however, remember that Janaka and Aśvapati Kekaya, two important figures in

the Rāma story, are represented in several Vedic works as flourishing long after the Pārikshitas, *i. e.*, the great-grandsons of the principal hero of the Mahābhārata. In the time of Janaka the life and end of the Pārikshitas were still fresh in the memory of the people and formed a subject of general curiosity. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III. 3. 1) we find a rival of Yājñavalkya the ornament of the court of Janaka, testing him with a question the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the Madra country.

क्व पारिक्षिता भवन्।

"Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" The solution of which, therefore, appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult. Yājñavalkya answers "thither where all Aśvamedha sacrificers go."

The Pārikṣhitas are Janamejaya and his three brothers, *viz.*, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Śrutasen (Vedic Index, I, p. 520). They are mentioned in the following passage of the Mahābhārata:

जनमेजय: पारिक्षित: सहभ्रातृभि: कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रमुपास्ते तस्य भ्रातरस्त्रय: श्रुतसेन, उग्रसेन, भीमसेन.....(Mbh. I. 3. 1.)

The Great Epic represents them as grandchildren of Abhimanyu, a prominent figure in the Pāṇḍu story.

That Janaka of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad is identical with the Janaka of the Rāmāyaṇa is proved by his synchronism with Aśvapati Kekaya. Both the kings are represented as contemporaries of Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi (Vedic Index, II, p. 69).

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Rāma story in which Janaka and Aśvapati Kekaya are prominent figures could not have originated before the passing

away of the Pārikshitas, *i. e.*, Janamejaya and his brothers. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Janamejaya is mentioned as an ancient hero in the Rāmāyaṇa itself (Ayodhyā-kaṇḍa, 64. 42):—

यां गतिं सगरः प्रेप्सुो दिलीपो जनमेजयः।
नहुषो धुन्धुमारश्च प्रामाद्यां गच्छ पुत्रक॥

On the other hand it is distinctly stated in the Mahābhārata that the Pāṇḍu story was recited before Janamejaya by Vaiśampāyana. Indian tradition (both Hindu and Buddhist) is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍus as an offshoot of the Kuru race (Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, pp. 26-27). It is therefore impossible to justify the distinction drawn by Hopkins between the original Kuru-Bhārata epic and the so called "Pāṇḍu story."

The broad fact remains that while the Bhārata is mentioned in the Gṛihyasūtras and the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, there is no reference to the Rāmāyaṇa. Again, while the Pāṇḍu story is said to have been recited before Janamejaya, the Rāma story could not have originated before the passing away of the Pārikshitas, *i. e.*, Janamejaya and his brothers.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

A TRIP TO KASHMIR

Oh! Kashmir is a lovely spot,
As I've heard people tell,
In winter it's as cold as cold,
In summer hot as well.

You rush by Tonga or by car,
Right thro' the Jhelum valley,
Thro' dust and glare, heights near and far,
While here and there you tarry.

You reach Srinagar with a sigh,
Of more or less relief,
You think with joy of the palace grand,
That lies moored for you by the strand
And then you come to grief.

For the Jhelum is naught but a muddy stream,
With a few Noah's Arks looking dingy and mean,
Lying cheek by jowl near the muddy bank;
You raise your nose to sniff the breeze,
And get a whiff that makes you sneeze,
Of odours fishy and rank.

You step with delight on a flat bottomed boat,
Called a Shikara, and then you do float,
In search of your ark, which by number you mark.
Your Manji then digs in the water his oar,
And the next thing you do is to call out "Oh! Lor',"
As with a big bump, you land in a lump,
And lie spread-eagled down on its floor.

You curse the old boat-man,
Ask if he were blind,
He smiles most benignly,
And says you are kind.
You curse him again and then like a lark,
You make a big spring and land on your ark,
It is but a box containing four rooms,
A sitting-room, dining, a bed and a bath,
Circumscribed about by a long wooden path.
You rest with delight midst your rugs, then the fleas
Start mountaineering right up to your knees.
Then as it grows cold, your ark you start heating,
And sprinkle yourself all over with Keating.
Then weary, worn-out, to your bed you do go,
In the hopes that in sleep you'll not feel the foe.
And think thro' fatigue you'll sleep like a log,
But wake soon again at the howl of a dog.
You shout at your Manji, kill the brute you do say,
He replies with a smile, *Saheb ! Kuch fikker nay.*

Then twixt mid-night and dawn again you awake,
And fancy you are in for a nasty earth-quake.
For your boat starts a-rocking,
In a manner most shocking.
You hear a loud squalling,
And voices a bawling,
As the chains from the banks, on board they are hauling.
Then follow big bumps and frightful thumps,
As the men run around with sundry jumps,
The boat then starts rolling, as the men begin poling,
And pushing her out up against the stream.
You sing out what rot,
Hi Manji Great Scott,
'Tis too early to start, your boat you must stay,
The Manji looked round with a smile that was bland,

And pushed the ark on with the pole in his hand.
Then turning around at length he did say,
Vohi bath Saheb ! Kuch fikker nay.
Our Manjis re-called to me old Palestine,
As they stood on the side of the boat in a line,
There was Matthew and Paul and Judas quite clear,
And our boat-man was Joseph of Arimathea.

You then start poling upward, against the stream,
With the wind blowing cold abaft or abeam.
Past Doongas and house-boats and temples of stone,
Till you ask the old boat-man when he'll have done.
He *salams* and poles on, till you think you've been had,
When he finally lands you at Islamabad.
Here the kind head of the Church Mission School,
Gave us a regatta, on river so cool.
We inspected his school, the boys are well read,
They showed us the monkey drill, each on his head.

A Tonga we hire and away go, we all,
To a place which they say—is called Achibal.
There a garden we see, with trout under a net,
And we walk all about till our feet are quite wet.
Here a mischief befell one of our party,
Which afforded some fun and laughter most hearty.
For we crossed some lawns, and crossed a brook,
We climbed a hill to have a look.
When on returning with a scream,
"B" struck a bank, slipped, took the stream,
And wetted both her feet.
Another short trip we took on the land,
And saw the ruined temple at Martand.
Which Sekandra, they say, that son of a Hun,
Destroyed with some others. Why? Oh! just for fun.
'Twas a long long climb in the blazing sun,
And we needed refreshments ere we had done,

For what you do call the inner man,
With fruit that was fresh and also in can.

We start down the Jhelum again, with great glee,
And land about four, near the great Chenar Tree.
You can take it from me, 'tis a lovely spot,
'Neath the great Chenar trees it never is hot.
It is Bijbehara the place that I mean,
Here some fine Chenar trees together are seen.
One tree is the largest in all Kashmir,
Its girth is some fifty-four feet or near.
It stretches its branches far up from the ground,
And makes a dry home for the jack-daws around.

Then on, on once again, to Avantipore,
Where we see the old ruins of two temples more,
With broken down centres and fine colonnade,
Built of huge stone slabs most carefully laid.
And as we returned from our trip after four,
A man in a Doonga gave us some *Chikore*,
Which he had shot on the base of the hill hard by,
These we ate next day, with some sweet apple pie.
Then we pull up our stakes, down the river glide on
Till we reach the small village of Pandrathon.
Another temple we see in a watery-bed,
And wonder with awe, how the builders now dead,
Did raise up these temples, huge stone upon stone,
Where they got the material and how it was done.

On, on once again, down the river so far,
Till we land in the evening at Srinagar.
We go thro' the lock-gate and see the Dhal Lake,
To do this our men and Shikara we take.

There's the Shalimar Bagh and the Nissim Bagh,
But the prettiest of all is the Nishat Bagh
Where the fountains do play on every Sunday,
And the cloth for tiffin, our servants do lay.
Then having rowed round this beautiful Tarn,
We climbed up the slopes of the Takti Soleiman,
And having arrived at the temple pell-mell,
We viewed the old building and rang loud the bell,
Which is rung there I am told, to ward you from evil,
And in cases of need to frighten the devil.
The view from the top is worth looking at,
For you see the whole valley and the Hari Parbat.
Here a fortress you see, where some guns they display,
For protection and frightening marauders away.

On returning that morning from climbing this mound,
We found Mistress Potter lying flat on the ground.
She'd been cleaning her boat and stepped thro' the floor,
Where the boat-man had moved three planks or more.
The shock of the fall, it made her out bawl,
There was no one at first to attend to her call.
"Hi! Chetar! you rascal, you son of a gun,
What are you grinning at, see what I've done.
Be quick my good fellow, now help me up do,
Can't you see I have twisted my ankle askew".
Now Chetar the rascal, he smiled in his glee,
As he, 'twixt the boards, Mistress Potter did see.
He then ran to her rescue and raised up her head,
And laid her most carefully on to her bed.
Then the limb with hot water he bathed with a tin,
And bandaged it up with Antiphlogestin.

One day about four, it commenced hard to pour,
And continued to do so, for two days or more.

At length the old Jhelum uprose in great wrath,
As the streams into it, from the mountains poured forth.
And its waters without saying so much as thanks,
Rose higher, slipped quietly over its banks.
Then poured on in volumes and raised a great rout,
Flooding gardens and fields and the houses about.

On, on, down the Jhelum, away to the west,
Where the climate is cooler and the scenery best.
When the banks of the river begin you to bore,
You land in the eve at the place—Shadipore.
Here the marriage of Sind and Jhelum takes place,
Other marriages also to prosper the race.
In the Jhelum a Chenar stands walled up in stone,
Which since that event, they say, never has grown.
On the way our cook, who in cook-boat did stay,
Climbed up a side ladder which carried away,
The cook and the ladder; then taking a leap,
Landed into the river all in a heap.
First bobbed up the ladder and then the cook's head
And hand over hand down the river he sped.
Then the ladder and he, like a large brown trout,
By the men and Shikara were soon fished out.
As we poled up the Sind, our boat sprang a leak,
Which made us tie up to the banks of the creek.
With rags and with tatters, we caulked up the rent,
Having done this, once more on our journey we went.
Thro' swift streams that twisted and ere night did fall
We reached that delightful spot called Ganderball.
One bank, it is lined with tall Chenar Trees,
A little way further an old bridge one sees.
With hills and high mountains a lovely background,
With green fields and forests all lying around.

Next morning quite early, we, ponies and all
Climbed the slopes of Harmouk to the lake Gangabal.
Sacred to Hindus for here is the source,
Where the great river Ganges commences its course
The first stage is Wangat, Naranag the second,
A terrible trudge, much more than we reckoned.
Till we camped out at last 'neath the tall Walnut trees
And tried to make out that we all felt at ease.
Then to add to our comfort it commenced soon to rain,
It rattled and thundered, stopped, started again.

The scenes, they were lovely, majestic and grand,
With a fast running stream, lying closely at hand.
It rushed and it roared through rock and dell,
Forming pretty cascades as it rose and it fell.
The whole of next day it did nothing but pour,
And the stream just below in cascades did roar.
Flank'd by wooded heights right up to the sky,
Just tier upon tier, several thousand feet high.

'Tis the Wangat stream, how it whirls and it swirls,
Finally into the Sind its water it hurls.
How it blew in great gusts, Oh ! wasn't it cold
And the snow lined the summits in outlines bold.
So we up with our tents, we dandies and all,
And back we all went to fair Ganderbal.
From there we determined our way we would take
And see for ourselves the great Wuler Lake.

When we reached Sombal the Rasi Bhat said no,
I regret my dear sir, you forward can't go.
As the Manjis have struck and there's no one to pole,
Some men I'll give, who'll tow you out of this hole.
Here in a Shikara our way we did make,
And viewed with delight the small Mansabal Lake.

The shades, they were lovely, the hills grey and green,
In the depths of the water reflected are seen.

Some men Rashi gave us, who towed us afar,
And who brought us back safely to Srinagar.
There we stayed for a while and some photos we took,
Then packing our goods up we all slung our hook.
For back once again to hot Pindi we must,
Over terrible roads and thro' terrible dust,
Which blew in great clouds, along the whole ride
And covered us over both in and outside.

We were dashing round curves as fast as you please,
When one of our tyres just gave a loud wheeze.
The car was brought up with a frightful shock,
And landed us right on the edge of a rock,
With a fall just beyond of a few hundred feet,
Where some fine jagged rocks in falling you'd meet.
We blew up the tyre, tried to mend it apace,
The tear only widened and smiled in our face.

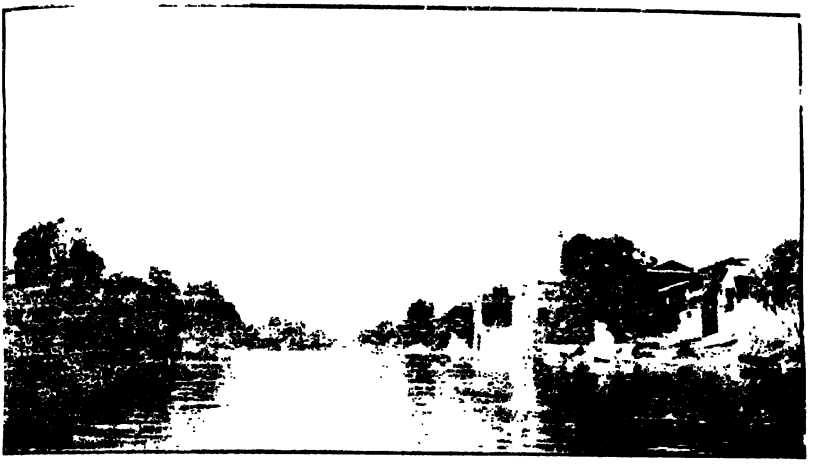
We put on a new rim and went on our way
When the rim and the tyre both carried away.
Down the hill-side it sped at a very fast pace,
Then the driver and others all joined in the chase.
They captured the truant, fixed the rim firmly on,
And hoped that the tyres had finished their fun.

The scenery lovely, thro' forests and glades,
The stream rushes madly, forming pretty cascades.
Down, down thro' the valley and up the hill-side,
We drive right along, into Muree we glide.
Then what with the dust, heat, and bumpety bump,
Ere we reached hot Pindi we'd all got the hump.

Oh! Kashmir indeed is a lovely spot, there's not the
slightest doubt,
If you have got the cash, my worthy friend, I'd advise
you to go and find out.

D. SWINHOE

IN AND AROUND KASHMIR

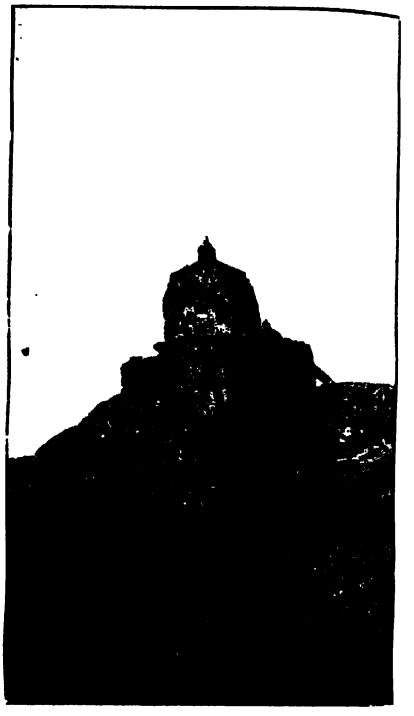




Gunge Barat, Srinagar, K[illegible]



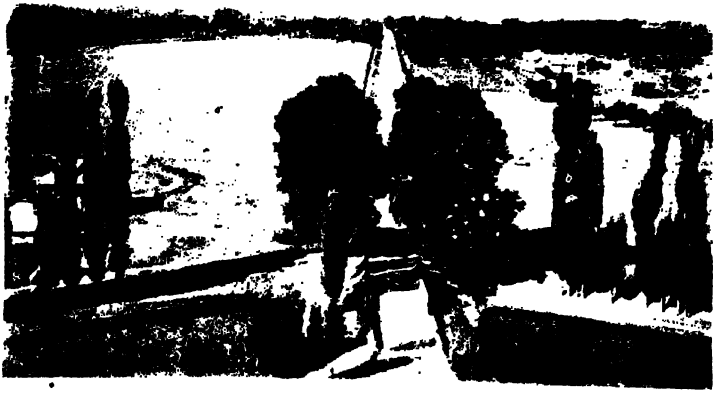
Takt-i-Sulimán, Srinagar, Kashmir



Part of Shankaracharya Hill, Srinagar, Kashmir



Hari Parbath Fort, Srinagar, &c.





Tunnel, Jhelum Valley Road



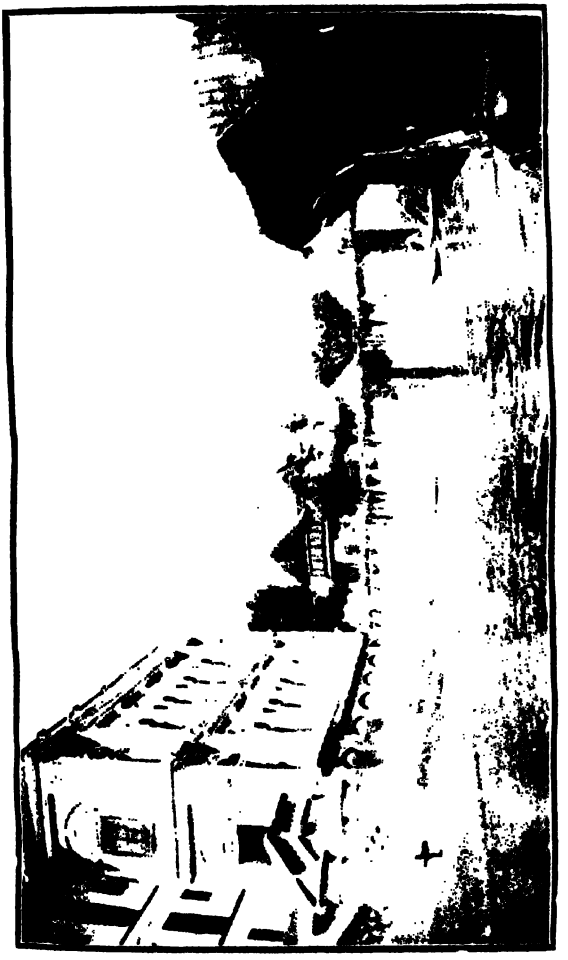


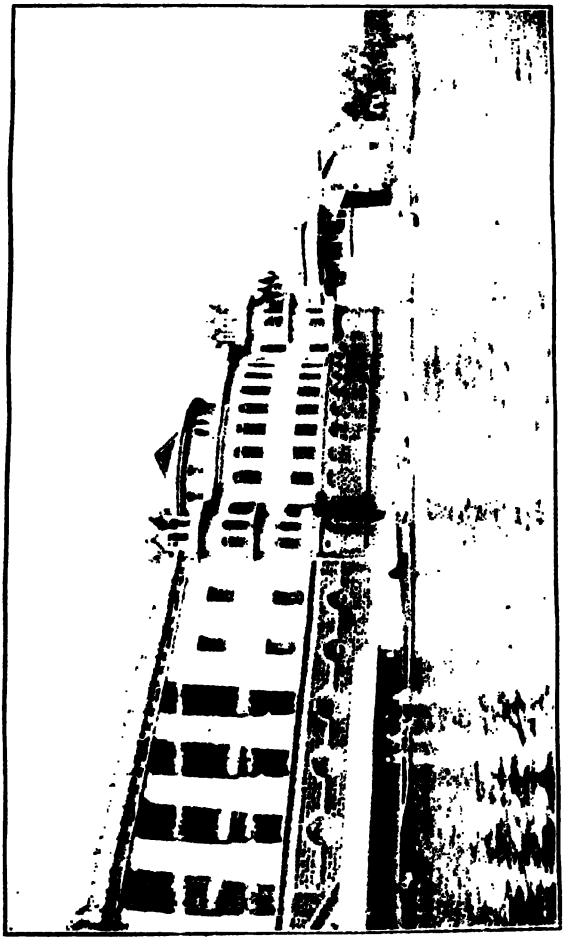


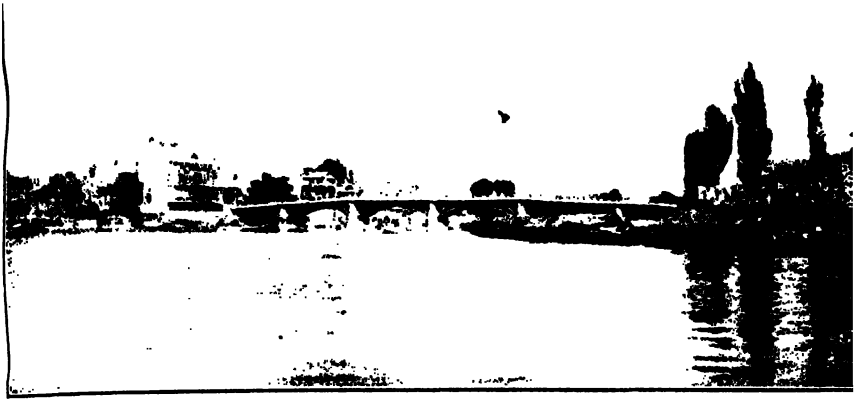




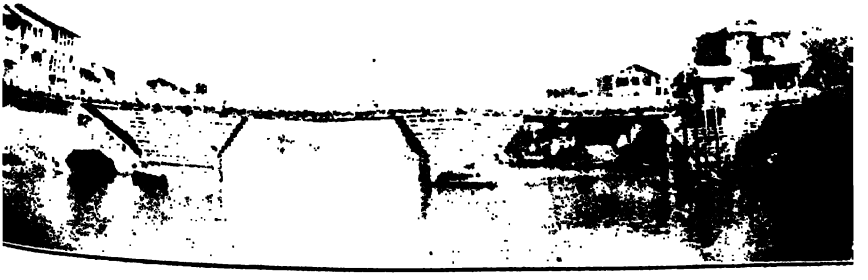








First Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir



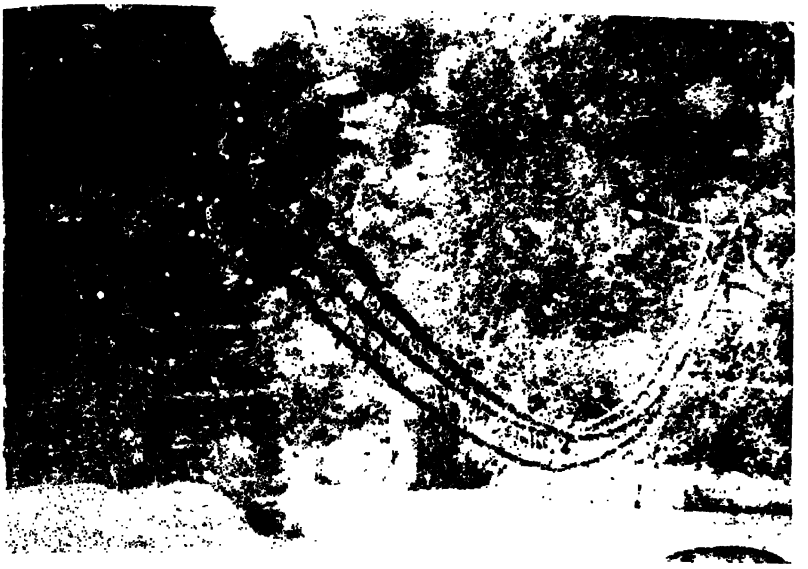
Second Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir

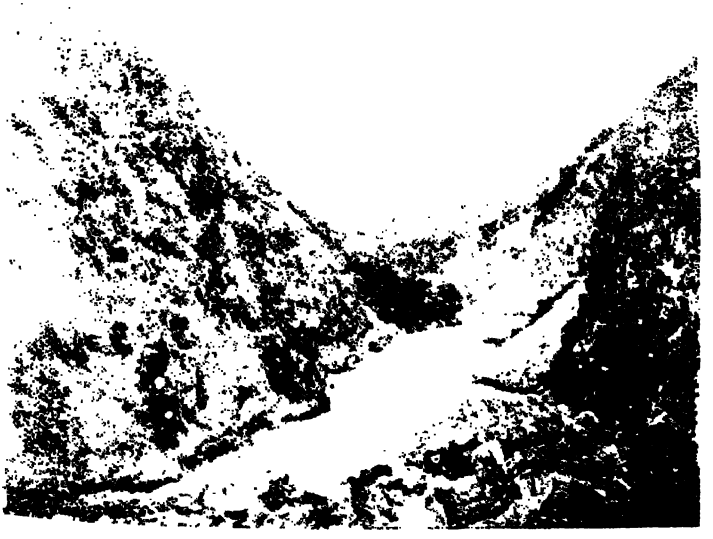


Hazratgo Bagh, Srinagar



Lalmondi Museum, Srinagar





Jhelum River



Polo on the Golf ground, Lake Side, Srinagar, Kashmir



Miss Sylvia Swinton—the lady to whom we are indebted for the excellent Kashmir snapshots

THE ORIENTAL CONFERENCE IN CALCUTTA

The second session of the Oriental Conference which was held under the auspices of the Calcutta University is now over. The proceedings of the opening day have been described in the last issue. And we now hasten to give a brief and general account of the Conference as a whole, which we hope will not be found uninteresting. The idea of holding a congress of orientalists in India was originally suggested by Professor Macdonell of Oxford at the International Oriental Congress at Copenhagen. But it had to be abandoned, because, though a Congress in India would have been a great attraction to the European Indologists, a visit to India could afford no special advantages to the others who were interested in Assyriology, Egyptology, and so forth. The idea was again afterwards mooted by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in 1911 when a conference of orientalists was held at Simla. He was then acting for the Director-General of Archæology, and in that capacity he submitted the proposal for the consideration of the orientalists and the Government of India. But nothing came out of it. The President of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts of the Calcutta University as early now as 1918 thought of convening a conference of orientalists under the auspices of the University. But just at that time the members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona were also thinking about the matter, and it was deemed desirable to allow them to work out the scheme. This culminated, we know, in the first session of the Conference at the capital of Maharashtra in 1919. And the President of the Post-Graduate Department then seized the opportunity of calling the next conference to Calcutta. This Second Conference commenced, as we have seen, on the 28th of January, and came to a close on the 1st of February.

About one hundred and twenty-five delegates had come. And as many were the members of the Reception Committee, who were mostly connected with the Post-Graduate teaching of the University. Some students of Calcutta also were allowed to join. On the whole, it was a fairly big assemblage. The delegates were, in most cases, elected by the different Provincial Governments, Native States, Universities and learned Societies. Of course, many more had been elected than had actually come. This was probably due to the fact that those who were elected were not themselves very rich, and the Institutions that appointed them did not think it worth their while to grant them any travelling allowance. If this is true, it is a great pity. For the main object of such conference is not to afford scope to scholars, as is commonly thought, to put forward the results of their research work before their confrères in the shape of long and erudite papers. For these are being printed every year in the various learned Journals and read by the various people without attending any conference. No conference is required for this purpose. The principal object of the Conference is to allow an opportunity to scholars of different provinces to mix with one another and discuss matters connected with and promoting their special studies. Unless therefore the different learned institutions make it financially possible for their representatives to attend Conferences, no real and solid progress can be expected in the field of oriental research.

We have already stated in the last number of the Review that the Conference was opened by H. E. the Governor of Bengal, who himself being a scholar of no mean order, delivered a very learned speech. He was followed by the President of the Post-Graduate Department, who is now luckily for us also the Vice-Chancellor of the University. He delivered his address, of course, as President of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates that had assembled. He traversed the vast field of Indology of the

pre-Muhammadan period in a masterly fashion and described succinctly the research work done by the different workers, European and Indian, and, what is still more important, indicated the lines on which it ought to develop itself, in order that there might be an all-round progress of the oriental studies. Then came the speech of the President of the Conference, Dr. Sylvain Levi, who mainly pointed out the necessity from the European point of view, of studying the modern life of India in order that its past history and culture might be better understood. All these speeches will be found reproduced in the last number of our Journal, and must have been read with great interest.

On the second day of the session the delegates divided themselves into several Sections in accordance with the papers they had to read or wanted to listen to. The names of the scholars who presided over these Sections have been given in the last issue, and the meetings of each Section came off successfully. There was no dearth of papers, of course. But a glance at their titles is enough to convince anybody that research work is not proceeding with equal pace in all branches of Indology. The largest number of papers were connected with Ancient Indian History, which subject appears to have become very popular in India. The number of papers received under this head was indeed so large that they had to be spread over the three Sections: Archæology, Political History and Chronology, and Social and Religious History. Other Sections such as "Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature," "Philosophy and Religion," and even "Ethnology and Folklore" were also in a fairly satisfactory condition so far as the papers were concerned. The "Vedic" and "Iranian Language and Literature" Sections were somewhat barren. The most famished Section, however, was the "Arabic and Persian" Section. This is a great pity, as the Muhammadan delegates who attended the Conference were by no means few.

The number of papers received from the delegates was, on the whole, a sufficiently large one. Though some of these were thought by the people to be of somewhat indifferent value, there can be no doubt that a good many there were which contained something new or original. Some again were of ravishing interest and of great importance to an Indologist. "Indian Columns" by P. K. Acharya and "Harvan Excavations" by Ramchandra Kak were thought to contain much information which was useful to an archæologist. Mention in this connection may be made of "A Granite Arch-stone from the Site of Pātaliputra" by K. P. Jayaswal, which created a great sensation. "Medhātithi as revealed in his Manubhāshya" by Ganganath Jha, "The Popular Element in Classical Sanskrit Drama" by Śivaprasad Kāvyatīrtha, "Avantisundarī-kathā" of Daṇḍin" by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, and "Subandhu and Vasubandhu" by Rangaswami Sarasvati arrested the attention of all the scholars who attended the Section of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature. "Prabhākara School of Mīmāṁsā" by S. S. Kuppuswami Sastri and "The Bhakti Doctrine in the Śaṇḍilya Sutra" by B. M. Barua were much appreciated for the original thought they contained. Two of the papers read before Science Section are also worthy of note: one "On Laghumānasam of Muñjala" by N. K. Majumdar which was considered to be of great value for the history of ancient Indian Astronomy and the other "Streets and their Planning in Ancient India" by Mr. Dutt which evoked much interesting discussion. Most of the opening addresses of the Presidents of the various Sections were also replete with much new information and critical thought. One criticism, however, we cannot forbear ourselves from making. Not a few of the papers submitted were too long to be read at any Sections. Of course, the papers were interesting in themselves and contained much that was useful. But such papers cannot be properly appreciated at the meetings of the Sections, where they have to be either hurriedly

read or to be left half-read, as they are too many for the limited time at the disposal. What the delegates of the Conference ought to do on such occasions is not to write long erudite papers surcharged with new matter and bristling with fine arguments, which must take a long long time to read and still longer time to digest, but rather short notes giving accounts of the new ideas that have occurred to them and the new discoveries they have been able to make in the course of their studies. Such notes should not take more than ten minutes to read and cannot thus cloy the mind of the audience with too much of rich pabulum.

The Sectional meetings were held in the mornings, and the afternoons were reserved for the entertainment of the guests. People coming from various parts of India to such a distant city as Calcutta would naturally be anxious to see such things as would suit their tastes and pursuits, over and above discharging the work that has principally brought them to Calcutta. As such people in the present case would be scholars and educationists, they were expected to feel interest in institutions in Calcutta which were already engaged upon literary, historical and such research work. Each day's business was therefore wisely divided for the delegate into two parts, one relating to the actual work of the Conference for which he had come and the other to visits to learned societies and institutions. Under the latter head were included visits to the Nahar Collection of Oriental Art, the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, the Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, the Indian Museum, the Victoria Memorial Hall, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Entertainments, though there were not many, were also not neglected. Thus there was a steamer trip to the Botanical Gardens, where there were not only tea and refreshments which gratified the inner man but also free social intercourse which delighted the inner soul. The whole party landed at the Sibpur College Ghat on the other side of the Ganges and walked down in different tiny

groups to the Banyan tree, which is the chief attraction of the Gardens and which in India appeals not only to the scientific but also to the literary or religious bent of mind. Another kind of entertainment was the Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, provided at the University Institute. Here was a long and varied programme, which ravished the artistic sense. The *sarode* performance especially was superb, and was well received by the audience. At the end the Sanskrit Mahamandal of Calcutta gave a performance from the Sanskrit drama, the *Mrichchhakatika*. This item was exceedingly interesting to the delegates, most of whom were from outside Bengal, and had never seen the Bengalis acting a Sanskrit drama. They were much charmed with the performance, and were sorry that the whole piece was not acted. This play, however, related to life that has practically passed away, and everybody was longing to know something of the modern life of the province to which they had come. This longing was fulfilled by the Governor of Bengal, who invited the delegates to a party at the Government House, where they were treated to a performance in English of the *Dak-ghar*, that celebrated allegorical play of that celebrated Bengali poet,—shall we say, world-poet—Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore. The curious thing about it was that the performance was given by the Shakespeare Association in India, Calcutta, and where consequently not only the Bengali but also the European members of the Association took part. The performance left nothing to be desired, and the acting of the person who took the part of Amal, the boy-hero, was marvellous. This person curiously enough was a girl, not a boy, and, again, a European, not an Indian. And yet she so thoroughly identified herself with the Indian life that while she was acting, nobody suspected that a highly strung but finely tuned Bengali boy was not before him.

The afternoon of the last day of the Conference was reserved for the General Meeting of the delegates, where

questions affecting oriental studies in general and the Conference in particular were discussed. Perhaps the most important resolution passed related to the sending of delegates by the Conference to the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Inter-allied Asiatic Societies, which was started in London during the war and which has had three sessions so far. The motion was placed before the Conference at the suggestion of the President, Dr. Sylvain Levi, whose note on the subject was read out for the information of the members. One idea contained in it was that the prominent scholars of India should be associated in the schemes of preparing and publishing important works on orientalia by a band of scholars, who were exclusively European and American. The second idea was that as regular information was exchanged at each session of the Federation in regard to the publications undertaken singly or jointly, there was no fear of unnecessary reduplication of publication work, so far as Europe and America were concerned. But as important works for publication were undertaken also in India, it seemed desirable from the view-point of economy, both in money and labour, that scholars in India should also know along with their colleagues in foreign countries what works were being prepared by what scholars. If, therefore, the Conference or any learned Societies in India are at all included in the Federation, we have no doubt that more progress will be achieved in the sphere of orientalia. There were two or three other Resolutions which related to the consideration of means for promoting oriental learning. But we do not think that they were of sufficiently practical character, to require mention. One resolution, however, that deserves mention here is that which expressed the approval of the Conference of the work done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in the matter of preparing a critical and scientific edition of the Mahabharata and recommending it to the notice of governments,

princes, and patrons of literature for monetary and other support.

One of the resolutions carried by the Conference, as might be expected, thanked the Chairman, Members of the Reception Committee, and the Post-graduate students, who organised the Conference and provided for the comfort of the delegates. The Second Session of the Oriental Conference was admitted by all to have been, on the whole, a great success. Many of the delegates were highly pleased with the various arrangements and, above all, with the smoothness with which the different items came off one after another, though they were in quick succession. It was admitted that the credit was all due to the Vice-Chancellor and also to the Secretaries, in particular, Mr. W. R. Gourlay, who in spite of the onerous duties he has to discharge and the numerous calls on his invaluable time as Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bengal very kindly agreed to be both Secretary and Treasurer and threw his whole heart and soul into his new work. The characteristically practical turn of mind of both the Vice-Chancellor and Mr. Gourlay was evinced by the Resolution moved on the last day by the latter at the suggestion of the former for giving the Conference some permanent constitution. Only one Resolution now requires to be referred to, and we must refer to it here at the end. It is the Resolution which gratefully accepted the invitation of the Madras University to the Conference to hold its third session at Madras.

B. S.

TO THE WIND

Where is thy home O wind,
Where refuge thou dost find
To fold thy wings a while
That fly o'er many a mile,
And bind thine airy locks
Loosened by wanton knocks?

Oft on a summer noon
I hear thee softly croon
To the rosebuds fair and young
And the marigolds newsprung,
I see thee gently rock
The lily's slender stock
And catch thee kissing oft
Her honied lips full soft.

Thou art not always mild
But sometimes wander'st wild
Pulling off blossoms gay
And scatt'ring leaves astray;
Thou shak'st the yellow corn
And leav'st the fields forlorn

Sometimes at even fall
Beneath a dusky pall
I hear thee sadly moan,
As if thou wert alone,

As if without a mate
To wander was thy fate;
Thy sobs and piteous sighs
Have often filled mine eyes
With tears for thy distress,
Which thou couldst not suppress.

But when o'er hill and dell
Sleep steals and lays a spell:
When trees quite motionless
Shake not a single tress;
And flowers by the stream
Gaze calm as in a dream
At their mirrored faces rare
Like unto narciss fair;
When not a petal drops
Tho' reft of all its props;
Where dost thou then, O wind,
A home for thyself find?

V. B.

Reviews

Ideals of Indian Womanhood—pp. x and 365 by Panchanan Bhattacharyya, B.A., B.T., 1921, with a foreword by Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Kt., M.A., LL.M. M.L.C., published by Messrs. Goldquin and Co., College Street Market, Calcutta.

Benjamin Kidd has pointed out in his last work that in future 'Power in the highest form of integration will win' and that the centre of power in the coming order of civilisation will be Woman. So in these days of reconstruction a well-written book on Indian Womanhood is of vital social importance. To India suffering from a conflict of ideals, it is the supreme moment of stock-taking. Bankruptcy of thought and ideals at the present day would but mean to her utter ruin. So the author has done well to hold up from the past some of the best-known model for future guidance. Most of the examples cited are familiar to every Indian household. But the putting together side of side of various phases of the noblest of Indian womanhood from the Vedic times to the present day has immense value. While accentuating the adaptability of Indian civilisation it shows that Indian womanhood is a factor still to be reckoned with, for in whatever stage it had been called upon to play a part it has never been found wanting. In the early days of Vedic life, in the poetic environment of the hermitage, was born that *Sandhyā* incarnate, Arundhati. 'A fountain of delight' flowers grew up at her tread and she became the repository of knowledge, truth, love and honour and her fame filled the world. Arundhati gets a proper husband in the great sage Vasistha and 'like an ideal Hindu wife she loses herself in her Lord as a river loses itself in the vast unbounded ocean.' From a different atmosphere, the dim clash of religions and sects of past ages comes again another ideal of womanhood, the wife of Siva, Sati who as the author remarks 'is the first instance in the annals of the world when a woman resented an insult to her husband by making the supreme sacrifice by way of a protest. The story told and retold in Indian soil has infused the Indian woman with a very lofty ideal of wifehood.' The tale of Sāvitri where the chaste wife's love and devotion to her husband proved even superior to the strength of the Lord of Death is very well told. 'Sāvitri still inspires Indian womanhood with her bright example of

chastity and devotion. Long afterwards this ideal was held up again in a European country, and on the shores of Hellespont burnt this putrifying flame in the life-story of Laodamia.' It is this comparative outlook and modern touch that has made the author's touch so charming. The series is very rightly chronologically arranged and speaks volumes of the historical sense of the author. First comes the mythic cycle of Vedic times with the ideals of purity and self-consecration typified in an Arundhati or Sati. Then comes the epic cycle which unfolds the life of constancy of a Shaibyā, of self-abnegation of Sitā, fidelity of Sāvitri and righteousness of Gāndhāri. From Buddhist times comes the ideal of renunciation and philanthrophy embodied in Gopā and Supriyā who entered the sacred cloisters of Buddhist monastery and ministered to the needs of suffering humanity. How in mediæval times Indian womanhood could rise to the calls of stirring times and die fighting for honour and country's cause may be well seen in the lives of Samjuktā, Padmini, Chānd Sultānā or Durgāvati. Modern conditions which the author fitly terms the cycle of transition brought forth a Devi Sāradāsundari (saintliness), a Mahārāni Svarnamoyee (public spirit), and a Devi Aghorekāmini (service to fellowmen). There are several others which have been aptly included and many more which had to be left out. But no praise is too high for the author's judgment, selection and presentation and a perusal of the book would be profitable to everybody interested in India.

P. M.

"The Idea of Coventry Patmore."—By Osbert Burdett (Oxford University Press, 1921).

The Introduction informs us that the book is "an attempt to present the substance—the intellectual idea—of Coventry Patmore's poetry," the excuse being that his poetry "has fallen on deaf ears" (p. 160) and also that the present time "when the world of thought is as much disordered as the world of action" is particularly suitable for such an attempt (pp. 212-13).

The book contains eleven chapters the first eight of which form a complete statement of Patmore's theme, the fifth being particularly valuable as part of the exposition of Patmore's philosophy of love which clearly enunciates the poet's position and his point of view. There is a fine analysis of Patmore's poems in this chapter which is also rich in valuable

comments and critical remarks. The sixth is devoted to his technique with special reference to the *ode* and the seventh traces "the religious inference" of the philosophy of human love—"the courtship of Psyche and Eros having a double appeal to the lover and to the mystic" (p. 144). The next chapter is somewhat hard reading containing an exposition of "the nature of man, of the Homo as the unit of a pair"—a dual parallel emphasised in the two sexes. Here we have an attempt at the interpretation of the abstruse metaphysical ideas in *the Unknown Eros* from Aquinas or the mystical element from St. John of the Cross. We know how religious symbolism of sex largely enters into the Odes of *Child's Purchase* and *De Natura Deorum*. The transcendental mysticism of the *Three Witnesses* makes the *Unknown Eros*, indeed, a "heavenly poem." Mr. Burdett makes the 8th chapter serve as a key to the proper interpretation of the hard aphoristic sayings of Patmore in his brief meditative essays in *The Rod, the Root and the Flower*, showing their bearing on his poetry. He tries to indicate how sex and religion are necessarily related in the scheme of life.

He then works out in two chapters the implications of Patmore's philosophy of love—"its manifold corollaries"—into politics, social life, aesthetics and religion. In the last chapter Patmore's unpopularity is discussed.

The volume before us is an admirably thorough and painstaking study of Patmore with just a touch of special pleading[1] not inappropriate to hero-worship. Even Plato[2] (referred to by Patmore himself in *Angel*, Bk. II, Canto I, 2nd Prelude) and Dante are summarily ruled out of court because the theory of each "idealized one aspect of human relations" omitting "love's simplest fact" and their idealization of love makes their philosophy not fit for men in general. So "nature took her revenge" against both. Whereas Patmore has centred his philosophy on marriage, recognised the due value of "the family as society's most simple unit," and has "tried to build a philosophy of life out of the experiences of love."

The admirer of Patmore will not evidently permit the poet Tennyson—not to speak of Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth and Browning[3]—to come in as a good second to his hero regarding the treatment of his favourite theme. Patmore, we are told, has specially insisted on the recognition

[1] *Cf.*, pp., 4, 20, 29, 47-48, 56, 96-97, 146-7, 156, 161, 167, 173, 178 and 183.

[2] *Cf.*, Introduction and pp. 8-9, 49 and 126.

[3] *Cf.*, p. 124.

of the fact that "nuptial love is God-like" and his original contribution lies in the "emphasis, elsewhere lacking, on the divine nature of human love" (p. 133) making his poetry "a breviary for married lovers" (!) and though his theme is borrowed from theology "it was the emotional verification of the truth that God is love that he desired to set to song" (p. 150).

This loudness of over-emphatic and exclusive claim may be partly due to the irritating consciousness of Patmore's contemporary neglect or lukewarm appreciation from Ruskin, Carlyle, Newman, Emerson and Hawthorne.

Patmore's complaint [1] was, we know, that he fell on evil days—"on the dregs of a deadening time, and pitched his tent in a world not right," but on which he "made to blow the authentic airs of Paradise." Yet the world's neglect was not allowed to make "his homely Pegasus kick or rear." In fact Patmore's was a haughty soul strangely touched with a central Christian humility. But there is something defiantly individual in his politics and theology and his poetry is the poetry of personal experience recorded with absolute sincerity. With Milton and Wordsworth he believed in the poet's sublime mission and his poetical efforts, extended over nearly 45 years, were interspersed with intervals of deep meditation. His is not the nineteenth century lyrist's subjective style of self-expression as regards his ideal of Nuptial Love—"the root of all our love to man and God"—a theme rather neglected, he fancied, by all great poets. Patmore claims to have discovered the well-head of inspiration in "the first of themes, sung last of all," in "the love that grows from one to all" —the most heart-touching theme "that ever turned a poet's voice" and in which may be traced "outlines occult of abstract scope," a future for philosophy, for

> "Love kiss'd by Wisdom, wakes twice Love
> And Wisdom is, through loving, wise."

"Love," he sings, "is potent for wonder, worship and delight," its "foot-fall dignifies the earth"; "love is substance and truth the form" and it is

> "Of issue infinitely great
> Eclipsing finite interests all," and
>
> "The love of marriage claims above
> All other kinds, the name of love"

[1] *Cf.*, *The Two Deserts* and the *Poem* (*Unknown Eros*).

'The infinite of man is found
But in the beating of its bound.'

On the higher heights this homely passion is the "symbol of Christ's marriage with the Church" considered "as more than a metaphor" and "all delights of earthly love are shadows of the heavens" symbolising spiritual love dedicated to the service of the Blessed Virgin. "Lovers are the fountains of morality" and so he insists on a "right life which takes its vigour from control." But he is no more a Puritan than an Epicurean and knows that right life is "*glad* as well as just" and on occasions courageously paints "the flame's intensest glow" with a fervent "tremor uttering all his soul at ease."

Mr. Burdett shows how Patmore's philosophy of love builds a ladder from the firm base of the simplicities and domesticities of human love to the summit of Christian mysticism where "flesh and spirit are indistinguishable." "Natural love is the precursor of the Divine—being nothing other than the rehearsal of a higher communion of God with the soul."[1]

The writer of the book has successfully employed his method of exposition of Patmore's *idea* by means of a detailed and elaborate analysis of the poems, a running commentary on difficult passages, extensive quotations, effective co-ordination of the different pieces into a whole in which, where necessary, the connecting links are made clear and explicit with real insight, great industry and persuasive skill. He is aware of the disadvantage of a dry prose analysis and wisely leaves finished artistic portions of the poems "unsoiled by any detailed comment." This self-denial could have been more extensively practised with happy result. The value of the volume is enhanced by the writer's frequent excursions into a variety of interesting topics such as the woman problem, sex and religion, realism in art, the antagonism between poetry and dogma and also by his remarks on special points of interest like Patmore's sense of fact and its right proportion, his sense of limits, his acute observation, true insight, gift of characterisation, his epigrams and epistolary form. Too much emphasis is, however, laid on the poet's practical wisdom and here and there with a touch of unconscious humour the writer makes his serious advocacy a bit ridiculous as when he speaks of Patmore's "*extensive* practical knowledge of matrimony" as a distinct advantage reminding his readers that Patmore was thrice married—"apparently," we are told "to the complete happiness of his wife

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 32, 56, 75, 80, 136, 137, 149, 150, 152 and 156.

on each occasion"! Similarly, the *Angel in the House* is sought to be reduced to a lover's guide book. The plain fact is Patmore's poetry is overweighted with too many references by way of sage counsel to "obvious prudences" in married life. The author also occasionally labours a point, as for instance, by his advocacy of the alleged "virtue of inequality" (pp. 163, 174, 179 and 188) which justifies the exclusion of friendship "wherein an equality of affection is the rule."

Patmore's unpopularity is explained as due to a recoil from the central theme of matrimony considered by artists to be prosaic and dull. The exclusion of friendship from his philosophy of love is defended on the ground that this limitation enabled him "to concentrate on the subject" and that "the interruption of friendship by marriage" might be taken as "one more sacrifice upon the altar of love."

The book closes on a note of sturdy faith that the recoil against Patmore will pass away as greater patient attention is given to the general theory contained in his works to the exposition of which the volume under review has been devoted.

J. G. B.

Sir Jagadischandra Bose: his Life, Discoveries and Writings—(G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, price Rs. 3).

This is an addition to Natesan's famous series of eminent Indians. It is a fitting companion to the other volumes of the series and forms very interesting reading. Those who could not afford to buy the more expensive biography by Prof. Geddes would find this quite handy and quite as full of details. There is at the beginning, a life-sketch of the great scientist and it is followed by a very exhaustive and very well-arranged selection from his writings and speeches. It is always best to allow the hero of a biography speak for himself and this is the plan followed in all the Natesan series of biographies. We see here Bose the man, and trace through the great Ideal he has been following. We see in him the man of the future blending within himself the accurate science of the West which "creeps on from point to point," and the far-sighted vision of the East which includes in an all-embracing synthesis the greatest as well as the least, the mote dancing in the sunbeam as well as the vast star clusters in the sky. India may well be proud of this great son of hers, who has followed Science patiently and faithfully wherever she had led

him; but who has never for one moment lost sight of the great ideals of his ancient race. That is the central part to remember in Bose's life—he is always the Hindu Aryan first and then an F. R. S. The guiding light of all his activity has been always that message proclaimed by his ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago—

"They who see but one, in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else!"

The essays and speeches quoted include even those of last year (1921). A very useful list of all his important papers embodying his famous discoveries is given at the end of the book with appropriate comments upon each. There is also a short account of the Bose Research Institute by Professor Patrick Geddes and also an account of the Research Station at Darjeeling founded only last summer.

The book is exceedingly well-printed and well got-up, the matter is unexceptionable and the theme a lofty one. There is only one thing wanting to make it absolutely perfect—an Index.

POST-GRADUATE

The Message of Christ.—By Ardeser Sorabjee N. Wadia (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.).

It is but fitting that the present time, in spite of the distracting events that are happening all around, should distinctly point to the future Brotherhood of man and the Synthesis of Religions. This little book is one which bears the stamp of the coming age clear upon it. Written by a thoughtful Oriental—a Zoroastrian by faith—it might have as well been written by any thoughtful broad-minded Christian. Those who have read his earlier "Message of Zoroaster" will find here his grasp of the fundamentals of the faith as clear and precise, his discrimination in separating the essential from the later accretions as illuminating, as when he was writing about the faith in which he had been born and bred. Even though a person is ignorant of the "Message of Christ" he will become fairly well informed when he finishes the book—the picture will not be "orthodox" certainly, but it will be complete in the essential features and decidedly satisfying. The impression left upon the mind of the Gentle Sage of Nazareth is one of reverence for the great but simple message that He brought to Humanity. The author himself has told us how he wants the book to be read: he says,

"For the person who can possibly read me to some purpose will be he who will consent to go to the Gospel in all singleness of heart, and follow it laboriously and trustingly, having no other thought but how best to grasp its meaning and enter into its spirit, neglecting nothing and rejecting nothing, believing fully what he can and confessing freely what he cannot, neither letting his faith be quenched for fear of failure nor his confession for fear of censure."

This is indeed the true way of studying every religion, as the *Gītā* has also the same advice to give:

तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया।

"Learn thou this by falling at the feet of the Teacher, by investigation and by service." The "falling at the feet" is not so much the physical action as the mental attitude. The author has succeeded very well in following his own advice and the result has been one of the finest epitomes of the teaching of Jesus that has appeared from a non-Christian. How much better is this attitude than that of the modern critic who "dissects" every shred of evidence he finds, and loses the soul of the religion while cutting up the body, may be left, to the reader to judge. I personally always find Mr. Wadia's method the most just as well as the most "critical" in the end at any rate, when dealing with the Great Teachers who are so far above our petty standards of right and wrong. Treated thus, we shall find that every such message is a "world-message" and though given at different times, to different peoples and in different languages the essence of all is the same—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

I. J. S. T.

Notes on Elementary Social Philosophy and the Duties of Good Citizenship (for the use of Schools).—By J. W. de Tivoli, A.M.I.C.E. (W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta).

This little booklet just aims at putting in very elementary form and in the barest outline, the main principles of good citizenship. He goes upon the assumption that all laws or rules for the welfare of a state must be based on four fundamental principles (1) Truth, (2) Ownership, (3) Reciprocity or Justice and (4) Obedience to authority. The author has a special aversion for communism (perhaps he means anarchy practised under that name) and loses no opportunity to show it. The book would

do well in the hands of an able teacher of civics as it would supply him with points for a good many lectures. In the hands of a bad teacher it would be worse than useless. The general arrangement is well thought out though it were to be wished that some points had been more fully dealt with and also in a much less one-sided manner. The treatment of the alcohol question and of the duties of the employees and the employed are examples of these shortcomings. But on the whole, the book is a desirable addition to a civics library and provided it falls into good hands it will prove useful as outlining a first year's course of civics.

BOOKWORM

The Teaching of English.—By W. S. Tomkinson (pp. 229; Oxford University Press).

Even in England too often, English in school is a mental oakum picking, such is the deliberate opinion of the author of this book. What the teaching of English in India is like had better be left unsaid. The main idea of language-teaching is to enable the student to read and appreciate literature. A language learnt means a new world opening out, as Keats has so finely described in his famous sonnet upon Chapman's Homer. In England the study of English probably suffers because it is the mother tongue, and here in India because it is a foreign tongue. The great mistake made in our country in teaching English has been that too much is made of grammar and those terrible bugbears of our school days "parsing and analysis." I still remember the interest I took in the class work when the teacher spoke of "genders and participles or discussed learnedly on the "adjuncts to the subject and the predicate." It really is a wonder that all love for reading English poetry has not been effectively killed out from *all* at any rate, of the older generation. That it still survives in some of us is due probably to the fact that we dared to face the risk of doing badly at examinations and employed our time in reading English literature rather than English grammar at home. And here, too, let me record our debt of gratitude to a few real good teachers at whose feet we had the privilege of learning.

The book is refreshing in its novelty and in the candour of the views expressed. Old-fashioned teachers would not appreciate it at all; if they could do so they would cease to be old-fashioned. The various themes of reading, recitation, learning by heart, dictation, composition, etc., are treated with insight and sympathy with the developing child.

The ultimate object, to enable the pupil to appreciate literature, is not lost sight of for a moment. This theme is taken up in the last chapter and it amply repays perusal. I remember an account of a Professor teaching English poetry in a school and discussing on a description of a wood. "The solemn way in which he talks of there being a water-fall which fell clattering among the rocks and of the singing birds there and of the usual maiden in its midst—all this is exactly what is being done by hundreds of professors in hundreds of schools all the world over. And the conclusion of it all was that the wood that the Professor so learnedly analysed was but the usual sort of wood." A Sanskrit writer has in touching words held that the Dispenser of Good and Evil Fortune would learn any amount of ill-fortune as a punishment for his sins but he most earnestly prays to Him "not to condemn him to the task of explaining poetry to the unappreciative." That there are so many among us who are unappreciative (*arasika*) is the fault of our teaching methods where we lose the soul.

The Appendix on the Teachers' private reading is very suggestive. Most of our teachers have got such an idea of their own superiority over their boys that all their reading stops from the date of their appointment and they become mere dust-overlaid fossils in a few years. Praised be God who hath given such freshness to youth as cannot be smothered in all this dusty atmosphere of our average schools!

This book is to be read, re-read and inwardly digested by a conscientious teacher (as well as by a student) of English Literature—or for that matter of any other literature in the world.

BOOKWORM

Paper Boats.—By K. S. Venkataramani (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras).

We welcome, though a bit late yet not the less heartily, this goodly fleet. The difficulty is which "boat" to choose for special mention and which to leave out as they pass before our eyes in swift review, where every individual "boat" has its own special merit. In their outer garb (the language) they might be mistaken for purely foreign "boats," but we discover here and there a special oriental touch, though cleverly blended with their general English appearance. The cargo this paper fleet carries consists chiefly of "the milk of human kindness," which seems to have been particularly insecurely packed, for it has oozed out and has saturated the very

paper of which the fleet is composed. This human touch is the most precious contribution this fleet has brought us and on this account the fleet should receive right royal welcome wherever human hearts are beating. Specially to those who have become soured through any cause we would recommend a visit to any of these boats and would advise them while there to taste the contents of the cargo. The sweetening process will be set in immediately and they shall go out the sweeter and better for their visit. The "flagship of this fleet" (in our opinion) is the good and staunch P. B. (Paper Boat) "My Grandmother." This is the first such fleet sent out from India to the English-speaking world. A few more such would accomplish the conquest of the hearts of Western men and women more thoroughly than hundreds of learned articles. We hope the shipyard of Mr. Venkataramani is busy with another fleet and that other shipyards would follow this example and create in time a really efficient Indian navy of "Paper Boats."

BOOKWORM

The Philosophy of Shankara.—By M. A. Buch, M.A., of Baroda. (The Sujna Gukulji Zala Prize Essay.) This work aims at supplying a popular exposition of the Shankara School of Adwaita Philosophy. The book consists of seven chapters and the author has swept together a great variety of conclusions from a wide course of reading on the subject and incorporated them into a short compass in his work. He has made the work a very pleasant study and the reader will get on to the end of the book without feeling the least amount of fatigue. Many labour under a misconception as to the true import of the *Māyāvāda* of the great Ācārya and some have even branded him as an atheist. The readers will find how ably the learned author has proved that the charges laid at the door of Shankara are without any foundation and that such false notions have had their origin in a misunderstanding of his teaching. We heartily recommend the book to the readers for careful study and we have no doubt that they will be fully satisfied with it. All the cardinal points of the Vedanta find a very careful and lucid treatment in the work and the author has been able enough to make a vivid impression of the most intricate tenets of the Advaita philosophy on the mind of the reader. In the sixth chapter the author examines the main position of Shankara in all its cardinal details and compares them with that of some of the Western Philosophers, such as Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Bergson and others, and here the author, with great ability, exhibits various

points of similarity and agreement, as well as of difference and divergence of their views with special reference to some of the most important tenets raised by Shankara. In a brilliant chapter entitled—the Epistemology of Shankara—the author has laid bare the respective claims of Reasoning and Revelation in the Shankara's theory of knowledge and has successfully negatived the tenability of the contention that the great Shankara can be looked upon—as has been done by many writers—as a mere *theologian*, and the author has been able in this chapter to establish Shankara's claim as a great *philosopher*. The treatment the individual self has received at the hands of the author is remarkably clear and the distinction he has drawn between the अहं प्रत्यय-विषयत्व and the चलत्-प्रत्यय-विषयत्व—*i.e.*, how the narrow, self-seeking individual Ego by a broadening and deepening process becomes at last the common "I" in all things and persons—the ultimate form of self-consciousness,—how the narrow 'individuality' is supplanted by 'personality'—is new in its treatment. The work, we hope, will prove a valuable and indispensable help to all seekers after truth who have an eager desire to know the teachings of Shankara in their true light. The author's enthusiasm for his subject and his lucid style will create an interest in the study of the Vedanta. We however regret to notice that the right import by the Shankara's great *sat-kārya-vāda* and the reality of the individual self have not received a *fuller* treatment in the work under review. Shankara has shown that the प्रागभाव of the effects prior to their production as held by the *Naiyāyikas* cannot be looked upon as merely *negative*; it really implies the presence of *future* which works in the present as a force of self-realising *idea*. Shankara's *sat-kārya-vāda* is a remarkably clear exposition of a *relation* between something present and something future, *i.e.*, something which *is* and something which is going *to be*—असंश्च इमविष्यद् घटः सेत्स्यं भविष्यद् घटविषयं प्रत्यक्षज्ञानं मिथ्या स्यात्।.....स्वेन च भविष्यद्- रूपेण घटो विद्यते" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya*), This is a very important point raised by Shankara and this cannot be overlooked. The future or the end, therefore, operates as a power in the present which is revealed only in the successive effects and this end constitutes the very essence of the cause and it enables us to *transcend* the mere time-sequence. Shankara's *sat-kārya-vāda* brings to light this transcendental idea of the causality very forcibly in his commentaries and this has all important bearing upon the final goal towards which the world moves. We hope however that the author will do full justice to this and other parts of Shankara's theory in the second edition of his work.

K. S.

Ourselves

The Asiatic Society

The Asiatick Society, named the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1829, was founded on the 15th January, 1784 when Sir William Jones delivered a learned and suggestive "Discourse on the institution of a Society for enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia." Sir William Jones was elected the first President and continued to hold the office till 1793. For many years, the Society consisted entirely of European members, and it was not till the 7th January 1829, that Indian members were elected on the proposal of Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson. Sir William Jones was followed in the Presidential Chair by a long succession of distinguished European scholars, and it was not till a century later that an Indian, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, was elected to hold the office of President in 1885. The second Indian to be elected President was Mr. Justice Asutosh Mookerjee who held the office during the two years 1907 and 1908. The third Indian to hold the office of President was Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri who occupied the Chair during 1919 and 1920. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been re-elected President for 1921 and 1922. The Presidential Address, which was delivered by him on the 1st February last before a distinguished gathering of members of the Society and Delegates of the Second Oriental Conference, who had assembled in large numbers, will no doubt interest many of our readers who take a legitimate pride in the progress of research work conducted by members of our University. The full text of the Address is as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

It is not incumbent on your President to deliver an address at the end of the first year of his term of office, and if I had decided to keep silent on the present occasion, I could have cited weighty precedent in support of that course. I might also have justified my inaction on the ground that I have already had the privilege to address the Society at the annual meeting in recent years many more times than any other member. But I could not afford to forget that you did me signal honour, when you chose me your President for a second term, and I felt convinced that if I kept altogether silent, my attitude might be open to misconstruction. I trust I may accordingly rely upon your indulgent consideration this evening, while I attempt to supplement with a few observations of a general character the annual report which has been laid on the table, and make some reference to the progress of the work wherein we as a Society are interested, reserving for the next annual meeting a more comprehensive review of the subject.

Let me invite your attention, in the first place, to what may be regarded as domestic matters. During the last twelve months, our strength has been fairly maintained, and the slight diminution in the number of members need not give rise to serious misgivings. Amongst the members whose loss we lament, stand pre-eminent Babu Pratapchandra Ghosh and Professor E. B. Tylor. An erudite scholar, the former was closely associated with the Society as an active member for a long series of years, and even in his retirement continued to edit for us valuable Buddhistic works in the Tibetan language. The latter was one of the most distinguished names in our roll of Honorary Fellows whose achievements are too well-known to require detailed statement here. Our finances also are in a sound and stable condition, and during the year about to commence, we anticipate that our solvency will be amply maintained. I emphasise this point, as our

scheme for a new building is about to materialise. It is really a matter for congratulation that the doubt which, at one stage, was raised in official circles, as to the nature of our title to the present site which has been occupied by us for more than a century, has proved to be entirely illusory. We have at length secured from the Government of India a declaration that the land on which the present premises of the Society are erected must be regarded as the absolute property of the Society, subject to the payment of an annual rent which, however, is remitted while the Society actually occupies the land. This view renders it possible for us to raise the requisite funds by hypothecation of the land and the proposed buildings. I am hopeful that this work will be taken in hand without further delay, though I do not overlook the difficulties that will follow from the possible dislocation of existing arrangements during the period of construction; we have not yet been able to arrange for temporary accommodation elsewhere, and the problem does not at present appear to admit of an easy solution, as there is no prospect of help from the quarter where we had confidently looked for sympathetic treatment.

Let me pass on now to the work which engaged the attention of our members during the last twelve months. I venture to think that judged both by quantity and quality, the out-turn will be found creditable in every direction. Take, for instance, a glance at the antiquarian side. Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar discussed with much learning the history and chronology of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty after the death of Kumara Gupta the First, maintaining, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Radhagobinda Basak and Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali that the Kumara Gupta mentioned in the Saranath Inscription was the son and successor of Narasingha Gupta. Mr. Panchanan Mitra investigated the interesting question of foreign affinities in pre-historic India, Central-Asian, Egyptian and Mediterranean, repudiating the theory of

isolation with considerable force. Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta cast doubt upon the alleged discovery of the existence of a script in India during neolithic times. Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee traced primogeniture as the general law of succession in ancient India in vedic times and attempted to show how it steadily gave way to the prevalent rule of equal distribution of property. Mr. Narendrakumar Majumdar, who has travelled all over India at the instance of the Calcutta University, in search of manuscripts of mathematical and astronomical treatises, gave an interesting account of the Manava Sulvasutra belonging to the Black Yajur Veda, which supplements, in a large measure, the corresponding works of the schools of Baudhayana and Apastamba. Mr. Kaye gave a note on the arrangement of the books of the Rigveda. The study of inscriptions, on the other hand, attracted the attention of quite a number of scholars. Mr. Kisorimohan Gupta edited for the first time the Dhupi copper plate inscription which records a grant of land, by an Aryanised Synteng king of the Jaintia Hills, for the worship of the God Siva in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Mr. Haridas Mitra wrote on the newly discovered Bogra Stone Inscription which has been assigned to the tenth or even the ninth century on palaeographic grounds. Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar, one of the youngest of our members, has to his credit the largest number of papers on antiquarian subjects. In one of his notes, he traced the existence of the term Gauda as early as the fourth century before the Christian era. In two other papers, he discussed the readings of three Kharosthi inscriptions, namely, the Shakardara inscription of the year 40, the Mahaban inscription of the year 102, and the Loryan Tangai inscription of the year 318. He also re-edited the Suë Vihar copper plate which dates back to the eleventh year of the reign of Kaniska and was first edited by one of our past Presidents, the late Dr. Hoernle, from somewhat imperfect materials. In another paper, he edited the Maner copper plate of

Gobindachandra which has an important bearing on the history of Bihar towards the close of the Pala rule. But the paper of Mr. Majumdar which attracted the most attention was that on the Andhau inscriptions of the Kshatrapa Dynasty, discovered by Prof. Bhandarkar in 1906. It is satisfactorily established that what was supposed to have been borrowed without acknowledgment from a paper by Prof. Lüders was in reality a well-known discovery of the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji which no one could think of claiming as his own. Amongst other papers by some of the younger members of our society, may be mentioned one by Mr. Hemchandra Ray on Madra and another by Mr. Jyotischandra Ghatak on the identification of the plants Sarala and Devadaru so familiar to students of Indian literature. Of papers contributed by veteran members of the Society, we are proud to welcome two which represent a good deal of laborious research, namely, one by Sir George Grierson on the Prakrita Dhata-Adesas and another by Mr. Pargiter on a vocabulary of current Bengali words not included in ordinary dictionaries. Mr. Stapleton found time amidst pressing official duties to carry on his important researches on the History and Ethnology of North-Eastern India, while Mr. Seth gave an account of the oldest Christian tomb with bi-lingual inscriptions, which stands in the Armenian cemetery at Agra. Mr. J. Van Mannen carried us beyond the limits of India and discoursed with characteristic erudition on Tibetan repartee songs and on the relation between the little known Bon religion of Tibet and Buddhism. Mr. Ivanow contributed an important paper on Ismailitica, based on materials collected by him during his recent travels in Persia. Finally, we published the concluding instalment of the progress report of the work of Dr. Tessitori, the brilliant Italian scholar who was engaged on the Bardic and historical survey of Rajputana and whose premature death is a serious blow to the progress of research in an imperfectly explored department.

When we turn for a moment to the activities of our members in branches of physical and natural science, we meet with a number of abstruse papers on Chemistry, Botany and Zoology; of these, the most interesting, perhaps, is the investigation on organic antimonial compounds by Dr. Brahmachari and his colleagues, which are capable of practical applications of considerable importance.

I venture to hope that I shall not lay myself open to the charge of partiality towards our Society, if I maintain that the activities of our members justify a hope that its reputation will be well-maintained in the future. But I have heard it urged that we are no longer able to repeat the brilliant record of our earliest years. In this connection, I would like to invite the attention of our critics to two outstanding circumstances. In the first place, the pioneers in a new field have opportunities of exploration and discovery which can scarcely if ever recur to their successors, however able and devoted. In the second place, what is perhaps of even greater importance, the lamp which was lighted by our illustrious founder more than a century ago has enabled others to light similar lamps elsewhere, which must necessarily share with ours the glory of dispelling the darkness that envelops the history of our past. During the last century, societies and other institutions have sprung up in Europe and America as also in Asiatic countries beyond the limits of India, where Ancient Indian History and Culture engage the attention of bands of enthusiastic students and investigators. Many of these institutions are maintained by the State; many again are supported by liberal aid from the public funds, while others flourish by reason of private munificence. It is not practicable for me within the limits of the time at my disposal this evening to touch upon the activities of all of them; but I may remind you of the creditable achievements of some at any rate amongst those that have advanced the cause of learning in this country. Take, for instance, the scientific departments

of the Government of India, Archæological, Geological, Zoological and Botanical, whose publications have attained a reputation not surpassed by that of similar publications in any civilised country. If we confine our attention to the Archæological survey alone, we find that besides the Annual Reports, distinct progress has been made with the Memoirs. In that series, the one which arrests attention forthwith is the memoir by Sir John Marshall on the excavations at Taxila, where he describes the Stupas and Monastery at Jaulian, incorporating a valuable contribution by Prof. Foucher on the decoration and evolution of the stuccoed stupas. In the same connection, we have the numismatic work of Mr. Whitehead and the study by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda of the half-burnt manuscript of birch bark found in the monastery. When we turn to the Archæological survey of Burma, we come across a valuable monograph by Mr. Duiroiselle on the Talaing Plaques in the Ananda temple at Pagan, which was erected towards the end of the eleventh century and abounds in ornamentation of special importance, as well from the artistic as from the philological standpoint. The Epigraphia Indica continues to furnish most important materials for the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History, and one of the recent instalments where Mr. Yazdani deals with Indo-moslemic Epigraphy is full of interesting information relating to the Bijapur Kings, the Kutabsahi Kings of Hyderabad and the Khalji Sultans of Delhi. If we travel further southwards, we reach Travancore, where the archæological work commenced by the late Mr. Gopinath Rao has been carried on vigorously by his successors; and we are now in possession of new information relating to Bauddha and Jaina vestiges in Travancore as also to the Vishnu temple at Tiruvalla. If we leave aside for a moment State institutions, we find that good work has been in progress in the Bombay Asiatic Society, in the Behar and Orissa Research Society, in the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona and in the

Mythic Society at Bangalore. Nearer home, the Library of Jaina literature has made rapid progress at Arrah, and the most important of the volumes recently published is the Bhadrabahu Samhita, which gives an authoritative account of Jaina jurisprudence. But the event of the year is the completion of the fiftieth volume of the Indian Antiquary which has, for half a century, been the recognised medium of communication of researches in every branch of oriental scholarship and constitutes a mine of invaluable information. If we pass on for a moment from the record of original investigations to the rescue and publication of oriental works, we cannot overlook that our activities in the Bibliotheca Indica Series have been supplemented in a striking manner by the several well-known series published in Bombay, Poona, Mysore, Trivandrum and Baroda, even if I leave for another occasion the splendid achievements for the promotion of investigation into our Vernaculars by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in this city and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha at Benares. Sanskrit works of supreme importance have thus been brought to light and placed in the hands of scholars in a reliable form. Let me refer as an illustration taken at random, to a recent volume of the Gaekwar Oriental Series, designated the Kavindracharya Suchipatram. Kavindracharya was a famous South-India ascetic who lived at Benares in the middle of the seventeenth century and is still remembered for his eloquent pleading before the Emperor Shajahan in the Dewani-Am at Delhi, which deeply moved the Emperor and induced him to remit the obnoxious pilgrim tax levied in those days from pilgrims at Benares and Prayag. He had a famous library of manuscripts of inestimable value to all classes of scholars who came to Benares in search of knowledge, and the work now before us is a catalogue of those manuscripts, revealing to us the names of numerous treatises, which though in existence so recently as the end of the seventeenth century can no longer be traced.

I have not yet, however, turned your attention nearest home, because it is always darkest under the lamp. To my mind, the most hopeful augury for our future progress is the creation of living centres of oriental studies in connection with the Indian Universities, amongst whom the University of Calcutta has been the pioneer in this direction. During the last two years, the University has published seven volumes of the Journal of Letters and several separate works which abound in important papers on Indian Antiquarian Research; and the most pleasant feature of the situation is that we have contributions not merely from veterans, but also from scholars in the threshold of their career, such as Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar, Dr. Benimadhab Barua, Mr. Panchanan Mitra, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Mr. Nalinaksha Datta, Mr. Amareswar Thakur, Dr. Surendranath Sen, Mr. Praphullachandra Bose, Mr. Dhirendranath Mookerjee, Mr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, Mr. Susilkumar Maitra, Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar, Mr. Hemchandra Ray, Mr. Masuda and Mr. Kimura. They have proved themselves able and willing to enter the field along with scholars of established reputation like Prof. Bhandarkar, Mr. Herbert Bruce Hannah, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, Mr. Haranchandra Chakladar, Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, Mr. Saratchandra Mitra and Mr. Bijaychandra Majumdar. Many of the younger, like the older, scholars are members of our Society and have from time to time contributed papers which have been accepted by us for publication. The true significance of the appearance of a new generation of investigators, anxious to pursue research in the field of oriental antiquities, can hardly be mistaken, and we should all of us, without hesitation, welcome and encourage them in what we hope may prove to be their lifelong task. Our founder observed in ever-memorable words that this Society would flourish if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries,

philologers and men of science in different parts of Asia would commit their observations to writing and send them to us; it would languish if such communications should be long intermitted, and it would die away if they should entirely cease. Let us be thankful to Providence that there is now not only no risk of even temporary intermission, much less of permanent interruption of the beneficent activities of this Society, but that, on the other hand, the scope of the work comprehended to be within its sphere by the genius of Sir William Jones has so vastly extended in amplitude and character that it is likely to provide engrossing occupation to devoted bands of investigators for generations to come.

The Woes of the University

The Senate of the Calcutta University, we understand, has written to the Government of Bengal on the subject of the proposal made by the University for raising the fee for registration of students from two rupees to five rupees. It may not be generally known that according to the Regulations framed for the Calcutta University in 1906, the University has been obliged to keep a register of all persons entering the portals of this University or its constituent colleges after matriculation. A small fee of two rupees is charged from such an aspiring student only once during his life. The register is absolutely essential for not only does the University keep touch with such matriculates but also gives them the status of University students wherever they may be placed in life. This we know has been labelled as an *abwab* by persons who live on *abwabs* but all University men know that such fees are levied at every University either in Great Britain and Ireland or in the United States of America.

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The University of Calcutta having fallen on evil times and on evil tongues desired a little increase of its income and sent up a unanimous resolution of the Senate to the Government of Bengal on the 11th April, 1921, to raise this registration fee. In a letter dated 22nd September, 1921, the Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal regretted that the Government of Bengal had not been able to come to a decision on the matter: "Resolutions have been put down more than once on this subject for discussion in the Bengal Legislative Council but they have not yet been discussed and until they are discussed and the sense of the Council known Government are unable to deal with this question." A notice of one of these resolutions was forwarded by our friend Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who, by the way, was unfortunately not reappointed by the Governing Body of the Law College in May 1921. The resolution came up for discussion before the Legislative Council and was carried on the 19th December, 1921. And the Government of Bengal, in the Ministry of Education, regretted their inability to sanction the change in the regulations proposed in the Registrar's letter dated 11th April, 1921. This unceremonious treatment of the University has, it seems, roused the apathy of the Senate and the Senate has just passed a resolution to the following effect :—

"That the Government be requested to state the grounds for refusing to accept the recommendation of the Senate to raise the fee for registration of students."

We can very well anticipate the reply of the Government. The refusal of the Government, however, raises two important questions; firstly, should the University become or not an autonomous body, at any rate, under the Reformed *régime*; secondly, does the sanction of the Government imply sanction of the Bengal Legislative Council? And we know, the Hon'ble the Ministers, are not *legally* responsible to the Legislature.

Age Restriction in the Matriculation Examination

The courtesy of the Government, both *Pre-reformed* and *Reformed*, to a self-respecting University may well be illustrated by a reference to the battle which has raged round the question of reducing the age limit of candidates at the Matriculation Examination from 16 years to 15 years and two months. It was on the 22nd August, 1914, that in a meeting of the Joint Faculties of Arts and Science, that the late Sir Gurudas Banerjee of revered memory, mooted this important question. His proposal in an amended form was accepted by the Faculties, passed by the Syndicate and the Senate on the 21st November, 1914. The University, bound by the Universities Act of 1904, on the 9th April, 1915, made a representation to Simla to give effect to the resolutions of the Senate. On the 8th October, 1917, a further reminder was sent up to the Secretary to the Government of India to which the Secretary to the Government of India replied on the 22nd October, 1917, that "the question would have to be deferred until the consideration of the new arrangements proposed by the Public Service Commission was over." In the meantime, the Calcutta University Commission had been appointed. It came, it saw, it conquered the whole of India and made its recommendations. Shortly after the installation of the reformed Government and the transfer of the University to the Government of Bengal, the University on the 23rd May, 1921, made a fresh representation to the Government of Bengal pointing out the hardship caused upon gifted individual students some of whom had been kept back in school needlessly wasting their time for a year. The Senate further pointed out that no University in India excepting the University of Allahabad, insisted upon a

rigid 16-year rule as will be evident from the following table :

Name of University.	Age of Matriculation.
Madras	... 15 years.
Punjab	... 15 years.
Mysore	... 15 years.
Bombay	... 15 years and 6 months.
Allahabad	... 16 years.
Benares	... No age limit.
Patna	... No age limit.

It was, however, on the 12th August 1921, the Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal declined to sanction the change proposed in a letter noted for its brevity : " In view of the possibility of early legislation relating to the Calcutta University the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) are not at present prepared to sanction any change in the regulation relating to the age for the Matriculation Examination." The Senate, we understand, has approached the Government for a reconsideration of the matter. Six months have gone by and the application for review must have been engaging the mature consideration and anxious deliberation of the Government. Robert Bruce tried nine times. Why not we?

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Our Well-wishers within and without

The Senate on the 18th February last has been good enough to have disposed of a resolution moved by Babu Charuchandra Biswas to the following effect :

" That a Committee be appointed to examine and report on the whole matter (relating to the taking over by the University of Calcutta, of the Calcutta Review), including the question of the *competency* and *advisability* of the University engaging in such an undertaking."

It was on the 8th January 1921, that the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee moved in the Senate that arrangements be made for the publication of University notes and news so

as to make easily accessible to the public information relating to all University matters because, said the speaker, it was absolutely necessary that the University should be prepared to meet a determined campaign of calumny which had been carried on against it. "Indeed one might imagine," said Sir Asutosh, "that this was an age in which some people at any rate, made their living by manufacturing and propagating untruths and half-truths."

On the 11th February, 1921, the Syndicate considered a proposal of the Press and Publication Committee to the following effect:

"The committee considered the question of purchasing the copyright of the Calcutta Review."

RESOLVED—

"That the Committee recommend that the copyright of the Calcutta Review (together with all back numbers available) be purchased for Rs. 1,500."

The Syndicate accepted the proposal and be it noted that Babu Charuchandra Biswas was present in the meeting. On the 25th February, 1921, at a meeting of the Syndicate at which Babu Charuchandra was present the Syndicate ordered the payment of Rs. 1,500 to the Managing Director of the Calcutta Review on receipt of the back numbers of the Review. Meanwhile, though no payment was made, the back numbers were received and no qualms of conscience were felt by anybody. On the 29th April, 1921, the Syndicate adopted a resolution of the Press and Publication Committee, and sanctioned the arrangements for the publication of the Calcutta Review. Some unfortunate events followed with startling rapidity and the thunderclap from the blue came. The Registrar was called upon to explain his conduct in forwarding the now-famous letter of the University dated the 30th March, 1921, to Mr. Sharp and a thunder was hurled at the Calcutta Review.

A lay Senate, consisting of half a dozen judges of the High Court and a dozen other eminent lawyers who, have never been delighted in their lives with "rare practice" either in the corridors of the Darbhanga Buildings or in the corridors of the High Court, and who listened with religious attention and reverent admiration the exposition of the 'law of trusts' were called upon once more to admire the journalistic experience and acclaim the journalistic etiquette of the mover of the resolution. The Senate by a majority of thirty-eight votes to two gave the reply.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more
But more of reverence in us dwell."

The *Review* in the Council

Young Narajole, we understand, in a fit of patriotism and possibly with a desire to advance our cause, has asked a number of questions in the Bengal Legislative Council regarding the *Calcutta Review*, its policy and the actual amount of money provided for it in the current year's budget. We no longer wonder that such questions are allowed inspite of the fact that the Bengal Legislative Council is not the master of the Calcutta University and far less of the *Calcutta Review*. We may at once satisfy the curiosity of the aspiring Councillor or of the person or the persons whom he represents and who may not have the proud privilege of putting questions to the University, that not one single farthing has been budgetted for the Calcutta Review, its office, establishment, printing or despatch charges in the current year's budget and God willing, and if we can maintain the confidence which we have won from the public and the press, we shall not require any subsidy either from the state or from the University. In the meantime, *par vobiscum* to the Kumar Bahadur and his advisors. We wish him all success!

The Financial Crisis of the Calcutta University

A series of misfortunes, beginning from the year 1914, including the leakage of questions, the establishment of the Patna University in the midst of a session, the war and high prices all around, the depreciation of the securities, the creation of two new Universities at Rangoon and Dacca and last, but not of the least importance, the non-co-operation movement against the western system of education have all contributed to the drear financial prospect before the University in the present year. On a recommendation of a Committee appointed by the Government of India, the Post-Graduate Department came into existence. So long as the Calcutta University remained under the Government of India, the Government instituted careful enquiries with reference to each and every one of the appointments made in the Professoriate of the Post-Graduate Department. Sometimes correspondence and counter-correspondence, anxious enquiries made by the C. I. D.—all in careful search made after an "atmosphere of pure study"—created a good deal of delay and fastened the Government with the additional responsibility—apart from the ordinary responsibility of every civilised Government—of maintaining and equipping a University with the funds of the State. The acceptance of the princely endowments of Dr. Ghosh and Dr. Palit and of Khaira involved the University in heavy expenses and it may not be generally known, that during the last eight years, the University has spent nearly thirteen lacs of rupees from the students' fee fund alone upon the Science College. The result of all this has been that the University is now faced with a deficit of five lacs of rupees. The pre-eminent and reasonable request of the Senate to raise the examination fees in some cases by five rupees, in other cases by three rupees, has been refused on the flimsiest of pretexts; the raising of the registration fee from two rupees to five rupees has been strenuously resisted;

re-investment of securities with the sanction of the court has been derided by a section of the Press and some of our noble councillors have not hesitated to impute *motives* to the custodians of the funds in the University. Remuneration to examiners have been cut down, remunerations to paper-setters have been in some cases reduced, in other cases abolished; no fresh appointment in the professoriate during the last year has been made; technical and scientific education have been shamefully neglected; no attention whatsoever has been paid either to the physical or to the moral welfare of students. And all this for lack of funds, when funds are overwhelmingly available for some of the pampered departments of the state!

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Far be it from us to grudge the nine lacs of rupees that have been recommended this year for our new-born sister of Dacca, which, by the way, has a specially circumscribed five-miles limit and which does not control the destinies of any high school or of any Intermediate College at Dacca. We find a liberal government has put down in the current year's budget presented before the Council, one lac and forty-one thousand rupees for the University of Calcutta which is supposed to minister to the needs of the whole of Bengal and of Assam. Out of this sum, one lac and twenty-eight thousand rupees is an assignment from the Imperial Government of India; the remaining thirteen thousand rupees represents the revived State-subsidy for messes for students of Colleges in Calcutta. And the Teaching University of Calcutta has been left to languish in the cold shade of neglect. If no financial aid is forthcoming—and there is no evidence of it inspite of the additional taxation of a crore and half upon the population of Bengal—the teaching department in the University in a few months will be closed. The abolition of this department will not gladden the hearts of our self-constituted educational experts; neither will it accelerate the progress of Science nor will it give back to colleges that cherished ideal

which has been usurped by the University; nor will it send a thrill of joy into the hearts of disappointed candidates and dismissed servants; nor will it enhance the prestige of our generous councillors. The abolition of the Teaching University is fraught with grave peril—the University will be disgraced, national life, national thought and culture will cease to grow. But these are remote consequences far beyond the horizon, of the average good citizen. The immediate result will be that the entire professoriate —barring the professors who hold endowed chairs—will be thrown out of work and some of them may, goaded by dire necessity, commit either intellectual suicide or obtain decrees against the Senate of the Calcutta University from courts of law—for, most of them hold their appointments for a definite term of years—take execution of their decrees, seize the movables, sell off books and furniture in the University to satisfy their debt or their sense of revenge. Is not this Louvain with a vengeance? And what will civilised world think of Bengal and of her representatives?

The Secondary Board of Education in Bengal

The Senate of the Calcutta University, had on the 18th February, 1922, an occasion to discuss the resolution passed by the Bengal Legislative Council relating to the *immediate* creation of a Secondary Board of Education to which all schools and possibly all colleges, up to the Intermediate standard would be transferred. We are told that our well-intentioned remarks on the debate in the Bengal Legislative Council published in the earliest volume of the Review has given offence to some of our friends. We are indeed sorry for them. Senators of the experience and position of Sir Nilratan Sircar, Dr. Howells and Mr. Biss, upheld the traditions and the integrity of the University, and clearly

laid stress upon the point that the University was an organic whole. Mr. Biss frankly admitted that in his attempt to reform the Primary Education of Bengal, he has come to the inevitable conclusion that the University, the colleges as well as Secondary and Primary schools are not detachable parts and therefore reform is not possible without a reform of the whole. So the reform of the Calcutta University, will necessarily entail a reform of the Secondary schools and vernacular and primary education throughout Bengal. Where is that constructive statesmanship which will solve all these mightily intricate questions with sympathy and with foresight? Any interference by a lay body like the Bengal Legislative Council, is likely to land the country in disaster.

The Students' Welfare Scheme

It may not be generally known that the Calcutta University under the Vice-chancellorship of our distinguished physician Sir Nilratan Sircar, undertook the responsible duty of Examining the 40,000 students reading under the University, and of finding out ways and means to improve the health of our youngmen. The Students' Welfare Committee began its actual work from 28th March, 1920, and since then with very limited resources in both men and money, have examined more than 3,800 students reading in the (*i*) University Post-Graduate classes (*ii*) The Presidency College (*iii*) The Scottish Churches College (*iv*) The City College and (*v*) The Vidyasagar College. The report is in the press and we desire to print the whole of it in the next number and request our countrymen to read it carefully, to pause and think over the rapid deterioration and the ultimate certain extinction of the cultured manhood of the country. The report indeed, betrays a deplorable state of affairs. The number of students examined

up to 31st December, 1921, and the period of examination in each College are as follows :—

College.	Period of Examination.	Number of students
1. The Scottish Churches College ...	28.3.20—16.8.20	913
2. The University Post-Graduate Classes	19.8.20—27.9.20	140
3. The City College ...	28 9.20—20.8.21	1710
4. The Presidency College ...	5.9.21—8.11.21	692
5. The Vidyasagar College (So far) ...		349
	Total	3,804

Of these 3,804 students, 1,034 are Brahmins, 985 are Kayesthat, 292 are Vaidyas, 29 are Kshatriyas, 98 Vaisyas, 17 Gandhabaniks, 45Subarnaboniks, Mahisyas 78, Vaisya Saha 54, Brahmos 49, Buddhists 7, Christians 32, Mahomedans 283, Arya Samajist 1, Jains 2.

Only about 10% of the students show well developed muscles as will be evident from the following table :—

College	Muscular	Stout	Medium	Thin
Scottish Churches College ...	13	9	47·8	28·9
University Classes ...	6·4	13·6	4·71	30·7
City College ...	8·7	5·7	53·2	35·4
Presidency College ...	10·4	6·6	55·2	27·7
General Percentage ...	10·1	7·2	50·5	31·9

About 41% of the students show a stooping posture.

About 64% of the students have got normal vision which the remaining 36% are defective. Only 13% of these defectives have, however, been found to use proper glasses.

College	Defective	Fully corrected.
Scottish Churches College...	38·7	14·1
University Classes ...	51·7	21·7
City College ...	29·3	8·6
Presidency College ...	47·3	16·3
	36·2	12·84

About a third of the students shows defective teeth as the following table will show :—

College.	Percentage of Figures		
	Normal.	Caries.	Pyorrhoea.
Scottish Churches College .	58·6	2·4	9·5
University Classes .	60·7	4·3	8·6
City College .	70·6	2·3	2·5
Presidency College .	60·2	10·8	1·8
General Average ...	66	4·2	4·7

General defects including defects of heart, pulse, tonsils, lungs, throat, spleen, uvula, eye troubles, pharyngitis, nasal troubles, liver, etc., are given below in tabular form :—

College.	Number of Students.	General Defectives.	Percentage.
Scottish Churches College ...	913	145	16%
University Classes ...	140	50	36%
City College ...	1,710	353	21%
Presidency College ...	692	351	49%
	3,455	899	

PERCENTAGE TABLE OF GENERAL DEFECTS

College.	Heart.	Lungs.	Liva.	Spleen.	Tonsil.	Hydrocele.
Scottish Churches College	8·1	0·6	0·7	1·6	2·3	·09
University Classes ...	10·1	0·7	2·8	2·1	5·0	2·8
City College ...	4·8	0·5	0·6	2·9	4·5	1·0
Presidency College ...	3·3	0·1	0·1	1·5	14·5	0·5
	5·4	0·4	0·6	2·3	5·8	0·9

The percentages for defectives from all classes, have been thus given :

TOTAL DEFECTIVES

Scottish Churches College	...	...	..	64%
University Classes	...	...	...	77%
City College ...	...	...	...	64%
Presidency College	...	...	...	91%

General per cent 66%

"*We thus find,*" says the report, "*that about two out of every three students require attention.*"

The Calcutta University is the only University in India which has undertaken the task of examining the physical condition of the students, without practically any assistance from the public (excepting the generous help of Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul and Co. who have contributed Rs. 511 in cash and have also promised to supply spectacles to students at cost price). The state has not come to the aid of the University and in a condition of great financial stringency, the University has been able to find about one thousand rupees a month only for this laudable object. All honour due to the never flagging zeal of the Honorary Secretaries, Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose and Dr. Anathnath Chatterjee and the supervisors as well as the nine 'doctor' examiners who on receipt of a conveyance allowance of only Rs. 50 a month, have undertaken this arduous task. If the health of the students thus progressively deteriorates, then the whole system of our education should either be overhauled or be entirely abolished. The sooner we do either, the better.

IN MEMORIAM

Yesterday was the first anniversary of the death of Sir Rashbihary Ghose, an eminent lawyer, a profound thinker, a great benefactor and an illustrious countryman of ours. His associations with the High Court extending over half a century is the history of a great career marked by a gradual and steady ascent to the highest peak of professional eminence. His connection with the University is equally long and glorious. Towards the end of his career he laid the University under a deep debt by his munificent gift. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that the people of Bengal for whom he fought and bled has done nothing to recognise his great and distinguished services. As a lawyer, he always was a shining example of what a lawyer should be, namely, the upholder of truth and the staunch supporter of light and wisdom. As an educationist, he set the example of love of learning for its own sake. As a politician, he sought nothing but the glory of his country. Undisturbed by party factions, unaffected by party spirit, he pursued the path which must ultimately lead to the greatness of his country, namely, the path of moderation, ordered progress and unerring rectitude. It behoves us that we should do something not to perpetuate his memory, for his memory will always be dear to us, but to show our appreciation and our gratitude, our humble tribute to that great man who will always be a guiding star unto this and to many generations to come.

"Only the actions of the Just
Smell sweetest and blossom in the dust."

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1922

THE CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Dated the 18th March, 1922

THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

In December last, I received at the hands of the Vice-Chancellor a certificate admitting me to the honorary degree of a Doctorship of Literature of this University. I had no opportunity, at the time, of giving expression to my feelings of gratification at this signal mark of approbation on the part of the University. I do so now ; and I would add that the pleasure which I experienced in receiving it was appreciably enhanced by the words of commendation from your Vice-Chancellor which accompanied it. It so happens that it now falls to my lot to make, on behalf of a number of the Scholars of this University, a presentation to the Vice-Chancellor. Let me explain. In the year 1919 Sir Asutosh Mookerjee completed the 25th year of his Doctorate ; and it occurred to a number of those who were personally acquainted with his splendid work for the University that the occasion was a fitting one for commemorating it.

A committee of eminent scholars was accordingly formed, under the presidentship of Dr. Henry Stephen, to consider the best means of giving effect to this desire. And it was decided to arrange for the preparation of a set of volumes, in three main divisions, dealing with Arts and Letters, Science, and Orientalia, to be presented to him as a tribute of respect, affection, admiration and gratitude. These volumes, some of which are completed and the remainder of which are nearing completion, will consist of a collection of original essays, contributed mainly, but not exclusively, by members of the University. Volume I, consisting of 27 articles, is devoted to Arts and Letters; Volume II, in two parts, is devoted to Science; Volume III, in three parts, consisting in all of 101 articles, is devoted to Orientalia; and Volume IV is a contribution by certain members of the University Law College dealing with the work of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as a Judge of the High Court. These Silver Jubilee volumes will, consequently, constitute a unique collection of the contributions to learning of members of the University which, far more than any other individual, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been responsible for converting from a mere examining board into an active centre of teaching and research. No more suitable form could have been found for a gift designed to commemorate his great and peculiar services to the cause of education and learning in this country.

It is gratifying to find that, with the passage of years, his energy and enthusiasm remain unabated. The scheme drawn up by him in connection with the recent Khaira endowment provides an example. He will, doubtless, refer to this endowment, which has resulted in an addition to the teaching staff of the University of five chairs in Indian Fine Arts, in Phonetics, in Physics, in Chemistry and in Agriculture. But there is another endowment of recent date which bears witness to his continued enthusiasm, which he will probably pass over in silence. I refer to an endowment

made by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself in April last, with a view to providing a gold medal, to be bestowed once in every two years upon the individual deemed by the Syndicate to be most eminent for original contribution to letters or science, written in the Bengali language. The medal, under the title of the Jagattarini Medal, has already been awarded for the year 1921 to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, to whom I had the pleasure and privilege to hand it over just now; he is, perhaps, the most brilliant writer in Bengali since the days when the famous novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterji pricked the bubble of its inferiority as a living language, to Sanskrit, and secured for it its rightful place among the cultured languages of the day. The creation of this endowment, in memory of his mother, inevitably recalls a similar endowment, created more than twenty years ago, in memory of his father, for the encouragement of the study of chemistry and physics.

But the greatest landmark in the history of the University in recent years is undoubtedly the creation of the Council of Post-graduate Studies. As Rector of the University at the time, I gave the scheme my whole-hearted support, because it seemed to me that it was calculated to establish in Calcutta, under the auspices of the University, a real centre of learning and research, and to do much by resuscitating interest in the ancient culture of the country to stimulate thought on lines congenial to the particular genius of the Indo-Aryan race. I had in mind famous Indian Universities of a past age, such, for example, as Nalanda which, if we may believe the Chinese pilgrims who visited it in the 7th century A.D., was a famous centre of learning, at which were congregated 10,000 students, and the examinations at which were so exacting that, though learned men flocked to its doors from different cities, those who failed to pass its tests, as compared with those who succeeded, were as 7 or 8 to 10—a centre of learning, moreover, where the day was found to be all too short for the asking and

answering of profound questions and where discussion proceeded from morning until night. And I had visions of a modern Nalanda growing up in this the greatest and most populous city of the Indian Empire. Curiously enough, it is precisely the post-graduate department of the University which seems to be exciting the most adverse criticism of the Indian public at the present time. The reason, I think, is not far to seek. Post-graduate work is necessarily costly. And, in these days of fierce economic strain, we need not be surprised if the average man who has sons to educate, thinks a great deal of the necessity of securing for them an education fitting them to obtain lucrative employment, and very little of the advancement of learning purely for learning's sake. He asks himself, in all probability, why a not inconsiderable part of the revenue derived from under-graduates' fees should be devoted to providing a high cultural education to a comparatively limited number of students; and I confess that the present financial circumstances of the University are such as to give stimulus to such questions. One-third of the fee fund is allocated to post-graduate teaching under the rules, and the Senate has the right of increasing this amount—a right which it has recently exercised to an increasing extent. And while it is true that the post-graduate department of the University is solvent in consequence, it is also unfortunately true that the other departments of the University are faced with a deficit. The view which I have attributed to the average man with sons who do not aspire to proceed beyond the ordinary degrees is one which it is quite easy to understand, though I think myself that it is a somewhat narrow one. It assumes that the work of the post-graduate department is carried on for the exclusive benefit of the limited number of persons who partake of it.

Such a view is surely not tenable. The results of post-graduate work react upon the country as a whole. It is this department of the University which is charged with the duty,

which many would describe as the supreme duty of a university, namely, that of adding to the sum-total of human knowledge. It must not be forgotten that discoveries in science, for example, may result in enormously increasing the wealth of a nation. Moreover, I do not think that any nation can take a leading place among the foremost peoples of the world unless it is in a position to make its contribution to the progress of human thought. No nation can live solely upon the achievements of its past or upon its borrowings from others and, at the same time, hope to retain its place among the great peoples of the earth.

On the other hand, while I hold this view, I am not disposed to deny that in a poor country, there are obvious limits to the extent to which such studies can reasonably be financed by public funds. The Legislature will, I hope, be prepared to make some additional contribution towards the University in its present difficulties. But the Legislature itself, with extremely exiguous resources, is faced with many urgent demands. And under these circumstances, it appears to me that the University may have to consider whether it is bound to provide post-graduate teaching in every subject in which it is prepared to examine and confer awards or whether, following the precedent set by such universities as Oxford in Great Britain, it should not expect students of very special subjects to make their own arrangements for the greater part of their studies.

I have made these observations, not by way of criticism, but because, in my dual capacity of Chancellor of the University and Governor of the Province, I am in a position to see the matter from two different points of view. And I have been emboldened to give expression to them in the hope that the Legislature will not lose sight of the importance of post-graduate work in shaping the future of Bengal, and that the University will consider whether, in view of the straitened financial circumstances of the

times, it may not prove possible, without impairing the work of the post-graduate department, to prosecute it at a somewhat smaller expenditure from University funds.

This is the last occasion which I shall have to address you; and I take the opportunity therefore of bidding you farewell. Both the University and the student community of Bengal occupy a warm corner in my heart. During the past five years, I have visited, I believe, almost every college in the Province, and I have been moved to admiration for the patient industry and quick responsiveness of their students. A rapidly expanding vista is opening out before the young men of this country. I shall watch with close interest and with unabated sympathy the part played by the students of to-day in the making of the Bengal of to-morrow. And if, as their sincere well-wisher, I may be permitted to add to my good wishes one word of advice, it would be this. Strive to cultivate the habit of bringing a critical faculty to bear upon all your undertakings, so that you acquire a habit of mind which will act as a check upon the impulsive enthusiasm, amounting at times to an emotional abandon, which, as it seems to me, is at once the most lovable and the most dangerous characteristic of the Bengali temperament. May you prosper!

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

My first words on the present occasion must be expressive of my deep gratitude to Your Excellency for the appreciative terms in which you have referred to my association with my *alma mater*—an association which has already covered a long eventful period of more than a third of a century. But what is uppermost in my mind, at the present moment, as it is, I believe, in the mind of every member of this distinguished assembly, is our keen regret that we shall no longer enjoy the advantage of the wise and far-sighted guidance of so accomplished a scholar and an administrator as Your Excellency, in the performance of our difficult task of reconstruction. At the same time, we respectfully venture to express the hope that however exalted the sphere of your future activities, you may continue to watch with unabated sympathy and interest the evolution of this University.

It has been customary for the Vice-Chancellor, at our annual Convocation for conferment of Degrees, to avail himself of the opportunity to review the academic work of the University during the preceding session. I trust, I may claim your indulgent consideration if I depart, in some measure, from this time-honoured practice and take a wider survey of the educational problems which now arrest our attention.

It has always appeared to me to be a singular circumstance that the origin and the development of this University in successive stages should have taken place during periods of grave political excitement. We were called into existence in the year of the great Mutiny when the flames of rebellion were still unquenched, and the times might have been deemed scarcely suited to educational advancement, except by administrators remarkable for their persistent energy and generous

impulses. We were, however, created as a merely examining corporation, with the inevitable consequence that not many years had elapsed before an enthusiastic, though unsuccessful, movement was set up under the wise leadership of one of our most brilliant graduates, the late Mr. Anandamohan Bose, to approach the Government with a request that the organisation might be transformed into a Teaching University. But, as has happened not infrequently in the history of institutions, what was then summarily rejected as a paradox, later became an axiomatic truth, and in 1904 when the Indian Universities Act came to be passed, it was ordained that all the Indian Universities should be deemed to have been established for the promotion of study and research, with authority to appoint Professors and Lecturers for the instruction of students and to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums. This was, in any event, one redeeming feature of the constructive attempt made by our distinguished Chancellor, Lord Curzon, to effectuate the reform of the Indian Universities.

I recall with pleasure the day ever memorable to me when, now sixteen years ago, I was invited by Lord Minto to undertake what has proved to be the gigantic task of reconstruction of the University. I recall also the magnitude and intensity of the political excitement which had, at that period, penetrated into the remotest corners of the land, and added considerably to the intrinsic difficulties of educational reform under the most embarrassing circumstances. The momentum of progress was, however, irresistible, and by the time that I relinquished office after an unprecedentedly long term of eight years, foundation had been laid on a generous scale for the ultimate establishment of a great Teaching and Research University in what was once the capital of the British Empire in India. Little did I dream at the time that I might be summoned again to undertake the increasingly difficult task of reshaping my

University, and this must have been the opinion of so far-sighted and sympathetic a statesman as Lord Hardinge himself, when he sent his message of regret at his absence from that academic function where he thought it would be my duty for the last time to address the Convocation as Vice-Chancellor. But man proposes and God disposes. One of the greatest surprises of my life happened on the day when a year ago I was summoned by Your Excellency and was informed with the utmost cordiality and graciousness that both Lord Chelmsford, who was then our Chancellor, and Your Excellency yourself as our Rector, desired that I should again undertake the responsibilities of office. Refusal was impossible, yet it is needless to emphasise that I did not expect to be installed in a throne of diamonds. No one was more conscious than myself of the perils of the situation, visible and invisible, and I keenly realised that we might have to live through stormy times, specially as changes of a fundamental character had been accomplished in the field of our educational activities in the interval of seven years.

Let me remind you that in 1916, Lord Chelmsford appointed a representative Committee to advise the Government of India on the best method of early consolidation of Post-Graduate studies. The Committee, over whose deliberations I was called upon to preside, included scholars and administrators of distinction, such as Professor Praphullachandra Roy, Professor Brajendranath Seal, Professor Hamilton, Principal Howells, Dr. Henry Hayden, Mr. Hornell, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Wordsworth. They unanimously presented an elaborate scheme of reconstruction. The Government of India, which then included Sir Sankaran Nair, that sturdy champion of freedom and equality in the sphere of high education, expressed their approval of the report. Lord Carmichael, then Rector of the University, added the weighty authority of his judgment and experience in favour of the recommendations. After a protracted debate, the Senate not only adopted the principle

formulated in the report, but also framed Regulations with a view to carry it into immediate execution. Here it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge that Your Excellency, on assumption of the office of Rector, approached the problem with an open mind, and after independent examination, arrived at the conclusion that the new system proposed to be inaugurated by the Senate was sound in principle and merited support. The result was that on the 26th June, 1917, the Government of India accorded their sanction to the Regulations for Post-Graduate Teaching in various branches of Arts and Science.

This marks a new stage, a new epoch, in the history of the foundation and development of a great Teaching and Research University in Calcutta. It is needless for me, indeed, it would be unwise for me, to recall here the bitter controversies which we had to face in the course of our strenuous struggle in taking this new step forward on the way to our coveted goal. But I desire it to be remembered that this fresh advancement was a most deliberate act on the part of the Senate of this University, undertaken after prolonged discussion, approved by two successive Rectors, and finally confirmed by the Supreme Government in the land after the most careful and searching enquiry. It would, I further venture to think, be far from right to overlook or ignore the undeniable fact that the principle of co-operation between the Colleges and the University for the development of the highest instruction of the best intellects amongst the youth of Bengal, has received recognition from the University Commission as the true basis of a fruitful synthesis between a great Teaching and Research University and the Colleges included within its sphere of influence.

Untoward Fate, which had caused the deepest embarrassment to us when the first attempts were made to create a Teaching and Research University, however, followed us with unfaltering step and reappeared on the scene precisely at

this juncture. Disasters in connection with examinations, and the creation of new Universities and other educational organisations within our jurisdiction, which restricted the territorial sphere of our activities and tended to cripple our financial resources, followed in quick succession, just when our new responsibilities, which could not be declined, were steadily on the increase. At the same time, while the greatest of wars in modern history, though happily concluded, overturned the finances of the most firmly established Governments throughout the civilised world, the introduction of new reforms in our administrative system unsettled, in this presidency at least, the calculations of the wisest of financiers. To crown all, political excitement of a formidable character saturated youthful minds at the most impressionable period of their lives, seriously affected their discipline, shook to the foundations their faith in established law and order, and like a whirlwind swept them away from the peaceful avocations of the scholar. To shoulder the responsibility of management, at so critical a period in the life of a great University, steadily developing and expanding, was a manifestly hazardous adventure, which possibly illustrates the hypothesis that the greater the peril of the task, the more attractive the performance of the duty. But we feel encouraged by the assurance of the philosophic historian that we are about to turn, if we have not already turned, a new page in the history of civilisation. We see on all sides unmistakable signs of the pulsation of new life, of new hopes, of new aspirations, in all spheres of human activity. In this struggle for the progress of the race, India will take an honourable position, and her destiny will be brightened, only if we are able to provide in abundance education of the highest type for the children of this generation and of generations yet unborn. In the accomplishment of this noble task, the University of Calcutta, still the foremost amongst the Universities of the Indian Continent, may rightly be expected to be the leader and

the path-finder. I cordially invite all citizens of this enlightened province to study with anxious care the history of the foundation of a Teaching and Research University in Calcutta, to acquaint themselves in detail with its present condition, and to form a sound and an impartial judgment as to the strength and value of its equipments as instruments of our national progress. Meanwhile, let me ask you to bear with me patiently for an instant while I refer to some of these equipments in the briefest outline and tell you what measure of success has attended our humble efforts to lay the foundations of a Teaching and Research University which may yet be the pride not only of Bengal, but of all India.

In fulfilment of the obligation imposed by the new Regulations on the University authorities to provide for Post-Graduate study and research in the Faculties of Arts and Science, they had to arrange for work in twenty distinct departments of knowledge, namely, in English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Indian Vernaculars, Comparative Philology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Commerce, Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Experimental Psychology and Anthropology. The bare enumeration of the titles of so many branches of knowledge may, perhaps, alarm even those that profess to appreciate the vital need for broad-based education amongst a people advancing with rapid strides; on the other hand, the scope of the activities of our University has appeared unduly restricted in the eyes of those who have intelligently studied the conditions prevailing in the great centres of high education in western countries, and more particularly the astonishing developments which have there taken place in recent years. I need not dwell at length on the importance of adequate provision for instruction in each of these topics in a University designed to satisfy the needs of a progressive community. It is sufficient to say that all of them have

attracted students of the best type. Criticism, however, has been directed against departments where the students are necessarily limited in number, and it has been urged almost in a spirit of complaint that it is colossal folly to provide for instruction in subjects of this character. Let me illustrate the point by reference to one branch which, I doubt not, will enlist the sympathetic support of every true Indian, I mean, the subject of Sanskrit studies. I cannot help quoting a remarkable passage from the impressive address delivered by Your Excellency at the last Annual Convocation. "Surely you must be proud of the splendid attempt which is being made here to render to Indian civilization and culture the homage which is its due. Teaching of the highest order along with research work by Indian scholars of repute is being carried on in a number of branches of higher Sanskrit, which in themselves cover a wide field of Ancient Indian Learning." This appreciation presents a strange contrast to the remarkable ignorance of the importance as also the extent and variety of Sanskrit learning which pervades, I regret to think, the minds of a certain section of Indians who, blinded by the dazzling glamour of the west, have forgotten the noble traditions of the east. A reference to the University Regulations will satisfy the most superficial observer that in the Department of Sanskrit, provision has had to be made in as many as nine groups of subjects, namely, Literature, Vedas, Law and Science of Interpretation, Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga, Nyaya and Vaishesik, General Philosophy, Prakrit and Epigraphy. The truth is, as I had once occasion to remark, that the term Sanskrit, though composed only of eight letters, connotes in the domain of knowledge an empire by itself. A similar observation applies, though to a limited extent, in the department of Pali studies, which, as Your Excellency rightly observed, embrace "the far-reaching field of Buddhistic studies." Here, again, provision has had to be made for at least four groups, Literary,

Philosophical, Epigraphic and Mahajanic. Nor have we ignored the claims of Islamic studies including Theology, Philosophy, Literature, Rhetoric, Poetics, Grammar and Science.

I cannot pass over in silence the arrangements made by the University for the encouragement of Tibetan studies. No other University in India affords regular facility for the study of Tibetan, although it is of the greatest importance for the reconstruction of the history of Indian civilisation during the first thousand years of the Christian era. As has been repeatedly pointed out by eminent scholars, during that period of Indian History—one of the darkest in her annals—thousands of Sanskrit books were carried away into the fastnesses of the Tibetan mountains by Indian Pandits and were translated into Tibetan by learned Lamas. These are still preserved in Tibet as the memorials of Indian civilisation, although the originals have completely disappeared from the country of their birth. Amongst our scholars, there have been only two, who penetrated into this region of work—the late Saratchandra Das and the late Satischandra Vidyabhusan. It was with considerable difficulty that the University could make even an humble beginning in this sphere of study. Major Campbell, the political officer at Sikkim, himself a Tibetan scholar of repute, was induced to interest himself in this matter, and through his intervention, the Dalai Lama was prevailed upon to send out to our University one of the profoundest scholars of Tibet—Geshe Lobzang Targe. But after the lamentable death of Satischandra Vidyabhushan, the Geshe returned to the land of his birth, as he could not find scholars here with whom he could carry on discussion on equal terms. We have, however, secured the services of two other Lamas of considerable attainments for the benefit of our advanced students. Our rich collection of Tibetan block-prints and manuscripts, which includes the remnant of the valuable library of the late Sarat Chandra Das received as a gift from his son, has also

been recently replenished by the addition of more than one hundred volumes which cover forty thousand pages and include treatises on History, Logic, Philosophy, Grammar, Medicine, Astrology, Dogma and various other branches of learning. This unique collection has been secured for us by the well-known Tibetan scholar, Mr. John Van Mannen, and will make accessible for the first time many a valuable work, never before placed within the reach of modern scholars resident beyond the limits of Tibet. Closely connected with our activities in this field is the study of Chinese and Japanese, which has been placed in charge of two distinguished scholars from Japan.

Let me next pass on to the department of History. The very mention of this subject recalls to my mind the severe loss we have sustained by reason of the tragic death of Professor Jogendra Nath Dasgupta, far from his native land and on foreign soil, where he had been sent as one of a distinguished band of University Teachers to represent us in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. He was intimately associated with the work of the University in various spheres of useful activity for more than thirty years, and his services will long be held in affectionate remembrance. Our department of History has to be considered in its two great sub-divisions, namely, the department of General History and the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In the General Department, provision has been made for intensive study, with reference to original sources, of such fascinating subjects as the History of England during the reig of Queen Victoria, the History of India from the birth of the Buddha to the advent of Mahomedan invaders, the History of the Ancient East, the Constitutional History of England, the History and Principles of International Law, the History of Islam and Islamic Civilisation, the History of Bengal, political, administrative, social and economic from the Battle of Plassey to the

Permanent Settlement, the History of the Rajputs from the advent of the Mahomedans to the Treaty with the British Government, the History of the Mahrattas, the History of the Sikhs, the Economic History of England and India, the Principles of Comparative Politics, the History of the French Revolution, the principles of Indian Ethnography and Ethnology, the Modern History of China and Japan, and the Constitutional History of British India and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas. Magnificent opportunities of this description, calculated to awaken the intelligence of the present generation of students in Bengal, were not within the reach of those who received their education quarter of a century ago. Well may the question be asked whether it is not desirable that the students of the present day should possess an accurate knowledge of the conditions which led to the rise, growth and decay of different sections of the Indian nation, such as the Rajputs, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs. Well may the question be put further, whether it is not desirable that students should have an intelligent appreciation of the conditions which rendered it possible for the patriotic statesmen of China and Japan to vitalise, to modernize and to reconstruct their ancient civilisations. Well may the question be put, again, whether students should not have an opportunity to study subjects like Indian Ethnology and the French Revolution, when race problems and revolutionary ideals face us in every direction.

Let me now turn for a moment to that division of History which is concerned with Ancient Indian History and Culture. It is the unique triumph of this University that it was the first, here or elsewhere, to establish a Chair devoted exclusively for the promotion of study and research in Ancient Indian History and Culture; and it was also the first seat of learning where the highest degree in the Faculty of Arts could be earned as the result of competent knowledge of

the subject, which must be captivating to all truly patriotic Indians. In this department, every student is required to receive instruction in the general history of Vedic and Epic India, the political history of the Post-Epic period and the historical geography of Ancient India. In addition to these obligatory topics, every student is required to make a choice out of five divisions, which may be described as Archæology, Social and Constitutional History, Religious History, Mathematics and Astronomy, and Racial and Ethnographic History. Enormous are the difficulties of students and lecturers, particularly because there are so few text books on these branches; indeed, they have never received the compliment of recognition as regular subjects of study in any seat of learning. The materials in use have been collected from a variety of sources, many of them neither easily accessible, nor even systematically explored. It is my pleasant duty to mention here that through the liberality of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, supplemented by a generous grant from Sir John Marshall, Professor Bhandarkar and his assistants will shortly be in a position to undertake excavation work in classic Varendra land. Thus, for the first time in the history of high education in British India, has the attempt been made by our University to impart instruction to students in Indian Epigraphy, Indian Fine Arts, Indian Iconography, Indian Coinage, Indian Palæography, Indian Architecture, Indian Economic life, Indian Social life, Indian Administration, Indian Religions, Indian Astronomy, Indian Mathematics, and Indian Race Origin. If a similar attempt had been made in any other civilized country in regard to its ancient institutions, I doubt not the endeavour would have received not merely sympathetic consideration, but also active support and generous help from all quarters. Here, on the other hand, recognition is slow to come. But, nevertheless, we feel encouraged from time to time when eminent critics, so sagacious and impartial, as Professor Foucher, Dr. Thomas and last but not the least,

Professor Sylvain Levi generously come forward publicly to recognise our efforts to wake up an interest in these neglected fields and to carry the horizon of India beyond present India, though we have not yet succeeded to bring these newly recovered domains in real contact with our traditional and classical teaching.

It is distinctly unfortunate that we should be blamed for the arrangements we have made for those very subjects which are indispensable for study and research in a truly national University. Let me turn for a moment to that great department of Indian Vernaculars which is a special feature of our University and which should constitute its chief glory in the eyes of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens. In 1919, the University, with the sanction of the Government of India, opened its department of Indian Vernaculars. For the first time in the history of Indian Universities, it thus became possible for a person to take the highest University degree on the basis of his knowledge of his mother tongue. The fundamental principle which lies at the root of the new Regulations, is that a student should possess a knowledge of two Vernaculars, namely, a thorough knowledge of his mother tongue and a less comprehensive knowledge of a second Vernacular. The student is also required to obtain a working acquaintance with two of the languages which have formed the foundation of the Indian Vernaculars, such as Pali, Prakrit, and Persian. The languages which have already been recognised as principal languages, are Bengali, Hindi, Guzrati and Oriya. The languages which have been recognised as subsidiary languages are Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Maithili, Guzrati, Mahratti, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam, and Sinhalese. The basic languages include Pali, Prakrit and Persian. Besides these, the student has to acquire a comparative knowledge of the Philology of his Vernacular. There is no other University in India where facilities are provided for the cultivation of the Indian Vernaculars on so

extensive a scale. But let me ask whether this would have been possible, unless the University had a department of Pali which included learned Sinhalese monks, a department of Sanskrit which included a Prakritist professing the Jain religion, a department of Islamic studies which included Persian scholars, a department of Comparative Philology which included a Guzrati scholar, a department of History which included a Mahratta scholar, a department of Economics which included a Telegu scholar, and a department of Anthropology which included a Tamil and Malayalam scholar. It is because the University now comprises men of high intellectual attainments in so many branches of human knowledge, it is because the University has broken through the barriers of narrow provincialism, it is because of this combination of talents recruited from all parts of India that it has become possible to open the new department of Indian Vernaculars.

The University has further organised a scheme for the preparation and publication of volumes of typical selections in all the Indian Vernaculars from the earliest stages of their development to modern times. About a dozen years ago, we invited Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen to prepare typical selections in Bengali. Two splendid volumes were published by the University eight years ago, giving specimens of Bengali from the earliest old manuscripts as also from printed works down to the middle of the 19th century. The preparation of selections in other vernaculars, similar in scope, has been undertaken by the University, and scholars from different parts of India have gladly accepted our invitation to collaborate in the accomplishment of this great national task. The first volume of the typical selections in Oriya as also that of the selections in Hindi have been printed and published, while considerable progress has been made in the cases of other languages. It is extremely gratifying that several men of culture have come forward

to the assistance of the University. The Maharaja of Sonepur, one of the Feudatory Chiefs of Orissa, has generously contributed to the cost of publication of the Oriya selections. The Holker of Indore has expressed his readiness to associate himself with the publication of the Mahratti selections. Mr. R. D. Mehta, a distinguished citizen of Calcutta, has contributed a substantial amount towards the cost of publication of the selections from the Zendavesta. Mr. Bholanath Barooah, one of the most enlightened sons of Assam, has offered a handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 to meet the cost of publication of the Assamese selections. It also redounds to the credit of cultured men beyond the limits of Calcutta that some, at any rate, amongst them have recognised the value of the work undertaken by the University. Mr. Sanatkumar Mookerjee has presented to us a large and valuable collection of Bengali manuscripts which will furnish an extensive field for research in the domain of Indian Vernaculars. Mr. Tankanath Chaudhuri of Dinajpur is maintaining a lectureship in Maithili, while Raja Kirtyanand Singh and his cosharers are maintaining the Baneli-Srinagar lectureship for research work in Maithili; Mr. Gopaldas Chaudhuri of Mymensingh is maintaining a lectureship in Bengali; and the Maharaja of Sonepur has provided funds for the maintenance of a lectureship in Oriya.

But surely, the University does require liberal assistance on a far more extensive scale for these and similar activities. Do not our people appreciate the full significance of this great movement? Do they not realise what part the Indian Vernaculars must play if India is again to take her place among the great nations of the world? Are they not aware that in many departments of human thought, where India had in the past occupied a distinguished position, a determined effort has been made by narrow-minded and unsympathetic scholars to dethrone her from the position of honour? Are they not aware, for instance, that for many years past, a steady

movement has been in progress to establish that Indians had no originality in the departments of Science, Mathematics and Astronomy and that the University has not only entrusted its lecturers with the task of exploration of these subjects, but had even sent out one of them at its own expense to collect manuscripts and other materials from the remotest corners of the country? Are not our people aware, again, that a desperate effort has been made to establish that Indian Art owes its origin to the Greeks and that the University maintains lecturers to examine the foundations of this extraordinary hypothesis? Are they not aware that even so cautious a scholar as the late Professor Vincent Smith boldly enunciated the theory that India was not fit for self-government, because representative institutions had no existence in ancient India, and that this theory, astonishing as it was in its departure from truth, was demolished by scholars, amongst others like Devadatta Bhandarkar, Kashiprasad Jayaswal, Radhakumud Mookerjee, Rameschandra Majumdar and Narendranath Law, who have had opportunities or encouragement afforded to them by this University to carry on original research in the domain of Indian History? Blame us not if we deem it inconsistent with true national consciousness that the first and last words, the final and definitive judgments on Indian Civilisation should be pronounced in intellectual centres far beyond the limits of our motherland. Be it remembered in this connection that the attempt to modernise the East by the importation of western culture in our midst, to the complete supersession of our native ideals, has proved a failure. The Indian Universities have not yet been able to take root in the life of the nation, because they have been exotics. India was and is civilised. Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede, much less be permitted to destroy the vital elements of our civilisation. I claim that in no other University in India has this view been realised and carried into effect as has been done in Calcutta.

It is impracticable for me within the limits of the time at my disposal to convey to you even an inadequate impression of the activities of the University in other important subjects in the Department of Letters, such as English, Philosophy, Economics and Commerce, which have roused the intellectual curiosity of many an enthusiastic student. We have utilised our splendid staff in the Department of English to deal with the subject in a comprehensive manner as well from the literary as from the linguistic standpoint. But what is of more vital importance, we have recognised the value of English as a world language, as a powerful medium for the comparative study of the most remarkable exponents of diverse types of civilisation. We have employed our brilliant staff in the Department of Philosophy to expound adequately the doctrines of the chief schools of philosophical thought, ancient, mediæval and modern, in all their diverse phases; but what is of greater moment, we have been able, for the first time in the history of this University, to arrange for a comprehensive programme of instruction in every branch of Indian Philosophy with reference to original sources. It is undeniable that no Indian University can fully justify its existence as a true seat of national culture, unless it brings home to its students the solid contributions which were made in bygone days by Indian scholars to the solution of the eternal problems of mind and matter, of God and Man, and which, notwithstanding later developments in philosophic thought, still continue to evoke feelings of respect and admiration in every civilised centre of learning and culture. We have employed a distinguished band of teachers in the Department of Political Economy and Political Philosophy to cover a considerable tract of the territory comprised within the ever-widening domain of economic and commercial studies. We have arranged for special courses of lectures on topics of engrossing interest to the Indian citizen and publicist, such as Famines,

Co-operation, Railways, Industrial Organization, Currency Problems, Land Systems, Village Communities, Labour Questions, Statistical Methods and Forms of Government. To these we have added during the current session courses of lectures on commercial subjects, such as Accounting, Banking and Commercial Law. Well may we ask, how many of our educated countrymen have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the nature and scope of what has already been accomplished by the University in the way of Economic and Commercial studies, which are of such vital importance to the progress of the nation in this transitional age, when a new earth has to be shaped anew to the needs of men. This, at any rate, is patent that not one single individual, official or non-official, has yet volunteered to promote the work of the University even in these departments of study.

Before I pass on to the domain of what are usually regarded as scientific subjects, let me invite your attention to the activities of the University in two branches which are supposed to lie on the borderland of Letters and Science, I mean, Experimental Psychology and Anthropology. It is needless to emphasize the inestimable value, from a sociological standpoint, of the practical results likely to follow from the correlated study of these rapidly progressing, though apparently recondite, branches of knowledge, which have been investigated on an adequate scale only in the most advanced Universities of France, Germany, Italy and the United States. But I must press upon your attention the unquestionable importance of the work already undertaken and in part accomplished by members of these two departments. With the praiseworthy and unselfish co-operation of members of the medical profession, they are engaged in a systematic physical examination of our college students; three thousand have already been examined and the work is steadily in progress. The facts thus discovered as to the health of the students are of the most

alarming character, as will be apparent from even a superficial study of the Report already published by our Students' Welfare Committee. It may be confidently maintained that in any other country of the civilised world, work of this description, carried out by a University, would have forthwith arrested public attention and readily secured for that institution liberal assistance as well from the keepers of the public funds as from private benefactors.

Let me next describe to you in as intelligible a form as practicable the activities of the University in the direction of the organisation of scientific instruction and scientific research. We have steadily maintained two great departments of mathematical study and research, the one for Pure Mathematics, the other for Applied Mathematics, under the supervision of the respective Council of Post-Graduate Teaching. Adequate provision has been made, which has no parallel in an Indian University, for unfolding to our advanced students the mysteries of the most recondite developments in the region of higher mathematics, which are often intimately connected with the progress of the physical, chemical and biological sciences. The University College of Science and Technology thus comprehends within its scope all the exact sciences in their theoretical as well as practical aspects. But, let me frankly confess to you that the ideal which enraptured me in my student days, that my *alma mater* should afford ample opportunities of scientific study and research, is yet far removed from what may fairly be regarded as full and complete realisation. As an humble student of Science, I had not failed to realise that the chief debt of civilization to science was not merely material comfort, but also intellectual freedom and enlightenment, for while she plants her feet on the solid ground of Nature, her head moves amongst the stars. I had not been slow to appreciate the cardinal truth that the aim of science is to know and control Nature, not merely that man may obtain

the golden touch and that all things may be made to minister to his ease, but also that he may know the Truth and that the Truth may set him free from the bondage of superstition and a slavish regard for authority. It was in the belief that Science had proclaimed intellectual emancipation and enormously enlarged the entire field of human thought, that Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, one of the truest sons of this University, devoted the best energies of his life to the foundation of an Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. It was in my deepest conviction that Science had unfettered the mind, enthroned reason, taught the duty and responsibility of independent thought, and brought to mankind the message of intellectual enlightenment and liberty, that I planned the foundation of a University College of Science and Technology, and approached for fulfilment of my cherished ambition two of the noblest sons of India, Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Bihary Ghose. With a generosity which has had no parallel in the history of education in British India, they gave away their wealth, not their inherited patrimony, not money amassed by the fortunes of speculation, but the savings of life-long toil as members of the legal profession. The magnificent endowments created by them have enabled us to maintain as many as eight University Professorships—Palit Chair of Chemistry, Palit Chair of Physics, Ghose Chair of Applied Mathematics, Ghose Chair of Chemistry, Ghose Chair of Physics, Ghose Chair of Botany, Ghose Chair of Applied Physics, and Ghose Chair of Applied Chemistry,—with research students attached to each Professor. Later on, it was my good fortune to approach, on behalf of my *alma mater*, Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira who placed in my hands the generous contribution of five and a half lacs of rupees for the promotion of higher studies in Letters as well as in Science. This has enabled us to maintain a Chair of Chemistry, a Chair of Physics, a Chair of Agriculture, besides a Chair of Indian

Fine Arts and a Chair of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics. To these must now be added the Travelling Fellowships founded by Sir Rash Bihary Ghose for the investigation of educational method abroad and the promotion of research in special branches of learning. We also maintain, out of our current income, a Chair in Botany and a Chair in Zoology. The University, with a restricted source of revenue and limited funds at its disposal, has nevertheless found it possible to contribute more than ten lacs of rupees out of the capital and recurring expenditure of sixteen lacs hitherto incurred in connection with the establishment and maintenance of the University College of Science and Technology. Well may one here stop and enquire, what about the guardians of the public treasury? We are grateful to them for permission to divert to the use of the College of Science a sum of one thousand rupees a month, which had been originally intended by them to be spent for other purposes. Beyond this, the custodians of the public funds, though repeatedly approached, have met the legitimate demands of the University with steady and persistent refusal. To me it is an unfathomable mystery that administrators in responsible positions should fail to be inspired to a sense of their paramount duty as servants of the people, even by the magnificent spectacle of self-sacrifice presented by the noble examples of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Bihary Ghose. And yet let it not be forgotten that in the Department of Science, perhaps even more than in the Department of Letters, University teachers and students have systematically carried out original investigations of acknowledged value. We have, indeed, made the University College of Science a nursery of young men of exceptional ability—mathematicians, physicists, chemists, botanists, zoologists—whose researches have been eagerly accepted for publication by scientific societies and in scientific periodicals in the foremost seats of learning in Europe, America and Japan.

But let me emphasize that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, specially in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. The opportunities of modern Universities are, indeed, much more comprehensive in this respect than they have ever been before in the civilised world. Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University, but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training, unhappily not yet satisfied. One of the fundamental essentials for the success of a comprehensive scheme of this description, is the abundant supply of able and willing teachers. Let me add at once that such a development of the requisite type, which the University is willing to undertake, implies immediate financial assistance on a liberal scale for laboratories, museums, workshops, their equipment and maintenance. There are ample indications that the sources of private liberality have not yet been exhausted, for only recently a generous benefactor, Mr. Prankrishna Chatterjee, offered to make over to the University valuable property near Raneegunj as a nucleus for the establishment of a University School of Mines. The expansion, if not the initiation, of a great undertaking of this nature must, however, in a large measure be dependent upon adequate grants from the public funds, and precisely the same observation applies to the technological

and agricultural studies which the University is anxious to promote.

Let me assure you with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command that plans for University development, whether judged by work already accomplished or activities yet to be undertaken, have been neither casual nor accidental. They have their solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of the Nation. It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its walls the learning of the world in living exponents of scholarship, who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is equally incumbent upon the University, for the living present and its persistence in the future, to enlarge the boundaries of human learning and to give powerful aid to the advancement of knowledge by the development of creative capacity in those disciplines through which men seek for truth and strive after duty. It is further incumbent on the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of science and society, of government and public order, of knowledge and conduct. The University can achieve this object and contribute to the welfare of the people in freedom, health and wealth, if it sends forth streams of liberally educated men and women to be leaders of public opinion and to be practitioners in all the brain-working professions of our time, from law, medicine, engineering, teaching and commerce, to architecture, agriculture, banking, journalism and public administration. A University so designed for the service of the Nation in all possible phases of its development, cannot be restricted to a narrow or chosen teaching, much less starved altogether in its activities. It cannot be treated either as a great

scholastic sanctuary or as a glorified technical institute. In such a University, we cannot for instance, discard the claims of History and its interpretation as a laboratory to test all plans for political and social reforms. We cannot ignore Philosophy as a clearing house for all theories and methods of knowledge. We cannot ignore Letters as the record, in thoughts that breathe and words that burn, of all human striving after sweetness and light. We cannot ignore Art which is the flowering product of the creative imagination, ennobling and enriching the content of life. We cannot ignore Applied Science whose chief business is the development of the material resources of the world. We cannot ignore Economics whose cardinal problem is that of distribution of the wealth thus produced. Finally, we cannot ignore the Science of Education in whose philosophical, psychological and physiological foundations we now seek the surest means of training the intellect and stimulating the imagination of men.

To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training as well of men of thought as of men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the State for the conservation of knowledge, for the discovery of knowledge, for the distribution of knowledge, for the applications of knowledge, and above all, for the creation of knowledge-makers.

People of Bengal, you have at your doors, the foundations already laid of a great University, a University devoted to the advancement of Literature, Science and Art, to the promotion of Letters as the record of the achievements of the human spirit, to the promotion of Science as the revealer of the laws and the conqueror of the forces of Nature, to the promotion of Art as the sunshine and gilding of life, but more than all this, to the investigation of the glorious past of India and the fundamental unity, amidst apparent

diversity, of the varied aspects of Indian civilisation which is so deeply calculated to rouse and purify true national instinct and national pride. You have at your doors a society of scholars in whose company your children, your children's children and their children may spend formative years of their aspiring youth under the captivating influences of humane Letters and Pure and Applied Science, pursuing culture with forward-looking minds and far-seeing spirit. It is for you, People of Bengal, to determine whether you will make this University a national asset. We invite every citizen, conscious of his duty and responsibility, unmoved by ignorant and prejudiced criticism, to come forward to be united with us in feeling, in purpose, for the realisation of our vision of duty and of service. It has ever been our ambition to bring the University in intimate touch with the Nation, because of the supreme part that it must play in the national consciousness, pointing out by its attitude towards the things of life, through the whole wide range of human intelligence, the true direction of national safety and national progress. The University should thus be a live and progressive, not a passive and inactive force in the life of the community of which it is not only a part but a participant. The University would be dead to the Nation, if it were made to stand on a height of its own, isolated from the community. On the other hand, if the activities of the University were more and more assimilated with the life of the Nation, it might then be even more determinate as a teacher, and more dominant as a leader than it has ever been before.

While I emphasize this aspect of the mission of a University to new and better service of the community, let me assure you that I do not overlook a potent factor—the advent of democracy. A profound student of the history and philosophy of political institutions has observed that the weaknesses of a democracy are the opportunities of

education. I venture to think that there is food for thought in this enigmatical statement, because a democracy has its weakness as well as its strength. A great weakness in a democracy, uninformed and unenlightened, is the indifference that largely prevails to the paramount need for the broadest education of all grades amongst the people. And it is the business of the educator to recognise this weakness, to come down from his heights into the valleys, and to work in the light that has been given him for the extension of educational opportunities amongst the new democracy. That will make in the end for the salvation of his his country. If we do not thus bring ourselves into intimate touch with the progress of national life, we shall have a Government of the many by the few instead of a Government by all, as is inherent in the very life of a democracy. Let us then adjust our activities so as to increase our influence as a potent instrument for fostering amongst the citizens of this land that passion for the discovery and dissemination of Truth, which is the condition of all sincerity of conduct and of all advancement of knowledge. If we succeed in this our mission, the New Democracy, proud and humble, patiently pressing forward, praising her heroes of old, training her future leaders, seeking her crown in a nobler race of men and women, will proclaim her confession of faith in the beautiful words of the poet:

> "Faith in the worth of the smallest fact and the laws that govern the star-beams,
> Faith in the beauty of truth and the truth of perfect beauty,
> Faith in the God, who creates the souls of men, by knowledge and love and worship."

Tell me not that the task of such regeneration of our people through the path of education is supremely difficult of achievement, for unalterable is my faith in the lesson

taught by my preceptors in the stirring words of the poet:

"If thou canst plan a noble deed,
And never flag till it succeed,
Though in the strife thy heart must bleed;
Whatever obstacles control,
Thine hour will come. Go on, true soul,
Thou'lt win the prize, thou'lt reach the goal."

I call upon you to take this as your motto, and to join with me in a fervent prayer for the well-being of our motherland in the words of the message of our great national poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore:

চিত্ত যেথা ভয়শূন্য, উচ্চ যেথা শির,
জ্ঞান যেথা মুক্ত, যেথা গৃহের প্রাচীর
আপন প্রাঙ্গণতলে দিবস শর্ব্বরী
বসুধারে রাখে নাই খণ্ড ক্ষুদ্র করি',
যেথা বাক্য হৃদয়ের উৎসমুখ হ'তে
উচ্ছ্বসিয়া উঠে, যেথা নির্বারিত স্রোতে
দেশে দেশে দিশে দিশে কর্ম্মধারা ধায়
অজস্র সহস্রবিধ চরিতার্থতায়;

যেথা তুচ্ছ আচারের মরুবালুরাশি
বিচারের স্রোতঃপথ ফেলে নাই গ্রাসি',
পৌরুষেরে করেনি শতধা; নিত্য যেথা
তুমি সর্ব্ব কর্ম্ম চিন্তা আনন্দের নেতা,—
নিজ হস্তে নির্দ্দয় আঘাত করি' পিতঃ
ভারতেরে সেই স্বর্গে কর জাগরিত।

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake!"



THE REALITY OF ATOMIC STRUCTURE.[1]

The rudiments of an atomic theory existed almost at the dawn of human thought. In early times, however, the idea that matter exists in separate particles or atoms was merely a speculation, and not the result of experiments or of the observation of facts. Although the history of philosophical speculation upon the nature of matter is interesting in so far as it reveals the methods of the human mind, it must be admitted that no real progress could be made until it became customary to verify speculation by experiment and to use experiment as an aid to speculation. Without discussing further the commencements of the atomic theory, we may remark that Robert Boyle came to the conclusion in 1661 as a result of his own experiments that matter is granular and not continuous; upon this he founded the so-called corpuscular theory. In putting forward this theory of the constitution of matter, Boyle's objects were to explain his experimental observations, to open up a road to new experimental discoveries and thereby to contribute to the increase of positive knowledge. In all these he was markedly successful.

During the eighteenth century, a vast number of experimental chemical observations were made. The interpretation of these facts proved that two kinds of

[1] Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture for 1921, delivered on the 15th December, 1921, at the Darbhanga Library Hall, by Sir William Jackson Pope, K.B.E., F.R.S., M.A., M.Sc.Tech., LL.D., D.Sc., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge.

matter can be distinguished, the one consisting of primitive materials, simple bodies or chemical elements, which now number more than a hundred, and the other including the multitudinous compound substances which result from the mutual combination of the elements. This conclusion, namely, that nature has furnished us with a small number of elementary materials, which by their combination produce innumerable compound substances still holds good; it is a worthy memorial to the activity, to the imagination, and to the logical methods of the older chemists.

The corpuscular theory was reinforced during the eighteenth century by the idea that a hypothetical element, phlogiston, should be regarded as taking part in chemical changes. The theory of phlogiston was not successful in directing chemistry towards a fertile field of development, and was finally overthrown by Lavoisier, who was the first to distinguish rationally between simple and compound bodies and to form a correct picture of the relations between matter and energy.

Nevertheless, towards the end of the eighteenth century, progress in chemistry commenced to wane; a new idea was needed to promote the development of experimental chemistry. The statement of the atomic theory by John Dalton in 1803 provided the necessary stimulus and furnished the chemist with a mental picture of chemical transformation which led to rapid developments in science. The atomic theory, as put forward by Dalton, states, briefly, that each element is composed of homogeneous atoms of which the weight is constant and that chemical compounds exist as molecules which result from the union of elementary atoms in simple numerical proportions; its great value arises less from any novelty of conception than from the fact that it introduced a method of describing chemical

conditions which facilitated progress. The atomic theory thus distracted attention from the discussions, up till then futile, concerning the divisibility of the atom, and led to this unit being visualised as the smallest particle of an element which could take part in a chemical change; it indicated that the molecule is the smallest particle of matter which can have an independent existence and directed the chemist towards the study of the composition of the molecule. The atomic theory was destined to become the fundamental conception upon which the whole of the chemistry of the nineteenth century was based; it played an equally important part in the above development of physics and became immediately the centre from which two great directions of scientific progress diverged. The following up of these two divergent routes led to the almost complete divorce of chemistry from physics during a great part of the nineteenth century; now, however, the two directions of progress are joined by such a network of cross-roads that it is impossible to trace a sharp line of demarcation between physics and chemistry. The two subjects are merely arbitrary divisions of one branch of knowledge which is concerned with the manifestations of matter and of energy; they have a common foundation, and their study has led, during these early years of the twentieth century, to the formulation of a common plan which may prove capable of embracing the whole inanimate universe. The first direction of progress which may be briefly considered is that which chemistry has taken. The acceptance of the atomic theory suggests at once the necessity for a careful distinction between elements and compounds, for the determination of the number of atoms of different elements which are combined in the molecules of compound bodies, and for the measurement of the relative weights of the atoms of different

elements. The realisation of this programme led to the determination of the atomic weights of all the elements in terms of the weight of the lightest atom known, that of hydrogen, as unit ; it brought with it a detailed knowledge of the arrangement of the atoms in the molecules of several hundreds of thousands of compound bodies. It must be noted, however, that these results were not obtained with the aid alone of the atomic theory as it was put forward by Dalton ; from time to time auxiliary theories had to be introduced.

Thus the Italian chemist, Avogadro, from a consideration of the experimental facts, was led to put forward a hypothesis according to which equal volumes of all gases, under the same conditions of temperature and of pressure, contain the same number of molecules ; later, Frankland added to the atomic theory the doctrine of valency, which postulates that the elements may be classified according to the number of atoms of hydrogen with which one atom can enter into chemical combination. The atom of chlorine thus combines with one atom of hydrogen, that of oxygen with two, that of nitrogen with three, and that of carbon with four atoms of hydrogen.

As a result of the development of chemistry during the nineteenth century, our science presented itself 20 years ago as an almost perfect example of the classification of a great mass of facts by means of a logical system which had for its base the atomic theory. We knew that the compound molecule does not simply consist of a number of atoms thrown together like balls in a bag, but that it has an architectural arrangement which is perfectly definite and which can be determined with precision. All the triumphs of modern organic chemistry, the certainty with which we can now undertake the synthesis of most of those complex chemical compounds

which are produced during animal or vegetable life, and the profound knowledge which we have acquired of the arrangement of the atoms in the complex molecule, are the direct results of the assistance lent by the atomic theory to experimental science. It might be supposed, and many, in fact, have concluded, that the very perfect manner in which the observed facts fit in with the theory furnishes a positive proof that the atomic theory is not merely a kind of framework into which the experimental observations can be conveniently arranged, but that the atom and the molecule really exist. I am inclined to believe that the development of chemical knowledge during the nineteenth century justifies belief in the absolute existence of atoms and molecules, but at the same time, I recognise that the argument which leads to this conclusion is so tortuous and so involved that doubt is legitimate.

The second main direction of progress indicated by the atomic theory, although of great chemical importance, is more directly concerned with physics than with chemistry. Ordinarily, three states of matter are distinguished, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous. All gases have the same compressibility and the same coefficient of thermal dilatation, apart from certain small but very important discrepancies observed in every specific case ; the corpuscular theory of Boyle led the mathematician Bernouilli in the eighteenth century to sketch out a kinetic theory of gases, in accordance with which a gas is regarded as made up of molecules which are constantly in movement. Each gaseous molecule is the seat of a certain quantity of kinetic energy or energy of movement ; it is constantly in motion and rebounds incessantly from the other molecules which it encounters on its path.

The pressure exerted by a confined gas is the sum of the repeated shocks of the molecules upon the

walls of the containing vessel. When the kinetic energy is increased as the result of a rise of temperature, the pressure exerted by the gas increases as a result of the reinforcement of molecular bombardment. Although a molecule is minute in size, it possesses a certain weight and, like every ponderable object, is subject to the laws of gravity. The molecules of a gas repel each other by reason of their kinetic energy, but at the same time they are drawn together as the result of an attraction exerted between them. In a gas the repulsive force dominates the attractive force; any quantity whatsoever of a gas thus fills a vessel of any dimensions. But if the temperature falls, the kinetic energy may diminish to such a point as to become dominated by the cohesive forces; the free movement of the molecules is then checked, the gas becomes a liquid, and the molecules no longer rebound, but are only able to slide one over the other. A further fall in temperature, accompanied by a corresponding diminution of the kinetic energy, leads to an almost complete predominance of the cohesive forces and the liquid becomes a solid.

This hasty sketch of our theoretical ideas concerning the three states of matter excites one important reflection. The consideration of the three states of matter indicates that several conceptions are involved. The dimensions of the molecules, the quantities of energy which reside in them, and the attraction exercised between them, each play a part. All these, however, are susceptible to rigid mathematical treatment; even the deviations from the simple laws which determine the behaviour of gases lend themselves to mathematical development. The facility with which the kinetic theory of the three states of matter can be treated mathematically had led to the theory being developed in perfectly orderly sequence and each step forward had been taken almost

without contentious comment. Whilst the chemists of the nineteenth century were called upon to establish their theoretical conclusions by the methods of pure logic, the great mathematical physicists, Clerk Maxwell, Clausius, van der Waals and others, were able to bring to the perfection of the kinetic theory all the powerful weapons of modern mathematics. Thermodynamics, founded by Carnot, developed by Kelvin, and amplified by Willard Gibbs, assisted in the establishment of the kinetic theory.

A great widening in of the scientific horizon resulted from the mathematical study of the three states of matter. We owe to it the perfecting of the steam engine and of the internal conbustion engine, the manufacture of nitric acid from atmospheric air, and many other achievements which have exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on all terrestrial affairs.

The kinetic theory, as we know it to-day, provides a method for calculating almost all the fundamental constants connected with gases. Thus we can determine the actual dimensions of atoms and of molecules, their speeds of movement, and the quantity of energy resident in each one of these tiny particles. We have already noted that Avogadro postulated that equal volumes of different gases under similar conditions of temperature and pressure contain the same number of molecules; it is further obvious that the molecular weight in grammes, no matter of what substances, simple or compound, must contain the same number of molecules. This number, which is called Avogadro's constant, can be deduced by the aid of the kinetic theory from exact experimental observations made upon the gases. The mathematical interpretation of measurements of the viscosity of gases assigns to Avogadro's constant a value of 62×10^{22}; we shall see later that other and quite different methods of calculating the same constant lead to approximately identical values.

Many other examples of the stimulus exerted upon the physical sciences by the atomic theory in the second direction involved in the mathematical treatment of the kinetic theory might be quoted. The agreement between the experimental results and the theoretical anticipations is so complete that we are tempted once again to conclude that the atomic theory represents an objective truth, but in the second, just as in the first direction emanating from the atomic theory, it has been necessary to make successive additions of new hypotheses to the original form; and although the agreement between practice and theory has always been so close, it cannot be denied that the definite proof of the objective existence of atoms and molecules escaped the scientific investigators of the nineteenth century. In spite of the brilliant work of our predecessors, these latter passed away without establishing the discontinuity of matter with such a precision as alone could lead to absolute conviction; up till the end of the nineteenth century they were occupied in modifying the atomic theory so as to bring it more completely into agreement with the facts.

Let us now consider the improvements which have taken place in this uncertain situation during the last twenty years. In 1827 the English botanist, Brown, on examining under the microscope minute particles of matter suspended in water, observed the tiny solid fragments to be in perpetual and disorganised agitation. This extraordinary phenomenon is observed with all kinds of minute particles suspended in the most diverse liquids; it can be seen without difficulty in a suspension of gamboge in water. Many explanations of the Brownian movement were attempted prior to the commencement of the twentieth century; variations in the surrounding temperature, the action of light or of currents of air, and the shaking of the apparatus, were suggested as possible

causes but in the end the conclusion was drawn that the movement of these microscopic particles is the result of blows received from the liquid molecules. The kinetic theory tells us that a cubic millimetre of water contains about 3×10^{10} molecules, the rapidity of the movement of which at the ordinary temperature is more than ten times that of an express train ; the blow which a molecule of water gives on striking an enormously larger solid particle suffices to move this latter from its place. The study of the Brownian movement, indeed, brings us into closer personal contact with the molecule itself than did all the efforts of nineteenth century science ; whilst the application of mathematical and logical methods to physical and chemical observations led to a belief in the validity of the molecular and atomic theory, the direct action of the molecules can be seen to-day in the spectacle of solid particles dispersed in all directions by a molecular bombardment. Improvements in the technique of the study of the Brownian movement and advances in the mathematical treatment of the experimental observations have of late yielded a rich harvest ; one illustration may be given to show the manner in which knowledge has been extended by the study of this subject. The molecules of a gas are mutually repelled by reason of their kinetic energy, and are at the same time attracted because they are subject to the action of gravity like every other ponderable object ; the gaseous molecules are subject further to terrestrial attraction, and it is this which retains our atmosphere. Above the earth's surface the atmospheric density diminishes with the height according to a law which is perfectly well-defined by the kinetic theory ; the conditions which hold in a gas are precisely similar to those which exist in a suspension of gamboge particles in water. The molecular bombardment disperses the solid particles, whilst gravity attracts them towards

the bottom of the containing vessel. Although an atmosphere of hydrogen would retain an appreciable concentration at a height of some kilometres above the earth, whilst a suspension of Brownian particles is not appreciably dispersed more than several millimetres above the bottom of the containing cell, the same law connects atmospheric concentration and Brownian concentration with the height. The study of the Brownian movement thus lends itself to the calculation of the physical constants of gases by means of the kinetic theory just as well as does the study of the gases. Measurements made upon the dispersion of the Brownian particles at different heights thus enable us to calculate the Avogadro constant. This calculation gives the [1] value 66×10^{22} which agrees sufficiently well with that deduced from the study of the existence of the molecule [3] which we cannot see, as of gaseous viscosity to [2] make us just as certain of existence of the Brownian particle [4] which we observe in perpetual movement under the microscope. The French chemist Jean Perrin, who devoted himself for 20 years to the study of the Brownian movement, gave us this beautiful verification of the atomic theory.

We may now pass from these results, without concerning ourselves with other equally striking examples which result from the mathematical treatment of the Brownian movement, to review considerations of an entirely different order. Whilst the end of the nineteenth century left us in possession of very detailed and fruitful theoretical views concerning the constitution of matter, the new century found us in presence of a mass of experimental facts which did not fall within the scheme of the atomic theory, although at the same time intimately related to the constitution of matter. At every epoch in the history of science the prime importance of discrepant and incomprehensible observations has been recognised; they have

always served as a starting point for those imaginative speculations which are the only source of progress.

In 1815 an English doctor, Prout, stated that the atomic weights of the elements are all simple multiples of that of hydrogen; a more careful study proved this assertion to be false, but it had to be admitted that the atomic weights of a large number of known elements approximate to whole numbers. Later, Newlands showed that on cutting up a list of the elements arranged in the order of their atomic weights into series of eight, the corresponding members of the different series presented obvious similarities of chemical behaviour; this observation was extended by Mendeleeff, who in 1869 put forward the periodic classification of the elements and showed that an intimate relationship exists between the atomic weights and the properties of the elements.

The directive tendency of such observations was recognised even by Prout; if a definite periodic relationship can be established between the atomic weights and the properties of the elements, it becomes almost imperative to conclude that the atoms of different elements are compound bodies built up from the same primary materials. Once this idea is accepted, the duty devolves upon us of seeking to penetrate behind Dalton's theory and of learning the details of the architecture of the elementary atoms. A century had passed away since Prout stated his conviction that the atom is not a primary unit, but it is only during the last few years that the definite proof of his thesis has been given. Between 1880 and 1890 Sir William Crookes showed that when a high potential electric discharge passes through a rarified gas, a phenomenon occurs which cannot be connected with any property of the three states of matter known up to that date; Crookes, in fact, described a fourth state of matter, and his experimental work led later to the discovery of the X-rays by

Röntgen. In 1897, Sir J. J. Thomson showed that when an electric discharge passes through a rarified gas, a stream of particles, charged with negative electricity and moving with great velocity, emanates from the cathode; these particles, which are termed electrons, are immensely smaller than the atom of hydrogen, the most minute particle of matter hitherto distinguished. Almost at the same time, the discovery of the element argon by Lord Rayleigh led Sir William Ramsay to recognise the terrestrial existence of the element helium which had been discovered in the sun's atmosphere by Sir Joseph Lockyer in 1869. It was shown that argon and helium belong to a new family of elements possessing the special character of appearing to be completely devoid of chemical properties. It may be added here that at the end of the nineteenth century experimental philosophy was still faced with the old enigma that energy, postulated as being continuous and imponderable, acts upon matter, recognised as discontinuous and ponderable; the apparent insolubility of the problem of action at a distance maintained for centuries a breach between the physical sciences and abstract philosophy.

These are very briefly the principal questions which presented themselves as being closely associated with our conceptions of the constitution of matter, but which were not embraced by our theories. The nineteenth century left us as a legacy this great accumulation of uncorrelated experimental facts; the moment of a great expansion in our knowledge of the ultimate structure of matter was rapidly approaching.

After the discovery of radio-activity by Becquerel, Mme. Curie produced the experimental proof that a new element which she had discovered, radium, possesses properties entirely different from any previously observed; from every material, no matter what, containing

this element there emanates continuously a gaseous substance which renders the surrounding space a conductor of electricity. In 1903 Ramsay and Soddy showed that when the gaseous emanation from radium is preserved, the element helium is produced. Thus, for the first time, one of the most frequent dreams of the alchemists, that of the transmutation of the elements, was realised by the production of the gaseous element helium from a metallic element, radium. As a result of these astounding discoveries it became clear, as Sir J. J. Thomson had long suspected, that the atom is an electrical structure. Whilst at the commencement of the nineteenth century Dalton placed the atomic theory upon a solid foundation, we are able a century later to state a sub-atomic theory, supporting our conclusions on even stronger experimental grounds. This new conception, which may be termed the electronic theory of matter, can be defined in the following terms; the atom of a chemical element possesses a complex structure; it is formed of a nucleus, which carries a charge of positive electricity, and of an external domain, which contains a sufficient number of particles of negative electricity to be in equilibrium with the charge carried by the nucleus. We owe this mode of definition to Sir Ernest Rutherford; it results from the discovery that electricity, like matter, possesses a granular structure. The electronic theory carries with it the conception that the atoms of the chemical elements are built up from almost infinitely smaller atoms of positive and of negative elctricity; these ultimate units may be termed the positive and negative electrons. Experimental measurements show that the nucleus is of dimensions which are minute in comparison with those of the atom itself; the diameter of the nucleus is about $\frac{1}{10000}$ of that of the atom. The mass of the atom is almost entirely a property of the atomic

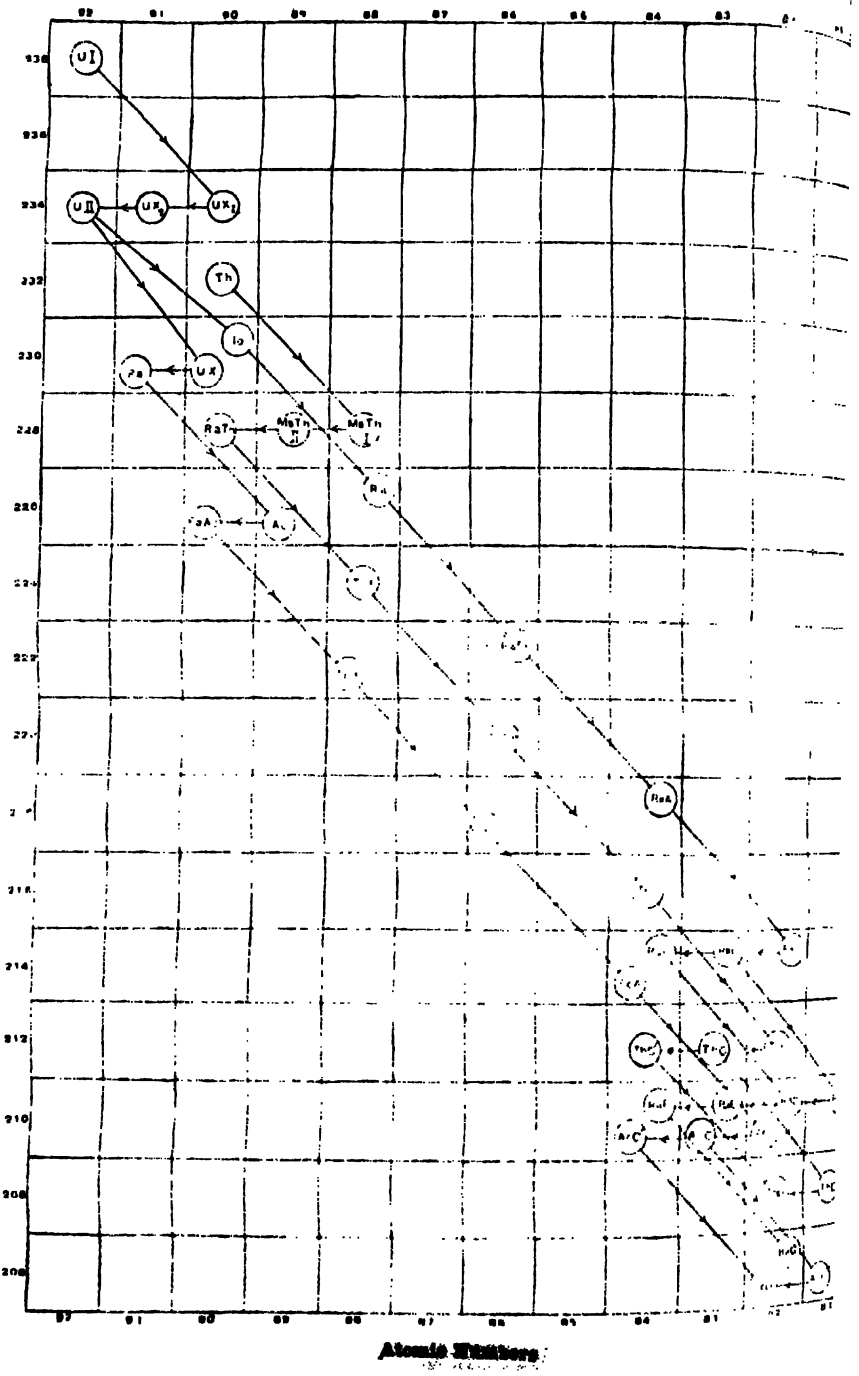
nucleus, and is proportional to the number of atoms of positive electricity contained in the nucleus. Since the nucleus of the hydrogen atom only contains one unit of positive electricity, the atomic weight of an element is equal to the number of positive electrons contained in the nucleus. The nucleus contains, in general, negative as well as positive electrons; the number of positive electrons minus the number of negative electrons present in the nucleus gives the electric charge of the latter in fundamental units, and is called the atomic number.

Directly the electronic theory is applied to the interpretation of the great body of known facts which are connected with the atomic theory but which are yet not embraced by it, it is seen that all these previously inexplicable observations commence to fall into orderly arrangement. Thus, the classical work of Moseley in 1913 revealed that the conception of the atomic number possesses a quite extraordinary signification. When the known elements are arranged in the order of their atomic weights and then numbered consecutively, each receives its atomic number—the number which represents the electrical charge carried by the atomic nucleus. Moseley showed further that the atomic number is quantitatively related in a very simple manner to the X-ray spectrum characteristic of the element.

These new conceptions are conveniently elucidated by the quotation of a few illustrations. The atomic weight and the atomic number of the lightest element known, hydrogen, are both unity. The atomic nucleus thus consists of one positive electron and the external atomic domain contains one negative electron in electrical equilibrium with the nucleus. A brief explanation is here called for. The element hydrogen consists, in the free state, of molecules each composed of two atoms, whilst the free hydrogen atom would consist of but one

atom or unit of positive electricity; the free hydrogen atom corresponds, in fact, to the hydrogen ion of the chemist, which acts as carrier of the electric current during electrolysis of the aqueous solution of an acid. Whilst the free hydrogen atom is only the positive nucleus, namely, an atom of positive electricity, the hydrogen molecule consists of two such nuclei with two negative electrons in orbital movement about them. In the atom of helium, of atomic weight four and of atomic number two, the nucleus is composed of four positive and two negative electrons, whilst the external atomic domain contains two negative electrons in equilibrium with the nuclear charge of two units. The most complex element known to us, uranium, has the atomic weight of 238 and the atomic number 92. The positive nucleus thus contains 238 positive and 146 negative electrons, the latter number being that necessary to give the nucleus a positive charge of 92, in equilibrium with the 92 negative electrons contained in the external atomic domain.

We can now proceed to interpret the radioactive changes of radium in the light of the electronic theory. The experimental study of this remarkable subject shows that radium, or any material which contains this element, continuously emits four characteristic products, namely, a gaseous emanation, α-particles, β-particles and γ-rays. The gaseous emanation in due course changes into a new solid element, radium-A, and amongst the products of all these changes, helium is found. Rutherford was the first to prove that the α-particle is merely the rapidly moving atomic nucleus of helium; the α-particle is thus the helium atom deprived of its external domain, that is to say, is a nuclear body composed of four positive and two negative electrons. The β-particle has been identified as the negative electron in rapid


UI
UII
UX2
UX1
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Io
Ra
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RaTh
MsTh 2
MsTh 1
RaA
AcA
RaA
Atomic Numbers

movement and the γ-rays are merely X-rays of very long wave-length.

The first phase of the atomic disintegration of radium consists in the violent expulsion from the nucleus of an α-particle, leaving a gaseous element, the radium emanation. Since the atomic weight of radium is 226, and the atomic number is 88, the removal of one α-particle, from the nucleus should yield an element, the radium emanation, of an atomic weight four units less, 222, and the atomic number 86, two units less. The α-particle is expelled from the radium nucleus with a velocity of about 15,000 kilometres per second and partly by reason of this fact, is endowed with intense chemical activity; during its flight the α-particle combines with two free negative electrons and becomes thereby converted into an atom of helium, the element which Ramsay and Soddy discovered among the disintegration products of radium. The velocity with which this first step in the radium transformation proceeds has been determined by very delicate methods devised by Rutherford; it is conveniently defined by stating the time which elapses before one-half of a given quantity of radium has passed through this phase. This, the period of half transformation, is about 1,600 years for the conversion of radium into radium emanation. The emanation in turn undergoes change; an α-particle is expelled from the atom with production of a solid element, radium-A, of atomic weight 218 and atomic number 84, and in this change the period of half-transformation is four days.

Radium-A next changes by the expulsion of an α-particle into Radium-B, of atomic weight 214 and atomic number 82, the half-transformation period being three minutes. Radium-B then undergoes atomic disintegration and becomes converted into Radium-C with a half-transformation period of 27 minutes but this change is

accompanied by the expulsion of a β-particle. Radium-C therefore has the same atomic weight, 214, as Radium-B, but its atomic number is one unit higher, namely, 83.

I dare not detain you longer by a discussion of all the stages of atomic disintegration which the radioactive elements of the radium series are passing through but it must be noted that the passage from radium to Radium-C represents but a small portion of a long series of radioactive transformations which have been studied experimentally and which are indicated in the accompanying diagram. It will be seen that Uranium-I, the element of highest atomic weight, namely, 238, and of atomic number, 92, is the earliest known ancestor of Radium, and that it becomes converted into Uranium-X' by the expulsion of an α-particle; the half-transformation period is about 30,000,000,000 years.

Uranium-X' then changes into Uranium-X^2 by emission of a β-particle and the long series of subsequent radioactive transformations results in the final production of Actinium-D, of atomic weight 206 and atomic number 82. As shown in the table, these transformations are consecutive but at certain stages the series bifurcates, one element yielding two new radioactive products.

Two main series of radioactive transformations have been hitherto explored, the one beginning with Uranium and the other with Thorium; no junction between the two series has been discovered but, so far as is known at present, the end product of both is the element lead of atomic number 82.

Although these two series are the only ones yet studied in detail indications are plentiful that atomic disintegration is not confined to the elements composing them. It has been recently found that the element rubidium is radioactive and becomes converted into the

element strontium, of atomic number 38, the half-transformation period being about 10^{11} years; the elements cœsium and potassium, which are intimately related to rubidium, ought to behave in a similar manner. If the transmutability of rubidium, cœsium and potassium is admitted it must be concluded that atomic disintegration is a general property of the elements; this conclusion is, in my opinion, more strongly indicated by an entirely different line of argument.

It has been seen that the expulsion of an α-particle is accompanied by a diminution of the atomic weight of four units and of the atomic number of two units, whilst the loss of a β-particle by the nucleus leaves the atomic weight unchanged but increases the atomic number by two units. The nuclear expulsion of both an α- and a β-particle, either in one or in consecutive stages, will thus leave the atomic number unchanged but will diminish the atomic weight by four units. The table reveals several cases of elements of different atomic weights but of the same atomic number which have been derived in this manner.

Elements of the same atomic number but of different atomic weights are termed isotopes and their study reveals a fundamental property of the atomic number. Isotopic elements possess, so far as we are aware, identical chemical properties; they show almost identical spectra and are only distinguishable in properties associated with mass, such as the atomic weight and the density. The atomic number is thus the most characteristic factor in the determination of the chemical properties of an element; we shall see later, however, that another factor plays an even more important part in defining a chemical element.

The three elements of smallest atomic number noted in the table namely, 81, produced during the series of

atomic disintegrations of Uranium and Thorium, each change further by the expulsion of a β-particle; as Soddy has remarked, if this final phase were accompanied by the separation of an α-particle, isotopes of gold of atomic number, 79, would have resulted, but since it is brought about by the less frequent operation of expelling a β-particle, the products are isotopes of lead with the atomic number, 82. Uranium thus yields as final disintegration products, actinium-D and radium-G which represent isotopes of lead of atomic weight 206 and are possibly identical; thorium gives as the final product, thorium-D, an isotope of lead of atomic weight 208. It is of especial interest to note that the atomic weights of these two forms of lead have been experimentally determined, the one by Soddy and the other by Richards, and that the found values are approximately 206 and 208 respectively.

The proof of the formation of isotopic elements as products of the atomic disintegration of the radioactive elements is now complete; it has been possible also to obtain a glimpse of the radioactive change of rubidium, although the change proceeds so slowly that our present experimental methods are scarcely delicate enough to respond to its effects. The mechanism of radioactive change is known and the reason for the existence of isotopic elements is understood; both depend upon the expulsion of α- and β-particles from the atomic nucleus. It is evident that if the existence of isotopic elements outside the series of radioactive elements already known could be proved we should have at least the right to suspect that all the known elements are either undergoing radioactive change or are the final products of such change. It would be almost legitimate for us to picture to ourselves the whole universe, after the expiration of some geologically immense period of time, as built

up from an entirely new set of elements; it may well be that the elements which now compose our solar system represent but a small patch in a gigantic net-work of radioactive transmutations, a patch which is progressively changing its position in the network by the disappearance of some elements and the appearance of new ones.

During the last few years, Aston, at Cambridge, has produced definite proofs that many elements outside those series previously recognised as radioactive, are present on the earth as mixtures of several isotopes. Thus chlorine, the atomic weight of which was determined with such precision by Stas as 35·46, is a mixture of two isotopes of atomic weights 35 and 37 with, in all probability, a third of atomic weight, 39. He has also shown that the element krypton as we know it of atomic weight, 82·92, is a mixture of six isotopes of atomic weights 78, 80, 82, 83, 84 and 86. In some cases, such as in that of mercury, the partial separation of the component isotopes has been effected. Aston's proof of the existence of isotopes outside the known series of radioactive elements is highly significant; it suggests that all the known elements are subject to atomic disintegration.

Another important reflection here presents itself. The atomic nucleus of a radioactive element often contains more than 200 positive and 100 negative electrons; in spite, however, of this great complexity of atomic composition, each consecutive radioactive change is of the utmost simplicity and proceeds steadily without being influenced by any terrestrial agency. It must therefore be concluded that the atomic nucleus, even when of the greatest complexity of composition, is a mechanism of perfectly definite design; the fact that the atomic nucleus is a piece of moving machinery which performs a simple operation such as the expulsion of an α-or a

β-particle with unchangeable regularity, is very striking. It shows that we must consider not only the numbers of positive and negative electrons present in the nucleus but also the definite architectural plan in accordance with which those components are arranged within the atomic nucleus. In view of this conclusion it is not surprising to find that two distinct elements which are identical in their atomic weight and atomic number, but which are entirely different in other properties are occasionally produced during radioactive changes. Thus, two elements of atomic weight, 230, and atomic number, 90, are known; the one is ionium which changes into radium by the expulsion of an α-particle with a half-transformation period of about 100,000 years, whilst the other is uranium-Y which yields ekatantalum (protoactinium, Pa) by the expulsion of a β-particle with a half-transformation period of about a day and a half.

In order that some clearness of vision may be conserved amongst all these complications, it is useful to lay down a few definitions.

The atoms of a chemical element all have the same mass and are identical in atomic number and in the arrangement of the components of the atomic nucleus. Two elements are isotopic if they have different atomic weights but the same atomic number. Isomeric isotopes are elements which are identical in atomic weight and in atomic number but are of different nuclear constitutions.

The consideration of a list of atomic weights, referred to that of hydrogen as unity, shows that a large proportion depart but little from whole numbers. When the atomic weights are calculated on the assumption that that of oxygen is 16, the departure from whole numbers becomes in many cases even smaller, but in such a table the atomic weight of hydrogen becomes 1008. Since the electronic theory affirms that the atomic weight is the

number of atoms of positive electricity contained in the atomic nucleus, it would be expected that the atomic weight of each element, as just defined, should be a whole number. As Aston has shown, the elements as we know them are often mixtures of several isotopes. The observed atomic weight is naturally the weighted mean of those of the constituent isotopes; the atomic weight of a true chemical element is always a whole number, hydrogen presenting the sole exception. No quantitative explanation has yet been given for the slight deviation from the law presented by hydrogen; it is probably to be sought in the unique character of hydrogen and in the modern view that energy is a form of matter.

The α-particle of mass four is expelled from the radium atomic nucleus with a velocity of about 20,000 kilometres per second; travelling at this speed it may cover a considerable path in a gas before being stopped. A very beautiful method has been devised by Wilson in Cambridge for rendering visible the track of the moving α-particle. The α-particle, carrying its positive charge is capable of removing particles from the gaseous molecules which it encounters in its passage converting the latter into charged particles and thus rendering the surrounding space an electrical conductor; it can also pass sufficiently near to the atomic nucleus of a gas particle to rupture the atomic nucleus by the force of its impact. This last eventuality will naturally be of rare occurrence because the total space occupied by the atomic nuclei is not more than one-millionth of the volume occupied by a gas at ordinary temperatures and pressures. Rutherford has recently shown that on bombarding nitrogen or one of its compounds by α-particles the atomic nucleus is fractured with production of hydrogen and of an isotope of helium having an atomic weight of three; similar observations have been made upon oxygen. These important results

open up an entirely fresh field of investigation that, namely, of the effect of shattering the atomic nuclei of the elements in general by impact with an α-particle. They indicate that the atomic nucleus of nitrogen can be broken up into four nuclei of isotopic helium and two of hydrogen and thus suggest a possible method for determining the architectural plan of the atomic nucleus.

Up to the present we have considered principally the constitution and properties of the atomic nucleus; this latter represents the minute dynamic centre of a relatively large external atomic domain in which negative electrons are arranged. According to Bohr, these negative electrons are distributed in one or more series, the members of which are in orbital movement about the nucleus; these series of electrons thus form rings which seem to be concentric and to lie in the same plane. Bohr's conception, modified by others, has led the mathematicians to undertake the study of the relative stability of the various modes of arrangement possible and this has already led to the discovery of important quantitative relationships which exist between the constitution of the atom and the spectrum of the element. We can already perceive, although but dimly, the beginnings of a development of our knowledge of the more intimate structure of the atom which should elucidate many obscure chemical problems, such for instance, as those which refer to the principles determining the constitution of organic substances.

It is curious that, notwithstanding the difference of epoque, the electronic theory is developing, and its consequences are unfolding themselves, in precisely the same way as was the case, a century ago, with the atomic theory; in the early days of the latter the molecule was regarded merely as a disorderly aggregate of atoms and

it was not until much later that the molecule was perceived to be an orderly edifice of which the structural details could be discerned. The conditions which prevailed at the birth of the two theories were, however, very dissimilar. The elder one was advanced at a moment when the experimental methods of the chemist were but poorly developed and was called upon to elucidate the immense complexity of structure presented by organic compounds. The newer theory deals chiefly with energy relationships and the possible combinations of electrical atoms; unlike the atomic theory it lends itself immediately to mathematical treatment. In spite of the complexity of the questions which arise, the task imposed upon us is less overwhelming than that which faced our predecessors a century ago; we may expect, with every confidence, to witness the complete development of the electronic theory within a very few years' time.

The electronic theory furnishes an independent and very accurate method for determining the Avogadro constant: from his measurements of the electric charge carried by the atom of electricity, Millikan has calculated this constant as $60{\cdot}62 \times 10^{22}$, with a possible error of one in a thousand. This value is of the same order as the less exact values deduced from the behaviour of gases and the study of the Brownian movement.

Distinct indications are already to be seen that a still more fundamental theory will at no distant date become the basis of the electron theory just as the latter is now the foundation of the atomic theory. The study of radioactivity has shown how the most complex chemical elements, uranium and thorium, undergo series of nuclear disintegrations which finish with their complete conversion into helium and isotopes of lead; each step in these long series of transmutations is accompanied by the liberation of enormous quantities of energy. The mathematical

study of the properties of energy and of radioactive matter lead to the remarkable conclusion that the mass of a body is measured by the total energy of which it is the seat; each gramme of matter represents a quantity of energy equal to that liberated during the burning of about 3,000 tons of coal. Every chemical change brought about in the laboratory is therefore accompanied by a change of mass; the old law of the conservation of mass can be no longer retained although our experimental methods are not delicate enough to reveal the diminution of mass which results from the liberation of energy during a chemical reaction. Although radium throws off every two days as much energy as would be obtained by burning its own weight of coal, the loss of mass which accompanies the radioactive conversion of uranium into helium and lead is only about one-ten thousandth of the mass of the uranium. It can already be perceived, although perhaps not quite clearly, that our whole conception of the inanimate universe will in due course repose upon one ultimate entity, energy, which is granular in structure and which, by its diverse modes of manifestation and of arrangement, leads to the elaboration of all the complex organisation of the universe.

We are to a certain extent checked in our efforts to elucidate the great problem of the constitution of matter by the insufficiency of the experimental means at our disposal. The highest temperature obtainable on the earth, that of the electric arc, does not attain 1000,° the temperature of the sun is only about 6550° but in the great nebulæ, some of which have a diameter larger than that of the whole solar system, temperatures of over 15000° are to be observed. Spectroscopic observations show that elements unknown on the earth exist in these vast spaces; these distant regions are the crucibles in which our terrestrial elements are created and destroyed.

During the past hour I have attempted to place before you a very brief, and I fear a very imperfect, sketch of the manner in which Chemistry and Physics, once so separated in aim and in conception, have now become entirely at one in their reading of the problems before them and in their views concerning the nature of matter and energy. The problems with which we are still faced will be solved by the combined efforts of the chemist, the physicist and the mathematician; this University has already gained a recognised position as a centre of research in the natural sciences and in mathematics; we may look forward with confident anticipation to seeing the names of its graduates take a prominent place in the history of what will be the greatest achievement of contemporary natural philosophy, namely, the proof of the reality of atomic structure and the demonstration that the atom of energy is the ultimate structural unit of all inanimate nature.

LAFCADIO HEARN[1]

It is probable that more books have been written about Japan in recent years than any other country, but few will deny that out of that vast accumulation of publications the work of Lafcadio Hearn is pre-eminent. When we survey his twelve books devoted to the study of the Land of the Gods—from those first glowing impressions in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* to his critical masterpiece, *Japan : An Interpretation*, we are conscious of having come in touch with one who has not only told us more about Japan than any other writer, but who has at the same time presented his material in a rich, poetic and sensitive style that is irresistible in its charm.

Hearn has been described as a sentimentalist by those who are not familiar with his biting comments in reference to the majority of young Japanese men who ape the west and ridicule the Spirit of Old Japan. Religious people have taken objection to his attitude towards Christianity. Others have lamented that he was too much under the influence of Herbert Spencer. Dr. Gould has described Hearn as lacking in originality and devoid of genius. Muck-rakes have been busy stirring up his youthful follies, and some American critics can do no better than describe Hearn as an Oriental Edgar Allan Poe.

Yone Noguchi was right when he observed that "you must have another Hearn to understand Lafcadio Hearn." He writes : "we never talk of Hearn's personality here ; it is

[1] The passage occurs in a letter I received from Mr. Channing Arnold, a son of the poet.

The Works of Hearn, published by Kegan Paul, Macmillan, Harper, and Constable.

The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, by Elizabeth Bisland, 2 vols., Constable.

The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, edited by Elizabeth Bisland, Constable.

Concerning Lafcadio Hearn, by George M. Gould, Fisher Unwin.

Lafcadio Hearn in Japan, by Yone Noguchi, *with Mrs. Lafcadio Hearn's Reminiscences*, Elkin Mathews.

enough to have his books ;—and we have only to burn incense before his grave and read a *sutra*, if we cannot say anything good about him in public." Such a method is not adopted in the offices of our literary journals, and Western admirers of Hearn's work no longer indulge in æsthetic performances so delightfully parodied in *Patience*. We must track our great ones down, and in our haste we forget to carry lilies or to burn incense. "They will cut us up like pigs when we're gone"[1] said Edwin Arnold to Tennyson, but in trying to portray something of the personality of Hearn, I have no intention of making a gory mess of the business by presenting a picture remotely resembling the pig-killing scene in *Jude the Obscure*. His character was so sensitive, so wayward, so eerie, so child-like, so wrapped about with mystery, that no one so far has been able to describe him with any degree of completeness. We can fathom his genius to a certain extent, but the man himself we do not know, and when we recall his own conception of personality—a man who is the sum-total of billions of past lives—it is not surprising that we get a little fogged in attempting to work out the problem. Even Mrs. Hearn's wonderful reminiscences of her husband are illusive, for we only catch a glimpse of this shy, fleeting figure. Hearn's letters, full of charm as they are, tell us little about his personality. They are only intimate so far as they reveal the writer. He is content, especially in his letters to Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain, to write about his work and his reading, and he does so with such minute detail, with such frank enthusiasm and such penetrating criticism, that we are able to realise the influences that so considerably helped to mould his tense and delicate style. No letters have hitherto appeared that so illuminate the inner workings of the literary mind.

Hearn did not cast a prophetic beam into the future. What he did was to illuminate the Japanese past. He was extraordinarily primitive, and might have afforded an excellent

example in support of one of Dean Inge's pet theories. Hearn was pagan rather than Bohemian, and his paganism was more far-reaching than that of Heine when he wrote *The Exile of the Gods.* Hearn crept out of the way of civilisation whenever it was possible to do so. He sometimes rang the front-door bell of a friend's house, and, through sheer timidity, bolted before his nervous ring could be answered. His love of tropical nights, especially those associated with his visit to the French West Indies, his abnormal development of the sensuous, are characteristics that cannot be over-emphasised. He complained that many French authors wrote too much with the "pudic nerve," but as a matter of fact the chief stimulant of Hearn's pen was emotion. He had to feel intensely before he was able to express intensely too, and even his criticism of the work of others is governed by the same compelling force.

Many consider that Hearn at the last was disillusioned in regard to Japan. This is only partly true. There were occasions when this writer, usually so mild and gentle, could be excessively petulant. He did not hesitate to denounce the many innovations due to Western influence. He was condemning an ugly hybrid, not the original stock. Had he been alive to-day, and aware of Japan's "peaceful penetration" in China, he would have repeated his frequently quoted expletive, "Damn the Japanese!" He wrote: "I detest with unspeakable detestations the frank selfishness, the apathetic vanity, the shallow, vulgar scepticism of the New Japan that prates its contempt about Tempo times, and ridicules the dear old men of the pre-Meiji era, and that never smiles, having a heart as hollow and bitter as a dried lemon." He expressed himself strongly, but his denunciation of the New Japan is at the same time a vigorous acclamation of the Old. The type that was for ever aping the West and mocking the noble past was hateful to Hearn. He wanted Japan to stand still: to worship her old gods and remain faithful to her illustrious ancestors: to be

always quaint and superstitious. He wanted the opalescent mists of Mount Fuji, and not the smoke of factory chimneys. He managed to preserve in his books all that was beautiful, picturesque and lovable about Japan. To attempt to destroy these ancient and hallowed charms was an act of vandalism he could not endure silently. He railed against the missionary "beasts," against officialdom in silk hat and frock-coat, and against many young Japanese men, of whom he wrote: "There will be no hearts after a time; Waterbury watches will be substituted instead. These will be cheap and cold, but will keep up a tolerably regular ticking." He would have endorsed the following old Chinese law: "Let him who says anything new, or him who shall invent anything new, be put to death." He would have striven against universal suffrage in Japan, and he would have supported Kaibara's remark in *The Greater Learning for Women*: "Never set thyself up against thy husband with harsh features and a boisterous voice."

Can we account for Hearn's delicate, sensuous and almost ghostly style? I can suggest two possible, but by no means exhaustive, reasons—*viz.*, his birth, and the fact that he suffered from myopia. He had Greek and Romany blood. The Greek accounted for his unquenchable love of the beautiful, combined, curiously enough, with an almost equal love of the horrible. He was moved by the smile of Venus and also by the twisting snakes above Medusa's brow. His Romany blood may have accounted for the fact that he was one of the world's wanderers.

I attach, in common with Dr. G. M. Gould,[1] even more importance to Hearn's defective vision. He saw everything in a microscopic way—and notice at this point the love of little things so characteristic of the Japanese. On the *tsuba* (sword-guard) and *netsuke* (toggle for medicine-box or tobacco-pouch)

[1] Dr Gould wrote interesting articles on this subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, October-November, 1906.

will be found stories from history and legend, while a Japanese garden, replete with lantern and bright red bridge, has been fashioned in a space no bigger than a soup-plate. Hearn's limited vision seemed to stimulate rather than check his imagination. On one occasion a city editor persuaded Hearn to climb the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral, Cincinnati. He wrote an account of that experience, and it "went the round of the newspaper world." His feat recalls the following lines of Andrew Lang:

> "And with my feeble eyes and dim,
> Where *you* see patchy fields and fences,
> For me the mists of Turner swim—
> My azure distance soon commences!"

Hearn was more Stevensonian than R. L. S. in his reverence for words. He wrote: "For me words have colour, character; they have faces, ports, manners, gesticulations; they have moods, humours, eccentricities; they have tints, tones, personalities." He toyed in a whimsical manner with this idea in a letter to Professor B. H. Chamberlain. He wrote:

Because people cannot see the colour of words, the tints of words, the secret ghostly motions of words:—

Because they cannot hear the whispering of words, the rustling of the procession of letters, the dream-flutes and dream-drums which are thinly and weirdly played by words:—

Because they cannot perceive the pouting of words, the frowning and fuming of words, the weeping, the raging and reeking of words:—

Because they are insensible to the phosophoresing of words, the fragrance of words, the noisomeness of words, the tenderness or hardness, the drying or juciness of words,—the interchange of values in the gold, the silver and the copper of words:—

Is that any reason why we should not try to make them hear, to make see, to make them feel?

Hearn had one answer ready himself: "Because they won't buy your books, and you won't make any money." The

closed pockets of the Philistines did not distress him. In the same letter he wrote:

.....Surely I have never yet made, and never expect to make any money. Neither do I expect to writer ever for the multitude. I write for beloved friends who can see colour in words, can smell the perfume of syllables in blossoms, can be shocked with the fine elfish electricity of words. And in the eternal order of things, words will eventually have their rights recognised by the people.

Mrs. Hearn used to tell her husband Japanese ghost stories. They were told on dreary evenings, and in a room that was dimly lighted. Mrs. Hearn wrote:

When I tell him stories I always told him at first the mere skeleton of the story. If it is interesting, he puts it down in his note-book and makes me repeat several times.

And when the story is interesting, he instantly becomes exceedingly serious; the colour of his face changes: his eyes wear the look of fearful enthusiasm.

As I went on as usual the story of Okachinsan, his face gradually changed pale; his eyes were fixed: I felt a sudden awe. When I finished the narrative he became a little relaxed and said it was very interesting. "O blood!" he repeatedly said; and asked me several questions regarding the situations, actions, etc., involved in the story. "In what manner was 'O blood!' exclaimed? In what manner of voice? What do you think of the sound of 'geta' at that time? How was the night? I think so and so. What do you think? etc." Thus he consulted me about various things besides the original story which I told from the book. If any one happened to see us thus talking from outside, he would surely think that we were mad.

The story of Okachinsan was published in *Kottō*,[1] and its weirdness and dramatic force were undoubtedly due in some measure to those fearsome questions and answers Mrs. Hearn has described so vividly. The story is not original. Hearn never invented a story of his own. He borrowed his material, but so far from leaving a debt we usually associate with plagiarism, he ransacked his store of words with so much

[1] *The Legend of Yurei-Daki*. In Hearn's version Okachinsan reads O-Katsu-San.

diligence, and arranged and re-arranged them with so much artistry, that the material, fusty enough in the original, glows with the lustre of Chinese silk. Lamb claimed that the value of a book lent to Coleridge was enhanced considerably when it was returned with the magic of his marginal notes. And so it was with Hearn. He borrowed a good deal of his literary material, but he had the art of jewelling dull phrases and of giving a ghostly perfume to the most acrid passages. He borrowed nothing that his genius did not beautify a thousandfold.

Hearn wrote in one of his early letters from Japan:

Pretty to talk of my "pen of fire." I've lost it. Well, the fact is, it is no use here. There isn't any fire here. It is all soft, dreamy, quiet, pale, faint, gentle, hazy, vapory, visionary.....Don't please imagine there are any tropics here. Ah! the tropics—they still pull at my heart-strings. Goodness! my real field was there—in the Latin countries, in the West Indies and Spanish America: and my dream was to haunt the old crumbling Portuguese and Spanish cities, and steam up the Orinoco, and get romances nobody else could find. And I could have done it, and made books that would sell for twenty years.

Hearn was wrong. Few read to-day his *Chita*, *youma* and *Two years in the French West Indies*, while of *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, *Out of the East* and *Kokoro* Professor B. H. Chamberlain wrote: "Never perhaps was scientific accuracy of detail married to such tender and exquisite brilliancy of style. In reading these wonderfully original essays, we feel the truth of Richard Wagner's saying, that '*Alles Verständniss* kom'mtuns nur durch die Liebe.'"

It was fortunate for Hearn, and for us, that he did not spend the best years of his life in Latin countries. Japan stimulated his genius as no other country could have done. Israel Zangwill has said, in reference to Pierre Loti's *Madame chrysantheme*, that "instead of looking for the soul of a people, Pierre Loti was simply looking for a woman." Hearn wrote a remarkable essay on *The Eternal Feminine*, but his

quest did not end there. In *Gleanings in Buddha Fields* he shook off the rosy rapture of his first Japanese book. Miss Elizabeth Bisland wrote: "The visible beauty of woman, of nature, of art, grew to absorb him less as he sought for the essential principal of beauty."

We cannot use the word popular in reference to any of Hearn's work, but *Kokoro* is probably the most widely-read book, and, both in story and essay, the volume is a fine achievement. He gradually abandoned the early richness of his style in favour of "a pellucid simplicity." His biographer wrote: "The transparent shadowy weird stories of *Kwaiden* were as unlike the splendid floridity of his West Indian studies as a Shintō shrine is unlike a Gothic cathedral. These ghostly sketches might have been made by the brush of a Japanese artist; a grey whirl of water about a phantom fish—a shadow of a pine bough across the face of a spectral moon—an outline of mountains as filmy as dreams, brief, almost childishly simple, and yet suggesting things poignant, things ineffable." Whether Hearn wrote about dust or ants, stars or Nirvana, azure psychology or *frisson*, the power of glamour and emotion were never absent except in his *Japan: An Interpretation*. In that posthumous book, by some critics regarded as his finest work, there is no trace of emotionalism. It is penetrating criticism: Hearn's final judgment on Japan and the Japanese. It occupies a place by itself, and is as distinct from his other work as is *The Dynatts* from the Wessex novels. In *Japan: An Interpretation* he forgot his old worship—"the worship of the Odd, the Queer, the Strange, the Exotic, the Monstrous."

Now that Hearn's lectures on literature to Japanese students have been published[1] and widely reviewed, something must be said in reference to his literary opinions and literary influences. Was Hearn a sound critic? That his remarks in regard to many writers were extremely apt

[1] *Interpretations of Literature* and *Appreciations of Poetry*—Heinemann.

cannot be denied; but on the other hand he was too emotional, too sensitive, too inconsistent, to be always a sound judge of literary matters. On one occasion he praised a worthless book on account of his liking for the sender, and confessed in one of his letters: "I should certainly make a bad critic if I were acquainted with authors and their friends. One sees what does not exist whenever one loves or hates. As I am rather a creature of extremes, I should be an extremely crooked-visioned judge of work." Hearn described *Le mariage de Loti* as "the weirdest and loveliest romance ever written," and when ill, it was one of his regrets that he might never be able to read *L'Inde sans Anglais*. But his enthusiasm cooled, as it cooled in regard to De Quincey. We find Hearn rather bitterly complaining of Loti's formal typewritten letters to him, and his final comment is: "The poet became a little morbid, modern, affected Frenchman."

When Hearn praised, he praised whole-heartedly. He has never excelled the following in warmth of eulogy: "I have a book for you— an astounding book, a godlike book... It is the finest book on the East ever written; and though very small contains more than all my library of Oriental books." The volume was Percival Lowell's *The Soul of the Far East*. He wrote of Kipling: "He is to my fixed conviction the greatest of living English poets, and greater than all before him in the line he has taken." He wrote with the same generous abandon: "Never in this world will I be able to write one page to compare with a page of his. He makes me feel so small, that after reading him I wonder why I am such an ass to write at all."

Such enthusiasm is interesting rather than valuable. It is only when Hearn's opinions are analytical, and not emotional, that they become worthy of honest criticism. He has dealt as justly with Zola and Ebers as he has written extravagantly of Gautier and Flaubert. The author of *First*

Principles, and other books devoted to synthetic philosophy, would have been amused had he read the following extravaganza: I find my only salvation in a return to the study of the Oceanic Majesty and Power and Greatness and Holiness and Omniscience of Herbert Spencer." Edward FitzGerald would not have used more capital letters. Hearn was so steeped in neurotic literature that only occasionally his criticisms have weight. His comments on English eighteenth century literature are simply foolish, as if he were angry with Pope for not being a lotus-eater! Now and again, made a little dizzy by Hearn's literary frenzies, we stumble upon a good thing such as the following remark on Carlyle:

Assuredly Carlyle is no sweet pill to swallow; and he never guides you anywhere. He is hard reading; one feels as if travelling over broken rocks and boulders hidden by scrub. But there are lightning flashes in that apocalyptic style of his which reveal infinite things. I read only for the flashes. Even then only a little at a time, every day. Did you ever know the agony of trying to read *Sartor Resartus* for *pleasure*?

"The new poetry is simply rotten!" wrote Hearn, "morbidly and otherwise...There is no joy in this new world—and scarcely any tenderness: the language is the language of art, but the spirit is of Holbein and Gothic ages of religious madness." In spite of this observation he finally preferred Dobson and Watson and Lang to Wordsworth, Keats, or Shelley. Hearn quoted Watson's line on Wordsworth: "It may be thought has broadened since he died!" and playfully added: "Well, I should smile. His deepest truths have become platitudes." Hearn wrote of Swinburne: "There is nonsense in Swinburne, but he is merely a melodist and colourist. He enlarges the English tongue,—shows its richness, unsuspected flexibility, admirable sponge-power of beauty-absorption..." His criticism of Whitman was sound and neatly expressed. He wrote:

Whitman's gold seems to me in the ore: his diamonds and emeralds in the rough...Whitman's is indeed a Titanic voice; but it seems to me the voice of the giant beneath the volcano,—half stifled, half uttered—roaring betimes because articulation is impossible.....

However changeable Hearn may have been in many respects, he remained true to his literary ideal. R. A. Scott-James, writing of Joseph Conrad, observes: "There is a fable about him to the effect that when faced with the choice between writing in English and in French, he decided for English, because in France all were stylists, but in England there were none of this kidney." There is no similar fable concerning Hearn, but he was aware that English literature lacked the delicate subtleties, the artistry of style peculiar to the French, or rather to the Latin nations generally. He wrote: "It has long been my aim to create something in English fiction analogous to that warmth of colour and richness of imagery hitherto peculiar to Latin literature. Being of a meridional race myself, a Greek, I *feel* rather with the Latin race than with the Anglo-Saxon; and trust that with time and study I may be able to create something different from the stone-grey of latter-day English."

Hearn claimed that mythology, history, romance, and especially poetry, enriched fancy. He went so far as to assert that astronomy, geology, and ethnology furnished him "with wonderful and startling variety of images, symbols, and illustrations." Alive, on the emotional side, to the work of others, he believed that "when the soil of fancy is really well enriched with innumerable fallen leaves, the flowers of language grow spontaneously." The wonder is that this sensitive writer, who rushed from one shrine of praise to another, from Gautier to Kipling, and from Kipling to Herbert Spencer, should have been able to form an individual style of his own that is either the man himself, or his dream of the beautiful that came to him in the States, in the West Indies, and in Japan—that dream of poetic prose. He wrote: "Then I stopped thinking. For I saw my home—and the lights of its household gods—and my boy stretching out his hands to me—and all the simple charm and love of Old Japan. And the fairy-world seized my soul again, very softly and sweetly—

as a child might a butterfly." That is our last impression of Lafcadio Hearn, for it was from such thoughts as these that he dreamed his dream, called up to a weary and cynical and hustling world the ghostly magic of the Land of the Gods.

F. HADLAND DAVIS

TO A BUTCHER-BIRD

Come closer, let me see your glossy coat—
You needn't fear a farmer boy like me,
For truly I enjoy your company—
Come, let me hear the song that's in your throat.
Pick up the fattest grubs my plow throws out,
And carry to that hungry brood I found
In yonder bulky nest, high off the ground,
With feathers lined within, and twigs without.
Your acts of cruelty I long have known;
I've seen the meadow-mice, and sparrows too
Which you impale on barb or thorny snag.
And yet, that hunter with a blood-stained bag
Who passed a while ago—he's worse than you.
You kill to live—he kills for sport alone.

WAYNE GARD

LONG YEARS AGO

When the stars begin to gleam,
A soft breeze thro' my casement steals,
It blows from the rustling mango-groves
Where the tender blossoms hang.

The stars were gleaming bright
When thou and I long years ago
Went thro' the whisp'ring mango-grove,
Went—we knew not whither.

Thy garments flew about,
The scattered blossoms clung to thee,
Thy loosened tresses gently blew
Against my heated brow.

I spoke not, nor didst thou,
'Twas still but for the swaying boughs
And the soft recurring rhythmic song
Of thy golden bangles.

Ah, then what ecstasy
Enwrapt the vast blue dome of night,
We saw a vista ope before us
That held eternal joy.

And now when the stars gleam bright
A soft breeze blows from the mango-grove,
Bringing a whirl of fresh perfume
And fragments of a shattered dream!

V. B.

MR. MARKHAM'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PREFACE

It was at Salcombe in Devonshire. I answered a ring at the door one day. I hoped it was the postman, but it was a gentleman with a black beard. He asked if the house was the one Froude lived in when he dwelt at Salcombe.

"That explains it," I replied.

"That explains what?"

"My writing history of late with much more accuracy than formerly. Come in, and I will read you some."

I read as follows:

CHAPTER I

Good Queen Bess was gathered to her fathers in 1066, the year little William was sent to Eton. Her rightful successor was her son Henry, who would have been the eighth king of that name; but Parliament, knowing that you may have too much of a good thing, and that the line must be drawn somewhere; looking, too, to Henry's excessive corpulency, and fearing for the stability of the throne—Parliament, having duly perpended these, set Henry aside, and appointed Charles Elia instead. He was as good a man as he had been a diligent scholar. Once, found seated under the table, he was asked what he did. "I con Basilike" was the prompt reply. He is known in the history books, sometimes as Saint Charles, sometimes as good King Elia. He introduced the Beef-eaters to court, and invented the ceremonies of Saint Valentine's Day. He was loved by his people, and attended in person all the executions that took place during his reign. Lack of space precludes our mentioning more than three—those of Thomas Carlyle, for sowing dyspepsia among the people; of the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, Samuel Coleridge, for losing the National Debt in a maze of metaphysics, so that when it was wanted (to see what it had grown to), nobody could find it; and of John Henry Newman, for making the worse appear the better reason. But some were not of his Majesty's opinion.

King Elia proclaimed his sister Queen, but Parliament never fully ratified that act, and Queen Mary was not always prayed for in the churches. The thought of it a little marred her quiet games of whist, but she generally managed to win the rubber.

The King had trouble with his barons, whom he wished should learn to read. It was Matthew Arnold's idea. His Majesty approved it, and himself prepared a history of England for the barons to use. Knowing their great interest in feasting, he caused diligent enquiry to be made regarding the favourite dishes of his predecessors, and never omitted mention of them. He may even have drawn a little on his imagination, heaven having endowed him with no small share, little as the second Chancellor, William Wordsworth, was in the habit of suspecting it. The stories of Arthur and the burnt cakes, John's surfeit of lampreys, Clarence's butt of Malmsey wine, George's asking however the apples got inside the dumplings, and his saying that a goose was a foolish bird, being too much for one, but not enough for two—these are all suspected by Stubbs of being Elian fictions. But Stubbs was ever a dull fellow.

Once, while King Elia and his second Chancellor were upon an Excursion, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and the Duke of Devonshire were sent by the other barons as a deputation to the King at Runnymede. Wordsworth introduced them, and was in the middle of a longish Prelude, when King Elia, cutting him short, asked the Duke what they wanted of him. "A half-holiday every Wednesday, your gracious Majesty," was the reply. The King benignantly granted it, and it has ever since been known as Magna Charta. It a

little reconciles the barons to the teaching of history, which, however, one fears they do not really lay to heart.

The King set men to compile a great Dictionary, and appointed Sir Thomas Browne to supervise the work. He fostered all polite learning. His court was thronged by William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and Webster. They no doubt exercised a refining influence on the race; yet to this day, and even at Oxford, there is more talk of roast beef and dumpling than of the drama.

England was indeed Merrie England in good King Elia's day. Even the *Spectator* was bright.

CHAPTER II

When Queen Mary died, King Elia did what he had long deferred doing out of consideration for her—he married his sweetheart, Lorna Doone. The English were very proud of Queen Lorna, and hoped that she would have a son. It was not to be, however: the only children their Majesties had were dream children. They died in a ripe old age, and were buried side by side in the Abbey. The Pope of Rome and the Kings and Queens of Europe attended the funeral, and all England so flocked to London, that it is said that for a week not a cottage chimney was seen to smoke outside the five mile radius.

The Long Parliament, the same that on good Queen Bess's demise had set Henry aside as too fat, with that inconsistency that endears girls to men, and would, you would think, endear Parliaments too, but does not do so to anything like the same degree—the same Parliament, known in the history books as the Long, appointed Sir John Falstaff to succeed King Elia. So we must bid farewell to that good king, and get on with the story of King John, the Fat. He was a good King too. If England could have her wish, she would never have but two kings, King John for the even days of the week, and King Elia for the odd.

Some thought that King John would make Prince Hal his Chancellor, but he bade him begone, and be no more seen at Court. Others thought that he would appoint the Lord Chief Justice, but he did not, but made him Conservator of the Royal Forests. Having found places for the other judges, he closed all the noisome courts of law, his heart being much set upon that reform. Cases were heard in his reign by the parish vicars, those upon whom too much work devolved being supplied with sermons of King John's own writing. The only court fees paid were two pence for ale for the king, and a penny for snuff for the vicar; but it is calculated that three pence in those days had the value of seven pence half penny of our time.

The King retained the chief-justiceship as an honorary post, and conferred it upon Justice Slender. He said that he might occasionally have legal nuts to crack himself; but it is suspected that his motive was the facility that Slender's being at hand afforded for cracking jokes. Slender tried but one case—that of Macaulay, who was charged with partiality to Dutch William in his account of the troubles of King James's reign. He was found guilty, and sentenced to death; but the King granted him his life, but on two conditions. First, that he repeated no more idle lists of popes' and archbishops' names, whether forward or backward, at Lady Holland's breakfast parties, but went to Paris and Padua, and tried to pick up a little wisdom; secondly, that he said, every night after prayers, "a gentleman would have been civil even to Croker." King John was of a humour with many queer twists in it.

The King was fond of going down to Oxford to see how they got on with the great Dictionary. He would ask Sir Thomas Browne what word they were got to, and, if he remembered having used it in one of his sermons, he would set Tom Quincey, his clerk, to search out the passage, and give it to Sir Thomas to quote. That occasioned the long delay

over the word *sack*; for the King had used it, in his sermon on Temperance, in a sense in which they had none of them ever heard it used. Those were days before they feasted in Oxford, the example of which they probably first had from King John himself. They thought that, should they wait long enough, the king would forget; but he got wind of it, and sent for them all to Windsor, saying: "if they have never drunk sack, they shall have some of the King's own!" A great night they made of it till four in the morning; so that when, some years later, Sir Thomas and his men got to *temperance*, there were prickings of conscience.

The King slept where he sat till six, then called Kate, his Queen, to make him a pocketful of bacon sandwiches, while he changed his shirt; "for," said he, "I go to Hughenden to talk accounts with Chancellor Disraeli. The malt tax must have brought in more! You and I, Kate, have drunk as much to our own share, and, if I know him, John Bull has got outside a deal of ale this hot summer."

It is not known how many years longer King John would have reigned, if he had not fallen from his horse, and been killed, while racing over Epsom Downs with the Vicar of Clapham. They had got at Oxford to *sere*, which some afterwards thought an ill omen. As Macaulay died the year before the King's fall, he had no satisfaction of his death; but that is hardly enough to reconcile us to the loss of so truly good and great a man.

CHAPTER III

With King John's death began the sad Age of Materialism. Only the girls with money were sought in marriage. A young man with plenty of his own, such as Prince Arthur, could have his pick of the pretty ones. He married a gipsy, Cleopatra, strangely beautiful. Certain sour people of the Parliament petitioned King John against the match, not liking such encouragement of vagrancy, but the King said a pretty

face at table was the next best thing after the roast upon it. So Prince Arthur had his wish.

Happening to hear Chancellor Disraeli speak at Oxford on the side of the Angels, the Prince was pricked with an ambition to excel in debate. He made many speeches, both as Prince and as King; so that he is known to History as Arthur, the Speech Maker. He sorely puzzed his subjects, who were used to plainer speech; but if they did not know what he meant, be sure the King himself did. His oftenest quoted speech is the one he made to the Barons, when they appeared in audience to say that they had learned to read, and would like now to have opinions. The King had been ready, his Majesty said, to do all the thinking that was necessary, and it was wonderful how much of the country's business could be done with none. Still if they wished to have opinions, let them have as many as they had a mind for. If they would let him know what they were, he would write a defence of each.

The Age of Materialism (1210 A.D. to 1227 A.D.) was blown away by the thunder of the Great War. What occasioned the war was the non-payment of the sum that Kaiser Barbarossa owed Prince Arthur. The Prince had betted the Kaiser that there were more buttercups in England than in all the Holy Roman Empire, and so it was found to be, when they were counted. Barbarossa would have paid the money, being a gentleman; but he died while the enumeration was yet incomplete, and his successors were cast in other moulds. King Arthur waited long, but, his patience being then exhausted, he finally summoned the Privy Council to consider whether there should be a war, or not a war. John Morley was of opinion that there was not ground enough for so bloody a business; but "not so," said Will Shakespeare.

"Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument,
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw."

"Which you certainly would," said his Majesty, "if it was the last one."

The debate would have taken the turn the King had meant to give it (supposing, that is, that someone understood what turn that was), if little Mister George had not interrupted with: "Without great argument—great *armament*, you mean!" "Hear hear!" said the Duke. "I leave the paraphernalia of war to your Grace!" said Shakespeare. "We are now upon matters of politick." So they decided for war.

It was a long business, and, God knows, would have gone on longer, if word had not come to the armies that England was overrun with foxes. So they made a hasty peace with Wilhelm's men, and all came home. It was thought not right to let them come unnoticed, as at the end of other wars; so, as each man came to Dover, he was given a wash and a brush-up.

The printing of the great Dictionary had to be suspended during the war, because of the shortage of paper; and when there were no curl-papers left, and because the value of paper money had not fallen quite low enough to make Treasury Notes a reasonable substitute, hair-bobbing, before confined to girls, crept in among elderly ladies. Mrs. Markham bobbed hers.

King Arthur's intellect remained as keen as a razor, even when he had grown a very old man. When all his subjects were dreadfully confused about tariffs, he still could clearly see that there were two sides to the question, and just where the one shaded into the other.

CHAPTER IV

For some time after the war England was Merrie England again. The girls had all worked very hard, and it had done their figures good. Never were such pretty complexions seen, nor such paces as of fauns'; and the young men who walked

with them in the streets had blue silk handkerchiefs peeping out of their pockets. It had been intended that there should be no more of the old cynicism (rightly understood, however, there was very little of the cynic in Kings Elia, John and Arthur), but that the young men and the girls should rule the world with innocence. It was soon found that the war had not made everything quite simple, as everybody believed at the time that it would. Even Mrs. Markham did, and she had laid the teaching of history to heart. So things had to be left to the old politicians, as King Arthur had known all along that they would have to be, and there were plenipotentiaries, preambles, and ratifications, all as in the evil days of Talleyrand and Metternich. And troubles thickened and thickened, so that the annals of the time are too painful to linger over. It all sprang from the people's belief that if you took two from three, in a world so changed, you would have five left over. At last a better day dawned. It came from the example of Edward, the Lazy. Once he was plain Mr. FitzGerald, but when King Arthur died, which they knew he had from what the doctors said, not from the King's last Message, which was ambiguous, Parliament made him King.

King Edward's example was to shut up his palace, and live in the porter's lodge, because then one old woman could look after him ; to stay at home, because that saved packing portmanteaus; to go on wearing his old clothes, because that saved emptying the pockets ; and, if troubles were brewing, to get into an old lugger, with *Sophocles* or *Don Quixote*, and stay at sea till they were sure to have blown over. His subjects tried his way of living for a week. They then found that big houses were better to live in, new clothes good to wear, the world good to see ; but they also found, and in this the king's example was the leaven, that these things must be worked hard for, which would leave no time for *Sophocles* and *Don Quixote*. The Barons were afraid that the King would insist on the reading ; so they sent a deputation. When he

heard their footsteps in the passage, the King slipped out at a window, and got on board his lugger, where he stayed till after harvest. The window is still shown.

The King married Lucy Snowe for the odd reason that he felt sure that no one would ever guess what had made him think of doing it. It was not a happy marriage. It was the Queen's idea that the King should dress for breakfast, which was the last thing he had ever intended.

King Edward studied Persian, and translated Omar, in which example he has had many followers; but none of them have gained the *kudos* that the King did, for the same reason that in the "Sketch," the "Tatler," and the "Sphere" the only portraits to be seen are those of the nobility. Or if there are any others, they are those of actresses with not very much on, which is John Bull's other interest. But this is to forget eating.

CHAPTER V

In the next reign fell the war of the sexes, in the course of which the ladies, not uncountenanced by Mrs. Markham, committed great outrages; but it must be owned that they had strong provocation. The last bill to receive the Royal Assent in King Edward's reign was the Act of Succession, by which succession to the throne was made to depend upon competitive examination. It was Macaulay's wish at length fulfilled. The King gave his assent unwillingly; but then he did everything unwillingly except sit still and do nothing.

The men who would be king were to be examined in Greek, Latin, English Composition and Sums: the girls who would be queen were to be examined in the last two only. The ladies thought it invidious that they should not be examined in all four, adding: "A girl who should not know to put 'ego' before 'rex meus' would be anomalous as queen." "There is more in Latin than that," the men

retorted. "May be," the ladies shouted back, "but is it worth speaking of?" So the battle was fairly joined, and worse was to follow.

Chancellor Disraeli did best among the men. He dropped some marks over Greek and Latin, but he more than made them good in the other subjects. Having half an hour to spare before the papers were handed in, he spent it in taking stock of the girls, and, having marked down Kate Dodd, from the ink on her fingers and the way the tip of her tongue was to be seen at one corner of her mouth, as the girl who was doing best, he considered how he would like her as queen. The result was seen when the proof of the *gazette* was submitted to his Majesty. He deleted "Kate Dodd has done best," and substituted, "None of the female candidates came up to the required standard." My God, what a row there was.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury, the examiner, expostulated with the King, his Majesty said: "It was true, your Grace, in the esoteric sense, and, as a theologian, you should know what that means."

The Chancellor learned his finance from King John, who had no equal in making other people's money go a long way. His intellects were too strong to be confused by King Arthur's nice distinctions, and, if another would have caught the spirit of *laissez-faire* from King Edward, the Chancellor was then too old to change. All this was of inestimable advantage to King Dizzy; for it often fell to him to impose a new tax. When he stood before the House in robes of an exquisite cut and hue, with the curl lying composedly on his forehead, and, with a gesture that held the House spellbound, cut off in the air the figures after the decimal point that were beneath the dignity of Parliament to notice, all agreed that it was superb acting. Even Mr. Gladstone felt for an instant that life was more comic than real and earnest.

But the King was old and lonely, and would rather have written "Hamlet, and have played the ghost in it at Drury

Lane. He loved the rustle of women's skirts and the clapping of their soft hands.

Epilogue

I laid down my pen five minutes ago in a little room that looks out upon an alley that leads to Fleet Street. I take it up to add a few words. I should never have toiled to the last of these dusty pages without Mrs Markham's pure example to goad me on. I have thought to pay my debt with here and there a kindly reference to her, trusting that such revelations of connubial felicity would not be held to fall beneath the dignity of history. May I live to see my book printed, and housed with hers at the British Museum. Not given the same pride of place, to be sure, yet not banished to a too vacant subterranean cave.

J. A. Chapman

SONG

My love is like this holly leaf
I plucked in Oxford town—
This holly leaf that still was green
When other leaves were brown.

The heedless years can ne'er dissolve
Nor can the oceans drown
The love that with this holly leaf
I send from Oxford town.

Wayne Gard

MORE WORK MORE PAY

It has often been remarked that the Bengali cultivator is a man of leisure. He works hard for a few days in the year when he ploughs his land and sows his seeds, when he transplants his paddy and if he does not hire labourers to do it, when he reaps his crop, but while the crop is in the ground, or the fields lying vacant and he is waiting for a shower or two of rain to soften them sufficiently to make ploughing easy, he has next to nothing to do. His children look after his cattle. He has no dairy work for he holds it beneath his dignity to sell milk and the difficulty of distribution stands in his way, and beyond seeing to his little vegetable patch and doing petty repairs to his homestead he has no work to occupy his time. Much of it he spends in doing nothing. His habit of going regularly to most of the markets within reach takes up a considerable part of it. In nearly every village there is party faction and if he is bitten with the mania for it he spends much of his time in disputes that not infrequently lead to litigation and absorb both time and money.

All this is common knowledge but it is not so commonly appreciated that his poverty is very largely accounted for by the fact that he does so little work. The kindness of the climate renders necessary comforts few. A house built for warmth and to keep out the draughts is by no means required, and clothes are worn for decency and not for warmth. Food is necessary but in so warm a climate the health of the race is better without meat, the most expensive item in the budget for food in colder countries. It is for such reasons that the little labour which falls to the lot of the Bengali cultivator has not yet rendered it necessary for him to turn to other forms of industry.

There is another reason, less obvious than these, which saves him from having to find other employment and incidentally

helps to keep him poor. That is the minute subdivision of holdings. The number of landless labourers is comparatively small and many of them are immigrants from the adjoining province of Bihar. At the Census of 1911 men who were returned as cultivators of their own land were more than six and a half times as many as those who were returned as field labourers. The proportion in Eastern Bengal was more than 26 times. In England and Wales on the contrary the employees working for farmers were three and a half times as many as the farmers themselves. The farmer does not employ a labourer unless he has enough work for him to do to keep him going and the number of men retained in employment depends on the work to be done. The Bengali cultivator, on the other hand, with his rights in his land is not to be expected to give it up because it offers him less labour than would fill his time, so long as it gives him enough to live on.

Figures, which will show that this labour is so little, and will afford a means of comparison between the work required of the cultivator here and elsewhere, should in this connection prove interesting. Taking Bengal as a whole the cultivated area including current fallow according to the returns of the Agricultural Department is 289,921,736 acres, and the number of males engaged in cultivation of all kinds (including herdsmen) according to the Tables of the last Census (1911) was 9,129,793. This is the number of actual workers exclusive of their dependents and gives one worker to every 3·176 acres.

In some of the more densely populated districts, especially in Eastern Bengal, the number of acres per male worker in agriculture is even less as the following figures will show:

District.	Cultivated area in acres.	Male workers in agriculture.	Acres per male worker.
Tippera	1,092,365	532,356	2·05
Mymensingh	2,447,804	1,111,319	2·20
Rangpur	1,702,258	650,026	2·59
Dacca	1,355,653	515,134	2·63
Faridpur	1,279,900	443,121	2·89

The cultivated area of England and Wales is just over 26 million acres. According to the Census of 1911 the number of male workers in agricultural occupations was 1,253,859. These figures give 21 acres per worker. In 1851 in England and Wales the number of male workers in agricultural pursuits was 1,544,089 and the cultivated area was not less than now-a-days. This gives one man for about 17 acres in the days before mechanical appliances had to any considerable extent been brought in to assist the farmer. In the great wheat-producing countries of the world, for instance in the Western States of America and in the Argentine, where mechanical appliances and power are more used than in England, the acreage per worker is very much larger.

The comparison between England and Bengal shows that the average agricultural worker in England works more than six and a half times as much land as the average worker in Bengal as a whole, and more than ten times as much land as the cultivator in Tippera district. The amount of work he does is probably still greater in proportion, for the rice lands of Bengal yield their crops with less attention than almost any land in the world. The easy methods of Bengal applied to the root crops in England would ensure their total failure.

Since the agriculturist cannot be expected to sacrifice his rights in his land and go in search of work in industrial centres except in the last extremity, the only amelioration of present conditions in Bengal that seems possible is to bring work within reach of the cultivator near his own village in the hope that he will put his hand to it. This no doubt is the reasoning of the more thoughtful of those who preach the use of the *charka*, and it is sound as far as it goes. The difficulty is that the economy of hand spinning is beyond hope. That of the handloom however is not, as is clearly proved by the large number of such looms existing and regularly worked, and the fact that it shows no indication of

decreasing. But weaving is almost completely in the hands of certain functional castes among the Hindus which are ordinarily divorced from agriculture. The Muhammadan *Jolaha* who has a little land now calls himself *Shekh* or *Momin*, and avoids the title of *Jolaha* and all its significance. The Hindu castes whose traditional occupation is agriculture have never taken to weaving and are not likely to do so. Such an occupation as basket-making affords so poor a return for labour compared with the return it produces in agriculture that it is never likely to commend itself to the cultivator. Salvation is, therefore, not likely to come by the development of cottage industries.

It is true that the population continues to increase fast in Eastern Bengal and that the increase is as high in the most densely populated parts in Dacca, Tippera and Noakhali districts as anywhere. The soil, therefore, does not yet support the greatest population it is able to maintain at the present standard of living, but it seems that the raising of this standard can only be expected if some means can be found to tempt industrial enterprise away from the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

W. H. Thompson

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT II

SCENE I

[*Scene.* Outside the city gate, Narankot,[1] India. An empty throne set, a crowd, beggars, etc.]

1st man—

Indra be praised ; his wrath on every miser
And every niggard *baniya*[2] for his greed !
To *Indra*[3] now with draught of *Soma*[4] juice
I make libation. Come, thou mighty One,
Visit thy humble worshipper's abode,
And to my stable drive the lowing kine.

2nd man—

And with thine eye regard the dying corn,
The famished meadow and the failing stream.
Great Thunder-armed on *Vritra* hurling doom
Who kept the waters prisoned in his hold,
Mad challenger of thy imperious might
To his own undoing. Come, avenging One,
Set free the waters on our parched fields,
And lest enerved from stint of *Soma* juice
Thy right hand slacken, from my poverty
I pour to thee libation shining clear.

[1] Narankot—fort of Narayan, a name given to *Vishnu*, commonly considered to be a sun-god. The town is called in the Legend Helioforum, *i.e.*, City of the Sun-god.

[2] Baniya—grain-seller.

[3] Indra—the Indian Hercules, also the god of thunder. He is the Vanquisher of the dragon Vritra, setting free the waters which the dragon kept imprisoned in his mountain castle. As god of battles Indra wins a victory over the Panis (human misers) and drives away their herds.

[4] Soma—a golden and highly intoxicating drink prepared from a plant found on the Himalayas, and much used for libations at sacrifices.

1st man—

'Tis a bad year; in Gondophares now
May *Indra* speed to aid us, and his sway
Bring blessing on the people of this land.

(*Enter St. Thomas and Habban.*)

St. Thomas—

What means this multitude without the gate?

Habban—

They gather here to greet the *Maharajah*
This day returning to his citadel,
Some to present petitions of their needs
Or cry on him for justice all alike
To win the favour of the gods, when he
Displays the sunshine of his countenance.

St. Thomas—

When once they turn them to the King of Kings,
Blessings indeed shall rain on them from Heaven.

(*Stir among the crowd and cries of "The King, the King! Long live great Gondophares!" Procession enters—at end of which and under a golden canopy are Gondophares and Treptia.*[1] *The crowd prostrate themselves, all but St. Thomas, and Habban who salaams profoundly*).

Gondophares (*pausing*)—

Habban! to Narankot returned at last!
Though late thou comest, thou art welcome home.

Habban (*falling on his knees*)—

Too gracious for the hearing of a slave
This greeting from thy lips—divinity!

[1] Treptia—Tirupatti, the spouse of the god. The King was commonly addressed as Devas or god. It is against Indian custom to call women by their proper names. They are referred by their distinguishing titles.

Gondophares—

Rise— 'tis our trust in thy good services
O'erlooks thy late arrival, in our joy
Of now beholding thee. Never was time
Our empty coffers yawned so wide for gold,
Nor famine so impoverished our land.

Voices from the crowd—

We have no grain, O bounteous one, supply us!
We starve, O feed us! O divine one, hear!
Be merciful, as *Rama* is merciful.

(*Gondophares ascends the throne—the Queen seating herself beside him; the crowd again fall on their faces except St. Thomas.*)

Gondophares (*aside*)—

Is he a god that he should slight me thus?

(*addressing crowd*)

For you, my people, ne'er did father's heart
For his own children beat more tenderly
Than mine for your distresses. Ne'er was brow
With care more weighted than this crowned head.

St. Thomas—

Save one, whose crown was of acanthus twined.

(*Gondophares frowns on St. Thomas, and he resumes*)

Times are when all too heavy to be borne
The burden of a people's suffering weighs,
A leaden mass, on one anointed head.

St. Thomas—

Love and love only, tireless, infinite
Avails to lift the sorrows of the world.

Habban—

Peace, an thou love me, lest thou anger him!

Gondophares—

Yet, O my people, am I come to-day
Not empty-handed nor without relief. (*Applause.*)
Lo, even now before the city gates
Stands Habban, ever worthy merchantman,
His camels laden with Judæan gold.

Crowd—

Habban *ki jai*,[1] Habban *ki jai*, Habban *ki jai*:

Gondophares (*to Habban*)—

Thou seest the motherland hath need of it!
Say, quick, what weight of gold thou carriest.

Habban—

O let not Gondophares be extreme
To mark what I his slave have wrought amiss!
In Judah's towns I pressed thy merchandise
On sons of avarice who looked askance
At its true value, yet with fevered zest
Clamoured their own mean prices to obtain;
And I, such meagre bargains loth to strike,
Would fain thy treasures, dazzling one, have spared
To thine advantage, had I not remembered
My master's and my country's need of gold.

Gondophares—

A truce to this preamble! Fellow, say,
How much all told, is in thy money bags?

Habban—

O with thy servant be not over-wroth!
Two hundred talents cover it and more.

[1] Long live Habban.

Gondophares (*rising in anger*)—

By *Vishnu*, I am poorly served in thee!
And made the fool of thy rash barterings—
Who in Aladdin-wise, without his sense,
Criest " New lamps for old " and in exchange
For *cowries* givest pearls—for copper, gold.
What of my diamond, O degenerate?

Habban—

The price it fetched is also here contained!

Gondophares—

Now *Rama*[1] provoke thee with a thousand plagues,
And *Indra* smite thee! not, howbeit, until
My justice deal with thee as faithfully
As has thy wastrel folly done by me:
Not till my whips have scored upon thy back
A lesson for every rogue to learn by rote,
And glowing irons branded on thy flesh
Their monument of thy dishonesty.

Habban—

O lightning-wielder! Yet be merciful:

St. Thomas—

King, not in terrors doth thy glory lie:
The justice that requites must be divine,
And love alone the vengeance that repays.

Gondophares—

Who is this stranger fellow, thus who dares
E'en before kings to make presumptuous speech?

[1] Ram,—or Rama, the hero of the Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, popularly have been an incarnation of the Supreme Being.

St. Thomas—

Thomas, the servant of the King of Kings.

Gondophares—

This passes bearing! Seize him, men at arms,
And bind him hand and foot with Habban here;
Then to the dungeon with them both away!
(*Guards seize and bind St. Thomas and Habban.*)

Treptia—

O good my lord, will not this gold afford
Relief, if not removal of our needs?

Gondophares (*in softer tones*)—

Treptia, thou know'st not; what can woman know?
Two hundred talents! Why, 'tis not enough
To build me half the palace of my dreams,
Let be to sate this hungry multitude.
(*Crowd murmurs.*)

St. Thomas—

Yet, wisely spent, it will avail for both.

Gondophares—

Who was it spoke? (*Sees prisoners*)
Do they yet linger here?
Away with them! Yet would I know his drift.
What is thy meaning, fellow? Answer me.

St. Thomas—

First bid, O king, thy men unloose these bonds
Which strangle laws of hospitality
To which all peoples of the earth must bow.
Is this my welcome unto Narankot?

Gondophares—

May be I was too hasty—loosen him.

(*Slaves unbind St. Thomas*).

St. Thomas—

For Habban, likewise, do I ask this grace,
To whom, O king, thou dost a grievous wrong
And grave injustice to his loyalty.

Treptia—

Ay, good my lord, he meant to serve thee well.

Gondophares—

I doubt it, yet I would not judge too soon.

(*To slaves.*)

Unbind him then, and set him free awhile. (*They loose Habban*)

Gondophares (*continuing*)-

Let them draw nigh. Habban, explain thyself!
A queen vouchsafes to intercede for thee.

Habban—

Her grace is merciful; yet I would die.
What worth hath life since thou hast doubted me?

Gondophares—

Nay, nay,—'twas in me but a passing phase.
How should I doubt thy proven loyalty?
Habban, old friend, I scarce have welcomed thee,
Nor him thou bringest with thee—Who is he?

Habban—

Most gracious Master, Thomas Didymus—
A great *Mahatma*, bringing tidings strange
Of One who died and took His life again:

Withal an architect of wondrous skill,
Master of building and masonic arts.

Gondophares—

Right welcome is he to our royal court,
And lest he blame us for discourtesy,
We place our royal chain about his neck
And bid him next our person at the feast.

(*Places gold chain about St. Thomas' neck.*)

St. Thomas—

Great King, I humbly offer thee my thanks
And pray for blessings on thy crown and realm.
I come to thee with tidings that shall bring
Wealth more abundant unto thee and thine
Than all the treasures of the earth can buy.

Gondophares—

Right sore we need it. Prithee, wise *Mahatma*,
Interpret thy dark saying, that the gold
Spent wisely, shall suffice to build a palace,
And sate the hunger of my people too.

St. Thomas—

First thou must feed these hungry multitudes,
Else shall thy palace in its dreamland stay,
For their relief distribute half this gold,
The other half entrusting unto me.
Who with that means will such a palace build thee
As earthly monarch ne'er inhabited.

Gondophares—

Draw up the plans, trace out the fair design,
To glad our eyes ere twice a day shall dawn,
Then half the gold shall be at thy disposal
To build our palace ere we come again.

The half remaining our decree assigns
Unto our people's need in Narankot.

(*Cries of "Jai, jai, jai, Gondophares! Thomas Mahatma ki jai!"*)

Gondophares (*rising*)—

In *Indra's* name, the mighty thunder-armed,
With *Agni's*[1] shielding favour over us,
We, Heaven's anointed, close this audience.

(*Clang of cymbals, beating of tom-toms. King, Queen, and courtiers pass through city gates. Habban and Thomas linger outside*).

Habban—

Ishwar be praised! the thunder-cloud that lowered
So black o'er-head is lifted, and the rage
Of kings is as a dust-storm blown away.

St. Thomas—

God's angel came and shut the lion's mouth.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

CURTAIN.

(*To be continued*)

[1] Agni is the god of fire. As the fire on the household hearth Agni is the friend and protector of man.

AUGUST STRINDBERG

IV

Gradual Recovery and Changed Outlook: 1896-1899.

While relentlessly pursued by persecution mania at Mademoiselle Charlotte's Crêmarie in Rue de la Grand Chaumière, Strindberg vainly sought the help of his Bohemian artist friends and next applied himself with devotion to the study of Swedenborg's *Arcana Cœlestia* towards the end of 1896 which considerably dispelled his horrors as is clear from his own record—"He has shown me the only path to salvation * * * through repentance." In his visions he now began to feel that Orfila and Swedenborg directly addressed him soothing words of hope and consolation through a spiritual bond with his soul. We know another Swedenborgian, namely Blake, who claimed similar guidance from Virgil and Dante. Comfort came to him also through a sense of divine protection impressed on his troubled mind by the Book ot Job which created in him a feeling of nearness with God. In 1896 he came also under the influence of his second wife's mother who was a Catholic and this close contact induced in him a devotional mood which fundamentally changed his early intellectual and scientific tendency leading slowly to a religious evolution having for its basis a strong belief in a personal God and as its central tenets acceptance of the law of *Karma* and faith in reincarnation. Thus in his *Advent* (1899) the "Old Lady" observes—"you cannot all of a sudden cease to be what you are: and you are what you have wanted to become," and, again, "we suffer only what our deeds have deserved—so don't complain."

The points of similarity between the Catholic Church and Swedenborgian mysticism possibly made it easy for Catholicism to find an entrance into his life and he now declared himself a Christian—"a Protestant with Catholic sympathies."

In spite of struggles and strivings he began in 1897 to slowly emerge out of his bitter trial with a calm conviction that with all its heavy weight of sufferings and disappointments, life is valuable if properly viewed as an ordeal sure to teach us to know the right and to do it. His rebellious nature and riotous life were subdued by resignation to suffering as of great value in life's mission and by the hope of something higher and better.

How summarily he now rejected many of his former thoughts and ideas becomes clear from many significant touches and hints in plays like *There are Crimes and Crimes* (1899), *the Advent* (1899) and the *Dream Play* (1902). With rare depth and sincerity of feeling he has left in several works of supreme autobiographical interest belonging to 1897—1904 a record of his slow ascent to the tableland of regenerating hope from the slough of doubt and despond leading gradually to serener heights of inner harmony. His *Inferno* (1897) represents the period of spiritual storm and stress and *To Damascus* in 3 parts (1898-1904) is a revelation of his soul's evolution presenting with a kind of religious realism the author's multiple personality and consciousness—a strange and perplexing blend of sensualism and asceticism, individualism and socialism, materialism and transcendentalism, and science and mysticism. Lastly comes the meditative autobiography *Alone* (1903) which delineates how his spiritualised consciousness recovered from the turmoil of rebellious ferment. His hostility with the Ibsenites also came to an end as if all passions spent tranquillity was restored.

Under the influence of the spiritual visions of Swedenborg the last vestiges of his materialistic scepticism faded away before the dawning light of a mystic faith clearly visible in the highly symbolic treatment of the theme of the superiority of the Gospel over law in his mystery-play of *Advent* (1899) so rich in Swedenborgian suggestiveness (especially in the two Waiting Room scenes in Acts IV and V). In Act III "The Other One," says to the Judge, "It is justice; it is the

law: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth! The Gospel has a different sound, but of that you did'nt want to hear."

In March 1898 we find him growing spiritually whole through the richness of new religious experiences and ideas as well as the direct God-vision vouchsaped unto him. The spirit's long voyage over the troubled waters of conflicting intellectual currents led at last to a discovery of his higher self and of the real end and aim of a life of bitter struggles and apparently futile endeavours. Pessimism, it is true, does not wholly die out even in the last stage of Strindberg's life inspite of the fundamental change in his outlook brought about now. He continues to be realistic in his presentation of life's trials, sufferings, disappointments, its recurrences and repetitions but his realism becomes touched with a new faith in goodness, in the power of regeneration possessed by man's soul; and his close observation of life in all its variety and complexity leads to a spiritual vision in which occult powers appear to be ever at work guiding and shaping man's destiny mysteriously. Glimpses of a higher life give a new meaning to our struggles, vain endeavours and to suffering in particular. In the *Advent* (1899) when Amelia penitently says that she suffers for her inability to love, as a child should, her mother who is not only indifferent to her but hostile and actually hates her as no mother ought to, the Neighbour's reply is "Well, as that has made you suffer, then you will soon learn the great secret of your life." Amelia's remonstrance against undeserved suffering—suffering without a cause—is met by the Neighbour's consoling words that "to be permitted to suffer unjustly, that's a grace and a trial out of which steadfast souls bring home golden fruits." Similarly in the *Dance of Death* (1901) Curt holds that "it is the unmistakable right of every human being to suffer misfortune." Thus suffering which in his earlier stage of life implied punishment for breach of natural laws now gathers a new significance and in the Maeterlinckian mystic play of *Swanwhite*

(1902) the spirit of Swanwhite's mother proposes to that of the Prince that the love between Swanwhite and the Prince that has made "heart kiss heart and soul enfold soul and may turn sorrow to joy and bring cheer to all the earth must be tested by the fire of sufferings." What a grand new idea is this of the baptism of the highest form of love in the fire of suffering!

The end of his terrible striving after peace of mind is well illustrated by his suggestive intimate touches of beautiful self-confession which read, with a characteristic difference, like significant extracts from Amiel's *Journal*:—

"The great crisis at the age of fifty; revolution in the life of the soul, desert wanderings, Swedenborgian Heavens and Hells"[1]—leading to

"Light after darkness, new productivity with recovered Faith, Hope and Love—and with full rock-firm certitude."[2]

Strindberg eventually became "registered as a Protestant of the Swedenborgian caste," though his religion was to the last distinctly characterized by an essentially ethical tone on which he never failed to lay unmistakable emphasis. This ethical note is particularly dominant in his *Advent* with its strong insistence on the supreme need of unquestioning obedience, humility, patience, a good conscience and on the value of goodness even to enemies.[3] "The Franciscan" asserts emphatically "You may be sure that there will be no blessing for your house and no peace for yourself until you have suffered every suffering that you have brought on others" (*Advent* p. 118). So also in *The Dream Play* (1902) special stress is laid on the moral value of duty, of endurance, patience with the complaints of others and on the absolute need of forgiveness. We are exhorted to "say nothing evil of men, to quietly endure, and never grow impatient of the complaints made by the poor," and reminded that "there should be no

[1] *Cf.* "Advent," Act I, p. 119; Act III, pp. 134, 140, 141, 143; Act IV, p. 161, and Act V, pp. 154, 166, 168, 173, 177 and 178—Plays, Third Series.

[2] Edwin Björkman's Introduction to Second Series of Plays.

[3] *Cf.* Plays, Third Series, pp. 148, 150, 154, 163 and 165.

bargaining about one's duty" and that "remorse is sure to follow every neglected duty and every suffering inflicted upon one's fellow-beings." In *There are Crimes and Crimes*, the Abbé's solemn warning is "woe unto those who call evil good and good evil." There is in it a firm belief in punishment for trifling with vice. With Madame Catherine forgiveness is a religion and she ever helps along "where she sees hard work and the right kind of will." Even Adolphe, who fails "to find any body in the church to offer his silent gratitude to," believes in the service of man and drops a gold coin in the poor-box.

Very great is the value in this connection of the play of *There are Crimes and Crimes* (1899) with its "controlling idea of the acceptance of moderation in life verging on asceticism and of resignation to divine dispensation" indicating the passing away of that severe intellectual discord and spiritual crisis at the end of which his troubled spirit became soothed by a redeeming vision of life's deep meaning and noble purpose.

Composed at the end of the very critical period of his spiritual trial when the author had just emerged out of his soul's tragedy, this play marks a very important and interesting stage of transition in his inner development.

It harks back to the plays of his naturalistic period with its numerous points of contact with them containing as it does his Tolstoian revolt against Western materialism and its so-called economic advantages, a lurid picture of harsh and senseless police regulations rigidly enforced against the poor, his condemnation of irrational social inequality between a workman like Emile—a man without a flaw in him and always perfectly straight—and the pampered authors and artists like Maurice and the actresses, and lastly a host of references to the play of the subconscious, to thought reading, talking to the dead, premonitions, to people on the border line of insanity, not to speak of the old sex-problem.

The new note in it is its pervasive religious tendency showing clearly how underneath the visible surface of the

world of sense the author began to be aware of the underlying deep mystery of the regenerating power of forgiveness for wrongs, pity to the erring, large-hearted tolerance and charity. His agnostic attitude too here yields place to a growing faith in a saving grace and he realises how the soul of man passes out of the chaos of spiritual doubts into an abiding trust in God's mercy. This emergence into certainty of salvation distinctly marks a definite stage in his spiritual growth.

The theme and title of the play are explained by Adolphe's observation (Act III, sec. 2) "There are crimes not mentioned in the Criminal Code and these are the worse ones, for they have to be punished by ourselves"—such as "evil thoughts, evil dreams, secret intentions," "imaginations regarded as signs of some mental disease" and not merely outward acts and their motives. At the close of the play (Act V, sec. 2) the "Abbé" adds, "we have to stand responsible for our thoughts and words and desires also." In his fit of confessional self-censure Maurice declares (Act I, sec. 2) that "here we are making ourselves out as white as angels, and yet we are, taking all in all, capable of any kind of polite atrocity the moment glory, gold or women are concerned." We see how he is punished for secret deeds—he who robbed his friends and companions "of their faith in him" and "wished the life out" of his own child Marion to gain freedom for self-indulgence as an artist.

Men are tried for these deeper offences in a higher court over which God presides, for they imply a rebellion of the spirit against providential divine presence in and around every man and woman.

This suggests a great advance made by the author upon his position in the earlier plays where his whole thought was devoted to the problem of human justice or injustice. He has thoroughly outlived the stage of cynicism bred by a rankling sense of injustice "although there is a sort of solace to my mind," he may say with the "Master" in *The Thunderstorm* (sc. 11), "in finding justice exists in this world." "The

Neighbour" in the *Advent* is convinced that there is justice both human and divine and in *the Dance of Death* (Part II) Alice's sarcastic taunts for believing in "justice and honour and all that sort of thing" are met by Curt's determined and deliberate remark "yes, and it is what experience has taught me. Once I believed the very opposite—and paid dearly for it." The words of Jeanne may, perhaps, be applied to Strindberg himself as a sort of comment on the salutary change that came over him at the end of his spiritual crisis. Says Jeanne to Maurice (Act I, sc. 1.):—

"My faith—which you haven't destroyed, but just covered up, as when you put chalk on a window to clean it—I could'nt lay hold on it for that reason, but this old man (meaning the Abbé who has just promised to explain to her the mystery of the life beyond death) just passed his hand over the chalk, and the light came through." His hard intellectualism so rampant during the naturalistic period of his dramatic career is the chalk on the window of his mind which became wiped out by 1898 by his new mystic faith.

The Abbé, a prominent character in this play, has "nothing to do with human justice but a great deal with divine mercy." Similarly in the play of *Swanchite* the power of mercy is strongly recognised by the wicked "Stepmother" who is saved from an ignoble fate by the sweet intercession of the injured innocent girl who will not suffer her stepmother to be punished but praying for forgiveness says "though she was my executioner, have mercy on her"—"let her part in peace!" On this the "Stepmother" at once exclaims—"Mercy! who spoke the sacred word?" Here, indeed, we feel that mercy drops as gentle rain from heaven

> "And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice."

The "Abbé," who is quite free from theological dogma, upholds in the suspicions against Maurice regarding his little daughter Marion's sudden and mysterious death a situation

"which is not the work of man" and he sincerely prays for Gods' mercy on Maurice whom even his friend Adolphe takes for lost. Solemn and sacred is the resignation of the bereaved mother Jeanne, now practically deserted by Maurice to whom she has been betrothed, who can say even in the moment of fresh grief when questioned as to who has brought about the calamity of Marion's death—"He who holds life and death in his hand." She has not "a hard word to say about Maurice" who ultimately understands everything and is reclaimed by her forgiving resignation from the toils of the superior charms of Henriette from whom Maurice has in vain been warned repeatedly by Madame Catherine to keep away. Yet no harsh judgment is pronounced in the play on Henriette nor an uncharitable view taken of her character. Jeanne, the injured woman, absolves Henriette of any responsibility for what happened to herself. The "Abbé" will not allow Jeanne to accuse herself unjustly in her penitence for he avers he knows the serious spirit in which she, though nothing more than a mistress of Maurice, regarded her motherhood. This good woman's faith is sorely tried and even temporarily overclouded by Maurice's conduct yet it is never destroyed and she feels that God "will carry us through the terrors that lie ahead." Firm in her belief in its unfailing efficacy, she proposed once to ensure Maurice's success as a playwright by her intense prayers. With re-inforced faith she exclaimed "O cross! our only hope!" inspired by the legend on the stone crosses in the mortuary chapels forming the suggestive background of the opening scene of the play.

In this connection we bear in mind how in 1893 while Strindberg was one day walking in the solitary Montparnesse cemetery his agitated mind became soothed by tender thoughts of peace wafted as a divine message to his bewildered soul from the inscription "O crux ave spes unica" on the graves that the cross was the only path to wisdom. This symbol is dramatically used in *Swanwhite* and the malicious stepmother

of the innocent girl, the second Duchess, is silenced by her father, the Duke, by raising the cross-shaped handle of his sword and the Priest carries a large crucifix with the Prince's bier. We know also that on his deathbed Strindberg's last wish was that the crucifix he ordinarily used should be placed on his breast.

The misguided and erring Maurice finally resolves to take "the first step along the hard road of penitence" convinced that "honour is a phantom, gold nothing but dry leaves; women, mere intoxicants." He who has been living in the flesh wants now to live in the spirit and "looks for a new existence in some better world" in which he at last begins to believe. His decision after some struggle and wavering to come to church in preference to the theatre where his artist friends and comrades had arranged a demonstration in recognition of his indisputable talent as an author gives great satisfaction to the "Abbé" who is liberal enough to recognise that the sinner has indeed "suffered his punishment as intensely as if it had lasted an eternity" and who therefore wisely spares him a scolding sermon at the church.

Inspite of all external appearances to the contrary, the author shows how he feels deep beneath them the mystery of the renovating influence of the Gospel teaching of forgiveness to sinners and of love to the erring. In the play of *Swanwhite* the "Gardener" significantly says—"Forgiveness for those who sin; for those who sorrow, consolation; and hope for those who are distressed." There is, however, nothing obtrusively didactic in the author's artistic presentation of the fatal consequences to the soul of man of offences against the spirit and we have in *There are Crimes and Crimes* a new artistic creation of modern times—a new type of tragedy on a new theme.

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

REPORT

ON THE

STUDENT WELFARE SCHEME

Health Examination Section.

The physical welfare of the student community is a matter for earnest consideration by the University authorities and sometime ago a Committee called "The Student Welfare Committee" was appointed by the Syndicate to devise measures for the betterment of the health of University students. Under the auspices of the Committee a scheme for health examination of the student was started and actual work was commenced from 28th March, 1920. Since then the work has been going on with occasional interruptions due to strike and non-co-operation movement and more than 3,800 students have been examined up to date. The work was at first undertaken by a band of honorary workers chiefly University lecturers and medical men who at considerable sacrifice devoted their time and energy for the period of three months and a half. The Syndicate on 23rd July, 1920, recommended a remuneration as conveyance allowance of Rs. 50 per month to each worker. The expenses for the office staff in connection with the scheme were borne personally by Sir Nilratan Sircar, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University. Since July, 1921, the Syndicate further sanctioned the office staff which is

working at present. The present staff of workers and office assistants consists as follows :—

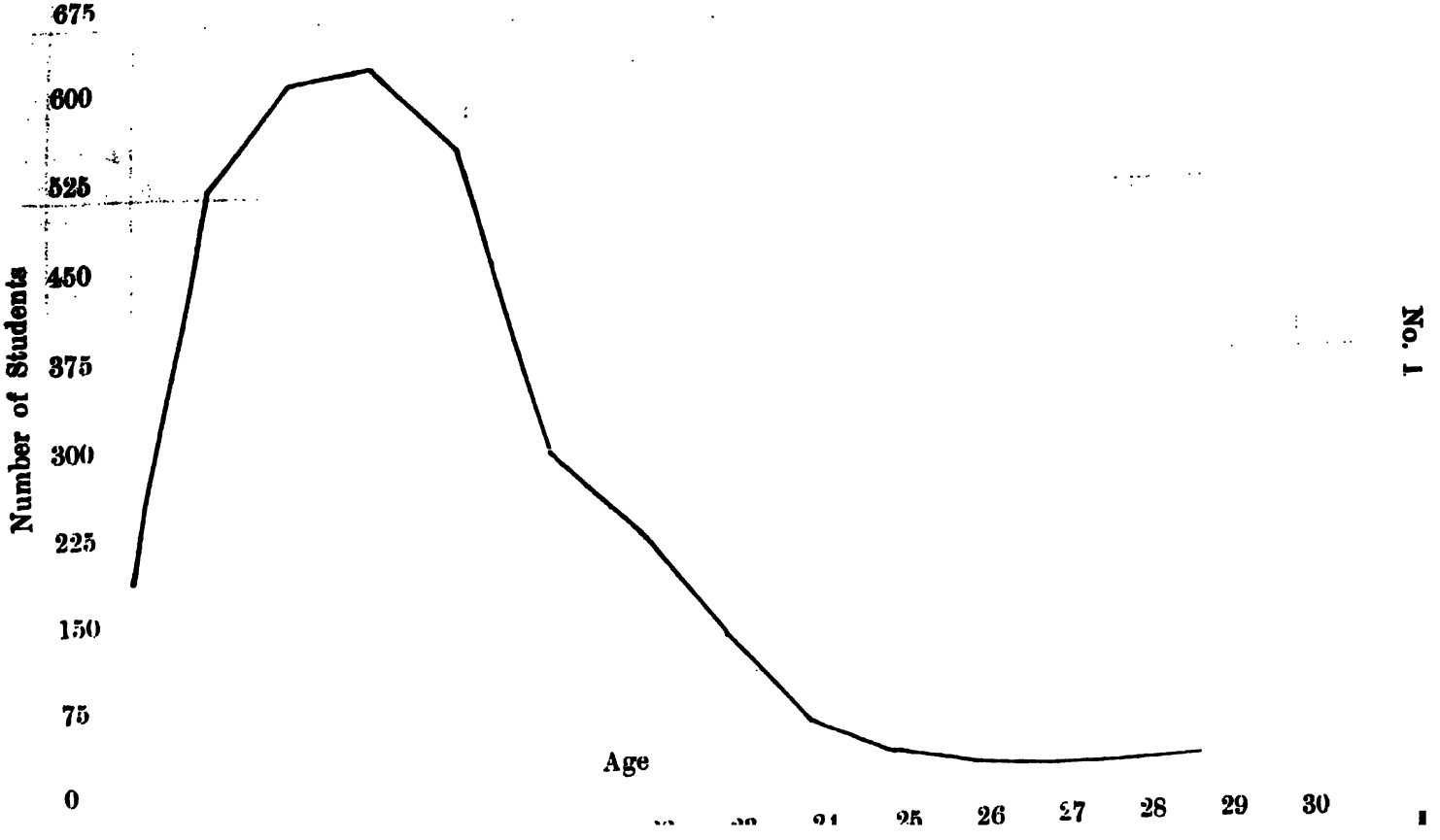
Honorary Secretaries.

Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B.
Dr. A. Chatterji, M.B., B.S.

Supervisors.	*Remuneration.*		
	Rs.		
Mr. M. Banerjee, M.Sc. ...	50 per month.		
„ H. Maiti, M.A. ...	50 „		
Examiners—			
Dr. H. N. Bose, L.M.S. ...	50 „		
„ A. C. Mitra, L.M.S. ...	50 „		
„ D. P. Banerji, M.B. ...	50 „		
„ B. N. Bose, M.B. ...	50 „		
„ B. B. Chakravarti, M.B. ...	50 „		
„ H. N. Bose, M.A. ...	50 „		
Mr. M. Ganguly, M.Sc. ...	50		
„ K. Mukherji, M.A. ...	50 „		
„ P. Banerji, B.A. (Tabulator)	50 „		
„ M. Sen (Asst. Tabulator) ...	30 „		
	—	Rs.	580
Office Staff—			
Mr. Kalidas Banerjee, M.A. (Assistant). ...	50 „		
„ Madanmohan Sen do. ...	50 „		
„ P. Chowdry do. ...	50 „		
„ Janakinath Mukherji do. ...	50 „		
Thakur Prosad (Durwan) ...	16 „		
	—	Rs.	216
Contingency	... „		150
Contingency for the Rowing Club Section ...	„		25
Amrita—(Keeper)	... „		18
	—		
TOTAL ...	„		989

The above statement includes the grant for the Rowing Club Section also. Mr. H. P. Maiti acts as the Honorary Supervisor of this section and Dr. A. Chatterji as the Honorary Secretary. The office section of the health examination scheme and the preparation of the statistical data are under the charge of Mr. M. N. Banerji.

It has been found extremely difficult to grapple with the voluminous mass of material, that has been available in connection with the medical examination. Each student is thoroughly examined, the number of items recorded in each case is 33. It has been found impossible to carry on certain works of a highly technical nature with the present staff, as they are already overworked in dealing with the general data. It is desirable that 3 more clerks be sanctioned to carry on the special and technical portion of the work which is expected to be of very great scientific value from the sociological and anthropological standpoints. A further grant of Rs. 2,000 is necessary for apparatus and forms. There is at present no provision for propaganda work which is absolutely essential for the success of the scheme. The University is now passing through a financial crisis and it may be difficult to obtain the necessary extra grant from the Syndicate. To supplement the University grant a fund has been started to collect subscriptions from public bodies and individuals. In this connection we beg to record our sincere thanks to Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul & Co., for having contributed the sum of Rs. 511 towards this fund. Several other promises have been received but the money has not yet been realised. In connection with the scheme arrangements have been made to supply spectacles to students at cost price and we have again to thank Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul & Co., for rendering us help in this direction. It is desirable that a dental clinic be started for the benefit of students at an early date. One of the Honorary Secretaries, Dr. Anathnath Chatterjee, looks into the general defects of students and gives


675
600
525
450
375
300
225
150
75
0
Number of Students
Age
25
26
27
28
29
30
No. 1

them the necessary advice whenever required. Students suffering from any deficiency or disease have been informed of their defects through the Principals of their respective colleges. Altogether 2,229 defect cards have been issued.

The nature of the work that we have been doing has already been reported to the Syndicate sometime ago. We have conducted the health examination of the students at the Scottish Churches College, the University Post-Graduate Classes, the City College and the Presidency College. The examination is now being conducted at the Vidyasagar College. The number of students examined up to 31st December, 1921, and the period of examination in each college are as follows :—

College.	Period of Examination.	Number of Students.
The Scottish Churches College .	28-3-20—16-8-20	913
The University Post-Graduate Classes ...	19-8-20—27-9-20	140
The City College ...	28-9-20—20-8-21	1,710
The Presidency College	5-9-21—8-11-21	692
The Vidyasagar College	26-11-21—	349
	TOTAL	3,804

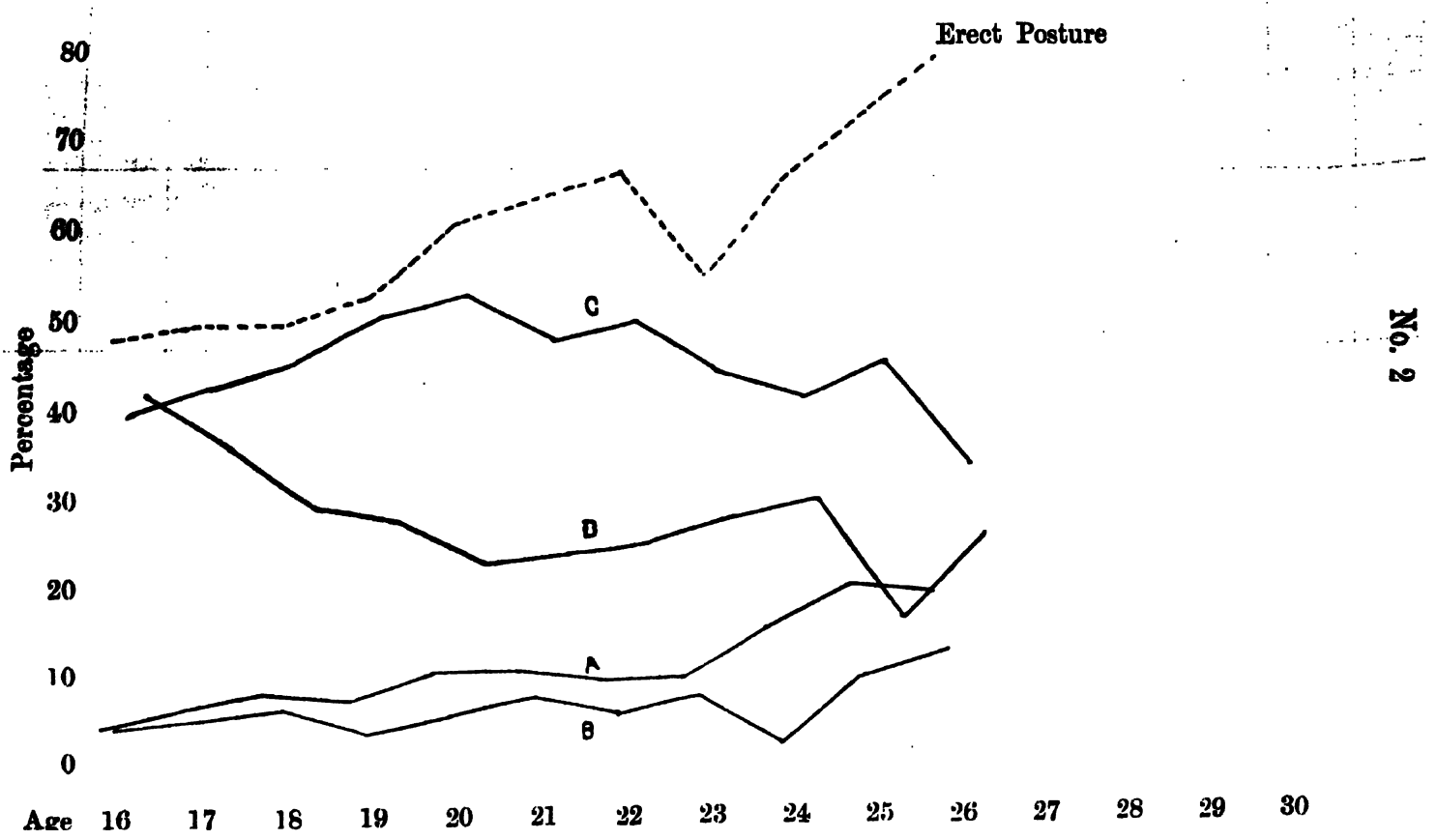
The non-co-operation movement has been the chief disturbing factor in the smooth working of the scheme and we are sure that the number of students examined would have been almost doubled, but for this unfortunate movement. The tabulated results appended herewith cover data from 3,455 students. The Vidyasagar College students who are still under examination have not been included in this group. It has been found that under favourable circumstances the number of students examined per day could easily be 50. Sometimes it was as high as 76.

Number of Students.

The following table shows the distribution of students examined in the different colleges under separate age groups. From an examination of the Chart No. I it will be found that the maximum number of students belongs to the age group 19.

Age.	Scottish Churches College.	University Classes.	City College.	Presidency College.
16	52	...	113	51
17	150	...	281	125
18	177	...	299	164
19	220	...	269	163
20	169	4	293	115
21	81	21	169	43
22	42	33	149	17
23	16	30	86	8
24	3	24	31	1
25	2	12	11	2
26	1	7	5	1
27	...	4	2	1
28	...	2	...	...
29	...	...	...	...
30	...	1	2	...
31	...	1	...	...
32	...	1	...	...
37	...	...	...	1
Total ...	913	140	1,710	692

Of 3,455 students, 1,034 are Brahmins, 985 are Kayasthas, 292 are Vaidyas, 29 are Kshatriyas, 98 Vaisyas, 17 Gandhabaniks, 45 Subarnabaniks, Mahisyas 78, Vaisya Saha 54, Brahmos 49, Buddhists 7, Christians 32, Mahomedans 283, Arya-Samajist 1, Jains 2 and other castes 276 and 173 have not reported their caste.


Erect Posture
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percentage
C
B
A
B
Age 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

No. 2

General Appearance.

Students have been classified into 4 groups A, B, C, and D. A denotes good muscular development, B stoutness without muscularity, C medium musculature and D thin bodily development. About 10% of the students show well-developed muscles. The percentage of thin built is about 32. The following table shows the relative distribution in the different colleges examined :

College.	Muscular.	Stout.	Medium.	Thin.
Scottish Churches College	13	9	47·8	28·9
University Classes ...	6·4	13·6	47·1	30·7
City College ...	8·7	5·7	50·2	35·4
Presidency College ...	10·4	6·6	55·2	27·7
General percentage ...	10·1	7·2	50·5	31·9

It will be seen that the Presidency College shows the smallest percentage of thin students, next comes the Scottish Churches College then the University and lastly the City College. This is quite in accordance with expectation as the Presidency students generally come from well-to-do families.

We give below a graphic representation of the data tabulated under general appearance of all the students taken together according to age groups.

An examination of the graph gives us many significant results. The number of students under age groups 24 and up is small and the corresponding curve is therefore unreliable. Up to 23 years the data are sufficiently reliable to warrant a general conclusion. We find that the "A" curve (well-developed musculature) is at its highest at the age group 20 or in other words the maximum muscular development takes place at this age. This is further corroborated by the "D" curve (thin) which shows its minimum at this age. Another interesting corroborative feature is that the "C" curve (medium) shows its maximum height at 20. In plain language

this means that the students at the age of 20 show the greatest muscular development—the least amount of thinness and the greatest amount of conformity with the normal standard.

Posture.

About 41% of the students show a stooping posture. The posture curve (see Chart No. 2) shows a curious feature namely that the stoop is more marked the younger the student.

College.		Erect.	Stooping
Scottish Churches College		69·2%	29·8%
University Classes	...	78·6%	19·3%
City College	...	54·4%	45·6%
Presidency College	...	52·4%	47·6%
General percentage	...	58·6%	40·9%

Complexion.

The skin complexion of the students has been classified under 4 headings, A very fair, B fair, C brown, D black. The Ethiopean blackness has not yet been met with amongst the students. About one per cent. are very fair, 23 fair, 68 brown and 7 black.

	Very Fair.	Fair.	Brown.	Black.
Scottish Churches College ...	1·9%	27·5%	62%	7·3%
University Classes ...	0·7%	25%	62%	10%
City College ...	0·7%	22·5%	70%	7%
Presidency College ...	1·1%	17·6%	76·3%	4·9%
General percentage ..	1·1%	22·9%	68·5%	6·9%

No. 3

Weight in Kilos
52
51
50
49
48
47
46
Height in Centimetres
170
165
160
155
150
Height
Weight
Age

We give below a distribution of skin colour accord to caste :- -

Caste.	Number of Students.	Percentage Table A	B	C	D
Rad. Brahmins ...	508	1·77	31·10	63·74	2·95
Barendra Brahmins ...	80	1·25	41·25	57·5	0
Bhattacharyya (mixed) ...	93	1·03	31·18	62·36	4·3
Chakravarti (mixed) ...	129	0	2·32	70·54	6·2
Other Brahmins ...	207	1·44	25·12	66·66	5·79
Radiya Kayastha ...	450	1·53	23·33	67·33	6·88
'Atgarh' Kayastha ...	225	0·44	18·22	70 22	9·77
Other Kayasthas ...	310	0·96	18·7	73·54	6·12
Baidya ...	292	1·71	22·60	70·2	5·47
Khatriya ...	29	0	41·37	48·27	6·89
Vaisyas ...	98	0	28·57	66·32	5·10
Gandhabanik ...	17	0	5·88	82·55	11·76
Mahisya ..	78	0	12·82	70·51	16·66
Subarnabanik ...	45	2·22	20	71·11	6·66
Vaisya Saha ...	54	0	22·2	70·37	7·4
Christians ...	32	6·25	25	68·75	0
Mahomedans ...	283	1·06	13·07	74·79	11·6
Other castes ...	275	0·36	16·72	73·45	9·45

An examination of this table shows the greatest percentage of A class complexion amongst the Subarnabanik and the Brahmin classes belonging to Hindu community. Next comes the Vaidya and then the Kayastha. If we exclude the Subarnabaniks where the number of students examined is small we find a distinct preponderance of A Class amongst the "higher" classes of the Hindu society.

Height, Weight and Ponderal Index.

College.	Height c.m.	Weight kilo.	Ponderal Index.
Scottish Churches College	165·9	52·2	2·25
University Classes	166·4	53·5	2·27
City College	162·2	50·0	2·23
Presidency College	165·5	52·4	2·54
General average	163·5	51·2	2·24

The City College students show the lowest figures both in height and in weight. As compared with our preliminary report the general averages for height and weight are lower. This is due to the very large number of the City College students affecting the findings. The comparative poorness of the physique of the City College students is clearly evident from the low ponderal index. The age distribution is given in Chart No. 3.

We find that the maximum development both in height and weight takes place about the age of 20 and 21. As mentioned in our preliminary report the influence of age on height is less marked than on weight. It seems that the maximum rate of growth takes place between the ages 16 and 19.

CHEST.

College.	Inspiration c.m.	Expiration c.m.	Expansion c.m.
Scottish Churches College ..	83·7	79·0	4·7
University Classes ..	85·6	81·6	4·0
City College ..	81·3	77·2	4·4
Presidency College ..	82·73	78·3	4·1
General average ...	82·6	78·1	4·5

Here also the averages are distinctly lower than those mentioned in our preliminary report and this diminution is traceable to the influence of the City College students.

VITAL CAPACITY.

This measurement could not be taken in the case of the Scottish Churches College students and the University Classes for want of necessary apparatus. The City College figure is 2·71 and the Presidency College figure is 2·88 lit. Here also the superiority of the Presidency College students is marked. The age distribution (Chart No. 4) shows that the maximum record is attained at the age of 21. A comparison with the corresponding curve (Chart No. 5) for chest measurement will


2·9
2·8
2·7
2·6
2·5
Vital Capacity
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
Age
No. 4

bring out the fact that although the chest girth continues growing beyond the age of 21 the maximum efficiency seems to be attained at 21.

HEAD CIRCUMFERENCE AND CEPHALIC INDEX.

College.	Circumference c.m.	Cephalic Index.
Scottish Churches College	53·8	79·9
University Classes	53·9	80·3
City College	53·1	79·7
Presidency College	53·6	78·4
General average ...	53·4	79·6

The Presidency College shows the lowest figure for cephalic index. It will be however quite premature to ascribe any significance to it without a full statistical enquiry. The distribution according to age (Chart No. 6) is too irregular to warrant any conclusion.

GRIP.

A comparative statement of figures for the different colleges both for right and left hands is given below. The Presidency College students were not examined.

College.	Right Kilo.	Left.
Scottish Churches College .	38·9	35·6
University Classes .	37·6	35·8
City College .	35·8	34·3
General average ...	37·8	35·3

AUDITION.

College.	Right c.m.	Left c.m.
Scottish Churches College ...	70·9	75·3
University Classes ...	59·2	61·2
City College ...	41·0	41·0
Presidency College ...	67·7	72·9
General average	54·7	57·8

Here we must mention that the work in the City College was carried out under disturbing conditions so that the findings for this college are not very reliable and the general average seems to have been prejudicially affected. The standard 18" B type Omega Watch was used for the test. If we exclude the City Collee results we find an indication of a gradual diminution in auditory acuity with age. The left ear seems to be more sensitive than the right.

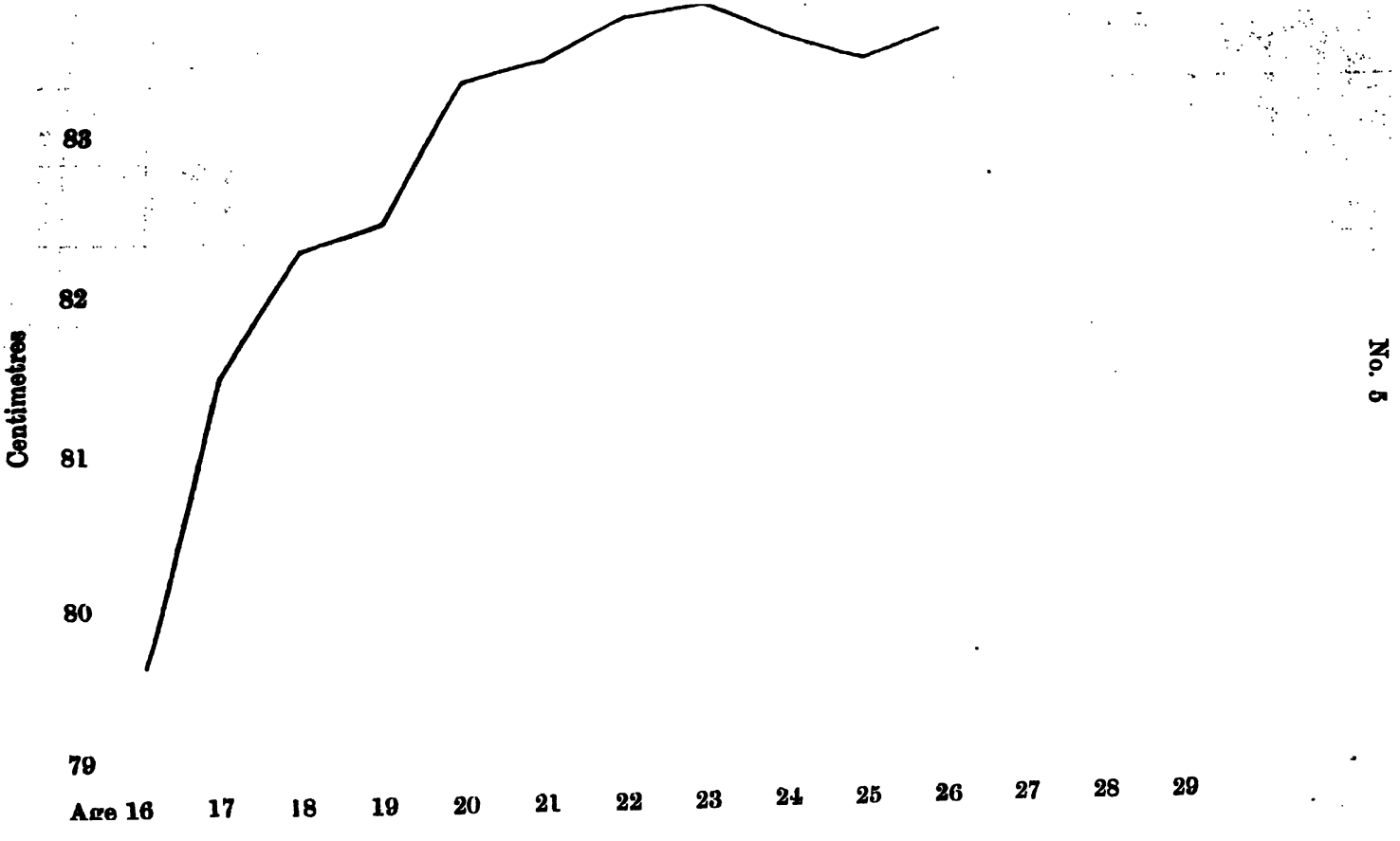
Vision.

About 64% of the students have got normal vision and the remaining 36 are defective. Only 13% of these defectives have been found to use proper glasses. A very large number of students although requiring glasses do not use them at all, while there are others in whom the glasses worn only imperfectly correct the defect. A tabular list is appended below:

Defects of refraction—Percentage table.

College.	Defective (B C & D).	Fully corrected
Scottish Churches College ...	38·7	14·1
University Classes ...	51·7	21·7
City College ...	29·3	8·6
Presidency College ...	47·3	16·3
General average ...	36·2	12·84

The University and Presidency students show a very large percentage of refractive error. The age distribution curve has brought out a very significant fact, *viz.*, the vision shows progressive deterioration from the age 16 up. We might here point out that the same thing has been observed in the case of audition. There seems to be also a correlation between the teeth and vision and the percentage for these two findings in the different age groups coincide in a remarkable manner (see Chart No. 7).


Centimetres
83
82
81
80
79
Age 16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

No. 5

Teeth.

About one-third of the students shows defective teeth. In the case of eye defects there is some effort at correction but unfortunately the teeth defects absolutely go uncared for.

College.	Percentage Figures. Normal	Caries.	Pyorrhœa
Scottish Churches College ..	58·6	2·4	9·5
University Classes ..	60·7	4·3	8·6
City College ...	70·6	2·3	2·5
Presidency College ...	60·2	10·8	1·8
General average	66	4·2	4·7

The Presidency College students who have a fair all-round development exhibit a high percentage of carious teeth. It seems as if high living and caries are correlated. The City College shows the lowest caries figure. The age distribution is shown in Chart No. 7.

General Defects.

Under this heading have been included defects of heart, pulse, tonsils, lungs, throat, spleen, uvula, eye troubles, pharyngitis, nasal troubles, liver, etc. Defects of refraction and those of the teeth and gums have been separately treated. Out of a total of 3,455 students 899 have been found to have been suffering from some form or other of general defect. This gives us a percentage of about 26%. The distribution of general defects in the different colleges is given below in tabular form.

College.	Number of students.	General Defectives	Percentage.
Scottish Churches College	913	145	16%
University Classes ...	140	50	36%
City College ...	1,710	353	21%
Presidency College ...	692	351	49%
	3,455	899	

It will be noticed that the Presidency College students show an abnormally high percentage of general defects. The defects however are mainly of a minor nature. Here also this may be traced to the effects of high living. The number of foul tongues is very high in the Presidency College. The percentage of heart troubles for all the students taken together is about 5·4. In the Scottish Churches College the percentage in round number is about 8%, in the University Centre it is about 10%, in the City College it is about 5% and in the Presidency College it is about 3%. Below is given in tabular form the percentages of the more important general defects for the different colleges.

Percentage table of general defects.

College.	Heart.	Lung.	Liver.	Spleen.	Tonsil	Hydrocele.	Orchitis.	Hernia.
Scottish Churches College ..	8·1	0·6	0·7	1·6	2·3	0·9	0·3	0·1
University Centre .	10·1	0·7	2·8	2·1	5·0	2·8	5·0	0·7
City College .	4·8	0·5	0·6	2·9	4·5	1·0	1·3	0·3
Presidency College	3·3	0·1	0·1	1·5	11·5	0·5	0·4	0·1
Total number of students .	5·4	0·4	0·6	2·3	5·8	0·9	0·9	0·2

The percentage for defectives from all causes is given below :—

Total Defectives.

Scottish Churches College	...	...	64%
University Classes	...	...	77%
City College	...	...	64%
Presidency College	...	...	91%
General per cent.		...	66%

We thus find that about two out of every three students require attention.

80
79
78
77
76

Fecundity Index.

Fecundity Index is the ratio of the number of children actually born to a mother at a particular age to the maximum number possible. We have taken 30 years—15 to 45—to be the child-bearing period and the maximum number of children that could be born within this period has been taken to be 20. On this basis the formula for fecundity index may be given as follows :

$$F.I. = \frac{\text{Number of children born to a mother at a particular age}}{(\text{Mother's Age} - 15) \times \frac{4}{3}}.$$

The calculation for the different colleges have been done on the basis of the above formula and the result is given below in tabular form.

College.		No. of Mothers	Fecundity Index.
Scottish Churches College	...	774	·460
University Classes	...	130	·445
City College	...	1,485	·456
Presidency College	...	636	·504

We find that the Presidency College gives the highest figure. This is contrary to expectation and one would expect a greater fecundity in poorer mothers according to the usually accepted opinion.

Some Interesting Points.

A careful examination of the tables appended above will reveal many interesting features. As was to be expected the results now obtained differ slightly from those submitted in our previous report. This is due to the extra number of students that have been examined as a result of which the averages have been affected. We have submitted besides general results detailed data for each college, thus providing facilities for comparison. It will be observed that the Presidency College students on an average show a greater

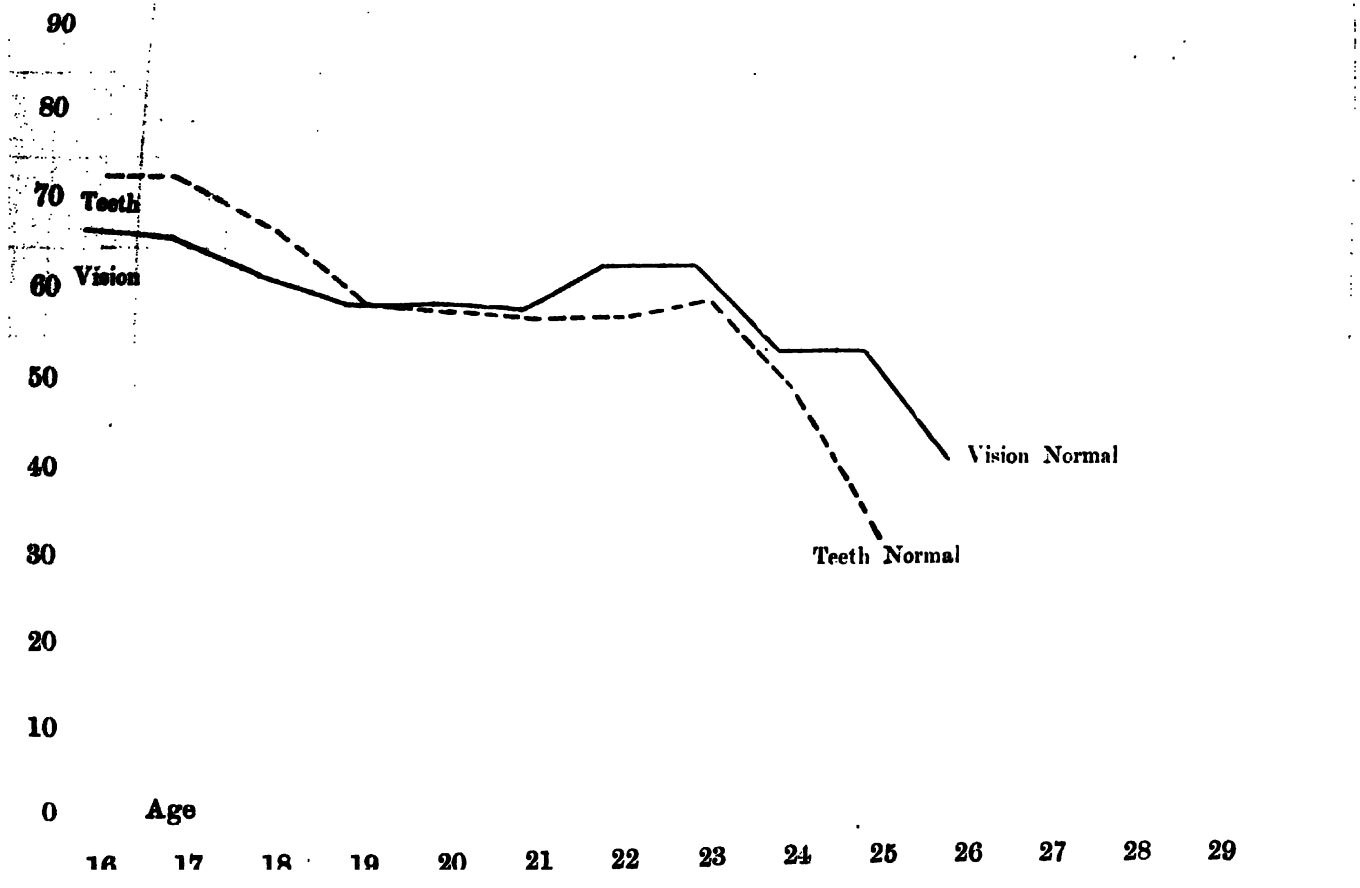
neight and weight than the students of the City College. This is also true of the Scottish Churches College. The difference between the Scottish Churches College and the Presidency College is too slight to enable us to make any definite statement. That the students of the City College are comparatively ill-nourished may be stated without hesitation. This is quite in accordance with the expectations as the City College students generally come from poor families which livei under financial strain. It would be expected that the Presidency College students would show the best physique, but curiously enough it has been found that minor complaints, such as furred tongue, digestive troubles, carious teeth and eye befects, are far more common amongst the Presidency College students than amongst students from other Colleges. The heart and lung troubles are however very rare in the case of the Presidency College students.

It was asserted in our previous report that the hearing capacity progressively diminished from the age of 16 up, This however is not very well borne out by later findings. It is however pointed out by one of the workers that in the City College the auditory examination could not be conducted properly owing to extraneous disturbances and therefore the City College result is not very trustworthy. If we exclude the City College from our consideration we find that the progressive diminution in auditory acuity can still be traced in the combined result. The problem however remains indefinite even now. We should also mention that vision also shows a similar progressive deterioration.

From a careful examination of the different tables it is possible to determine the optimum physical development period of a student and we have no hesitation in fixing this at the age of 21.

Rowing Club Section.

The total number of boats in the Manicktolla and the Ultapanga sections is eleven, of which nine have been allotted


90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Age
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
Teeth
Vision
Vision Normal
Teeth Normal

No. 7

present. The total number of members as per Attendance Registers is 85. The average attendance of the members per day has decreased since October last. In September it was 52 and in December it has been reduced to 37. This decrease is due partly to the non-co-operation movement and partly to the onset of winter. The daily attendance is expected to rise from January. The average number of boats daily going out in December was 6.

Within the last six months we lent our boats for pleasure trips to members of the Boy Scout party, and of the Y. M. C. A. at the request of the Boy Scout Commandant, Northern Division, and the Y. M. C. A. Superintendent, Machua Bazar Branch, respectively. The members of our club also enjoyed pleasure trips from time to time.

An inter-club league match was organised and though it was attended with difficulties, this being the first year, it created a good deal of interest among the members. A trophy fund should be started without delay and attempts are being made to create a nucleus for this fund by contributions from members of the club as well as from the interested public. Such a fund should be enough to place the organisation of matches, inter-club, inter-college or inter-university, throughout the year on a permanent basis.

At present we are feeling great inconvenience for want of a fixed location of the club.

G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B.
A. Chatterji, M.B., B.S.
Manmathanath Banerji, M.Sc.
Haripada Maiti, M.A.

Senate House;
7th January, 1922.

RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY FINANCE

The vastness and the complexity of the modern social, political and industrial world, coupled with the spirit of inquiry and research and the demand for trained leadership have resulted of late years in an increasing cry for higher education. This has brought about the expansion of Universities in response to new forces and has caused the diffierentiation in the materials of instruction "*ad infinitum*" and the multiplication of new courses. Universities everywhere as a result of these forces, have grown so rapidly that they are now approaching the breaking point. Scientific knowledge has expanded. There is an irresistible public clamour for training in new and complicated professional specialities. The obligation of the University to foster research as well as to teach and not merely to examine has become recognized. Critics of our Indian Universities are heard to declare that Colleges and Universities are costing too much, and that the educational needs of the community could be met with smaller outlay.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Balfour addressing the delegates to the second Congress of the Universities of the Empire on July 4th, 1921, spoke as follows: "That while the needs of University education have increased, and show no signs of important diminution, the funds available for keeping our Universities up to the full and ever-increasing standard of modern requirements are harder and harder to obtain. I do not know how it may be in a Dominion beyond the Seas, or in India, but in Great Britain, at all events, nothing can be more certain than that there never was a time when money was more required or could be better spent in improving the capacity of the teaching of our Universities, and there never was a time when money was more difficult to obtain." It will be seen from this pronouncement that Calcutta University is

not the only institution in the world that has a large deficit. The Universities of the United Kingdom, inspite of increasingly generous grants from Parliament and local bodies, large private endowments and benefactions and fees from students, show an estimated deficit of £ 210,435 for the current year. The citizens of the United States, as also of the British colonies, on the other hand, realize what education means, and are spending money on their Universities with a lavishness which would have been regarded as fabulous a few years ago; for in their judgment the future lies with an educated democracy, and in such a democracy alone is there safety. In their view, higher education is the only safeguard of democracy. Without it democracy would be swayed by every passing gust of political passion. The Universities of Canada, Australia and New Zealand draw large financial support from their Governments so much so, that in the last named country the State spends £ 23 per annum for each University student as against $ 384 in the United States.

In the words of Sir J Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University, "it seems as if the future of India would rest on its own Universities more than on any other factor." So it behoves us to investigate the financial resources of our own Universities in comparison with the British, Colonial and Foreign Universities of the world. For finance is the key to the expansion and growth of modern Universities and the development of higher education.

The one characteristic feature common to post-war University finance is that while the income of the Universities remains stationary the expenses have grown tremendously, particularly in the teaching and research type of Universities as opposed to the old examining bodies familiar to India. The programme of higher education requires buildings, equipment and a higher teaching staff. During the last few years the cost of buildings and equipment in colleges and Universities has risen very high. As yet the cost of salaries of

the teaching staff has not risen to the same extent as the cost of living, and unless the people wish to see their higher institutions staffed with men of inferior ability, it will be necessary to pay salaries sufficiently large to attract teachers of merit and ability. Other conditions have added greatly to the cost of University education, particularly the great increase in the number of students enrolled and the fall in the purchasing power of money. From 1890 to 1920, the increase in student attendance was over 200% in India, 300% in Great Britain and 420% in America. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the great additions to the expense of building, laboratory and library equipment, and teachers' salaries, accompanied as they are by an unprecedented student enrolment, will require Government help and also assistance from endowments.

State help to Universities is now universal. Even in England, since 1900, the State has begun to recognize its responsibility towards higher education—as is evidenced by the increasingly large grants given to the "Civic" Universities of late years. In New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa and America nearly all the Universities are maintained by the State, though in America private benefactors have played a large part in the development of higher education. In France and Germany the Universities are almost entirely supported by State funds, and they are regarded there as more or less departments of State. It is for this reason, that the German Universities lost completely their autonomy and were transformed into mere machines for propagating the ideals of the ruling caste. In England, on the other hand, Oxford and Cambridge have maintained their traditional independence of the State for long centuries, and even now *refuse to accept State grants when coupled with loss of autonomy*. The Royal Commission appointed in 1919 to investigate the financial condition of Oxford and Cambridge, have, therefore, recommended that they should receive

a lump sum of £ 110,000 each, without any condition being imposed on them and without ear-marking the grants for specific purposes. In America also, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, etc., have been founded and maintained on munificent private endowments and donations without any State support or interference. In the case of these Universities supported by private endowments, the students' fees from tuition and examination amount to a considerable proportion of the total income. For instance, it has been estimated that Harvard University spends on an average of $ 500 for each student per annum; out of this, a sum of $ 250 is paid by the student himself in fees for tuition and examinations. The remaining 50% of the expenses are derived from endowments and benefactions. The same proportion holds good in the case of the other American endowed Universities like Yale, Princeton and Chicago. As regards Oxford and Cambridge the fees from matriculation examinations, degrees and capitation tax form a considerable amount, in addition to the tuition fee charged by the colleges and the University. The average tuition fee charged by a college at Oxford or Cambridge amounts from £35 to £40 a year. Oxford and Cambridge also, therefore, derive more than half their income from students' fees, the balance being supplemented by endowments and benefactions. So much for endowed Universities.

If we now turn our attention to State Universities, we find a very different state of affairs. The State (as in America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada) supports almost the entire cost of the University, a small sum only being realized from students' fees. When the State appropriates money to its departments of Government, it is paying its current expenses. When the State appropriates money to education, it is making a wise investment which will yield manifold returns. Liberal support of higher education is good public economy and

wise forethought for the future. The people of America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia believe that higher education should be within the reach of every young man and woman capable of profiting by it. With this principle in view, they pay from public funds nearly the whole cost of the higher education of the people. The proportion of the income of State Universities raised through the imposition of students' fees should, therefore, be small. The average proportion of the total income derived from this source—the students' fees—in the case of State Universities in America is 22%, and over 50% in the case of privately endowed Universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton. State Universities cannot expect to secure funds through private benefactions. This leaves only the States to support their Universities. Re-assessments on property valuations, increased rates of taxation, and new forms of taxation in order to provide adequate support for higher education are some of the means by which the States support their respective Universities.

The following tables illustrate the liberal and generous support that is given to the Universities by the States in Amrica.

Receipts[1] per student from public sources for public Universities, colleges and professional schools in 1917—18.

	$		$
Maryland ...	1875	Wisconsin ...	450
Tennesse ...	1495	Iowa ...	381
Connecticut ...	1429	Pennsylvania ...	374
Massachusetts ...	1016	Minnesota ...	334
Illinois ...	480	California ...	312
Michigan .	248	Washington ...	286
New York ...	135 &	Virginia ...	225

Average for United States $ 384.

New Zealand ... £ 23. *per student.*

[1] Statistics of the U. S. A. Bureau of Education 1919:—Bulletin No. 87.

Receipts[1] of Universities, Colleges and Professional Schools in U.S.A., from all public sources per capita 1917-18.

States.	Receipts per capita.	States.	Receipts per capita.	Remarks.
The United States of America.	0·48	Minnesota	0·87	It may be noted that the thinly-populated states spend more money per capita than the thickly populated older states
Nevada	2·07	California	0·76	
Arizona	1·68	Wisconsin	0·75	
Montana	1·42	Michigan	0·66	
Iowa	1·31	Connecticut	0·21	
Delaware	1·30	Massachusetts	0·20	
Wyoming	1·29	New York	0·12	

It is estimated that the average State University in America spends about $ 450 per student per annum. It will be seen from the accompanying table that out of this $ 450, a sum of $ 384 is contributed per student per annum from public sources *i. e.* State and Federal grants, as against £23.3 per student in New Zealand. The attendance of students at public Universities in America as compared to the total population of the country in 1917-18 was 0.12%, and this figure compares very favourably with the other countries.

The following table gives the percentage of income of the American Universities derived from various sources, such as State grants, endowments and students' fees in 1917-18.

[1] Statistics of the U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 87, (1919)

*Per cent. of income of public and private Universities, Colleges and professional Schools derived from the vorious sources, 1917-18.

STATES	PUBLIC				PRIVATE			
	From Productive Funds.	From United States Government, States or City.	From private benefactions.	From Student fees and other sources.	From Productive Funds.	From United States Government, States or City.	From private benefactions.	From Student fees and other sources.
United States ...	3.9	72.9	0.7	22.5	27.7	3.8	14.3	54.2
Alabama ...	19.8	60.9	0.8	18.5	4.6		8.2	87.2
California .	6.2	65.2	3.3	25.3	43.3		6.4	50.3
Connecticut ...	1.5	57.3		41.2	37.4		45.2	17.4
Illinois .	1.0	81.1	1.2	16.7	37.8		13.0	49.2
Massachusetts ..	1.5	72.6		25.9	32.1	2.4	12.2	53.3
Michigan ...	4.1	57.6	3.6	34.7	21.2		27.6	48.2
Minnesota ...	2.0	69.2		28.8	14.2		20.7	65.1
New York ..		97.2		2.8	25.2	8.7	8.4	57.7
Pennsylvania .	2.8	77.0		20.2	23.9	11.3	7.9	56.9
Washington ..	5.7	72.3		22.0	22.0		0.5	77.5
Wisconsin .	1.3	66.2	0.8	31.7	26.1		11.7	62.2

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Federal and the State Governments support their Universities in an even more liberal manner, though the exact figures are not available.

Some very interesting papers were read and discussed on University Finance in Great Britain, at the Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire held at Oxford in July 1921. In the course of a paper on University Finance, Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice Chancellor of Edinburgh University, spoke as follows :— " We may, I think, take that figure £65 per head as fairly representing the present cost of providing University Education in the British Isles, when small institutions and those that are highly specialised

* Only a few states have been mentioned in the above table from the Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 87 1919 Statistics of State Universities and State Colleges for the year ending in June 30, 1919.

like the London School of Economics or the Imperial College are left out of account. Of that sum about £34 is spent on the salaries and the superannuation of the teaching staff, and £6 on administration. About £ 25 of it is paid by the student himself in fees for teaching and examination, and £20 is provided in the form of parliamentary grants. But the future is uncertain in several important particulars. It seems clear that there will be permanently greater demand for the most expensive kinds of University teaching in the subjects, namely, of pure and applied science. If the purchasing power of the pound does not soon return to something nearer its old standard, there must be a revision, of salaries, especially those of professors".

The University Grants Committee in Great Britain furnishes us with figures and details of the financial state of British Universities excepting Oxford and Cambridge, which have thus far received no regular grant-in-aid from the Government. The outstanding feature in the history of the British Universities since 1900, is the increasing recognition on the part of the Government of its duty to promote advanced education. Save in Scotland, State aid to the Universities was in 1900 practically negligible. In the last pre-war year 1913-14, the annual grants to the Universities and Colleges of the United Kingdom had risen to £ 442,147 or close upon half a million pounds. In 1919-20 they had risen to a million pounds; while in 1921-22 another half a million pounds were granted by Parliament *to meet the immediate and most urgent needs of the Universities.* We may, however, point out that the Geddes Committee appointed to advise retrenchment in all the departments of the State suggested lowering the sum spent on education. But very rightly, the Prime Minister refused to carry out this part of the recommendation. The allocation of this grant is entrusted to the University grants committee, and the method of its allocation will be discussed later on.

There are broadly speaking five classes of British Universities:—(1) The older English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and Durham or what the "Times" calls the "Rural" Universities. (2) the English "Civic" Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield; (3) the Scottish Universities: Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews; and (4) the Welsh University group of Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff and Swansea and (5) the Group of Irish Universities, consisting of University College, Dublin, Queen's University, Belfast, Trinity College, Dublin, and Cork and Galway Universities.

The finances of the Universities of England and Wales (excepting Oxford and Cambridge) rest on what we may describe as "*a three-legged stool*".

(a) Endowments, Subscriptions and Students' fees—53% of the whole.

(b) Grants from the Treasury and various Government Departments—36%.

(c) Grants from various local educational authorities—11%.

Endowments, grants from Parliament and subscriptions have made it possible to provide University education at a charge very much below its actual cost, and this has enabled a great many students, who in ordinary circumstances could not have obtained scholarships to enter the University and to benefit by its education. In India, on the other hand, State grants are so limited that the University is compelled to maintain itself mostly on students' fees derived from examinations and tuition.

The following tables show the estimated income of British Universities for 1920-21 and expenditure for 1921-22 under the various heads and are taken from the reports of the University Grants Committee.

ESTIMATED INCOME OF BRITISH UNIVERSITIES 1921-22.

	Tuition.	Examination.	Total	Treasury.	Other.	Total.	Grants.	Endowments.	Total.	Miscellaneous.	Grand Total.
ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Birmingham	39,316	6,700	56,016	38,000	6,570	44,570	14,800	8,934	23,734	4,943	119,264
Bristol*	10,215	4,000	14,215	18,000	14,820	32,820	13,630	5,674	19,304	3,167	69,507
Leeds	44,000	5,000	49,560	36,000	9,000	45,000	22,500	8,500	31,000	11,900	137,500
Liverpool	35,004	3,000	68,004	43,000	1,563	44,563	17,750	26,037	43,787	5,422	161,776
Manchester*	53,700	9,000	62,700	43,000	4,950	47,950	6,050	29,700	36,350	687	147,687
Sheffield	22,840	2,800	25,640	23,000	5,880	28,880	28,800	5,360	34,160	12,521	101,201
			270,075			243,783			188,335		
SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.											
Aberdeen	24,800	6,400	31,200	35,000		35,000	6,600	12,650	19,250	1,264	86,714
Edinburgh	75,000	20,260	95,260	58,000		58,000	10,800	36,600	47,400	3,586	204,246
Glasgow*	44,600	18,400	83,000	51,000		51,000	8,700	28,500	37,200	1,800	173,000
St. Andrews (and Dundee)	13,375	3,230	16,605	32,000		32,000	4,500	24,178	28,678	5,775	83,057
			226,165			176,000			132,528		
UNIVERSITY OF WALES.											
Aberystwyth Bangor, Cardiff, and Swansea.	15,516	2,000	17,516	14,000	5,220	19,220		8,094	8,094	30	18,958
			47,908			68,702			20,230		

ESTIMATES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR BRITISH UNIVERSITIES IN 1920-21.

	Equivalent Number of Full-time Students.	Estimated Expenditure: Total.	Estimated Expenditure: Per Head.	Cost of Teachers' Salaries per head.	Cost of Administration per head.	Income from Fees per head.	Parliamentary Grant per head.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
English Group (Consisting of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester).	8,713	727,008	83	43	6	29	24
London Group (University College and King's College).	3,522	233,135	66	35	6	31	20
Scottish Group (Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen).	9,709	176,584	49	28	4	21	15
Welsh Group	2,011	119,170	59	30	6	19	18
Irish Group	2,339	134,125	57	32	6	17	29
Aggregate	26,354	1,600,112	64	34	6	25	20

* Excluding College of Technology.

It will be noticed from the accompanying table, that in the English Universities, the income received from parliamentary grants and that from fees is approximately equal and that the income received from endowments and from grants from local authorities is definitely below that received from parliamentary grants and from fees. It is of interest to note that in the Scottish Universities, fees are the outstanding source of income, being definitely greater than the amount derived from Government grants. Large though the fees have been, they have still further been increased by substantial amounts ranging from one-third to one-half since these foregoing estimates were prepared. The revised fees thus amount from £ 28 to £ 32 per head per annum, making it almost equal to the fees in Oxford or Cambridge and certainly much more than in any Indian University. In Scotland no grants-in-aid are voted by local authorities, and there is thus the consolidation of parliamentary grants of various kinds in the hands of one authority, namely the Treasury. This same movement is in active operation as regards England and Wales.

Wales is poorest as regards both endowment, income and aid from local authorities, and most dependent upon Government grants. The local rate in Wales of "penny in the pound" for University purpose, will henceforth be given to the Welsh Universities, which is expected to be over £50,000. The University Grants Committee seems to have laid down the principle of "A pound for a pound". That is for each pound the Welsh Universities raise in fees and endowments locally, Parliament will pay a similar amount. The University Grants Committee is now entrusted by the Treasury with the distribution of the whole of the parliamentary grants to the Universities. At first there was suspicion and doubt on the part of the Universities in the Committee. The University authorities soon saw that the distribution of the grants had been entrusted to the University men themselves, aware of University sentiment, prepared to respect it, and even concerned to preserve

it. They found that the grants were allocated *en bloc* and practically without conditions. Confidence in its administration of the grants was soon established and the autonomy which the Universities, quite rightly, regarded as their priceless possession was not curtailed by the committee. If a similar University Grants Committee comprising of University administrators should be established in India and entrusted with the distribution of Government grants to the various Indian Universities, then *much of the unequal distribution and preferential treatment that now exists* will be done away with. Besides, "the pound for pound" principle applied to India will benefit the Universities immensely and help the larger teaching and research Universities to the extent to which they are rightfully entitled. Mr. George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, made the following recommendation as regards the British Universities: —"I would merely suggest that the autonomy of the University would be more secure if in place of the University Grants Committee being empowered to allot grants, whether recurrent or non-recurrent, according to their recognition of the need, there were established a fixed ratio, so that a University could be assured that, granted its income from fees were a fixed sum it could obtain a definite equal grant from the Treasury." The application of this principle of *payment by results* to Indian Universities, that is the greater the number of students that a University can attract, and the larger the income from fees, the greater the call that the institution should be able to make upon the Government and local beneficence, will lead to a just distribution of grants as among the various Indian Universities. Mr. George Adami also recommends that "the Universities ought to obtain at least one penny in the pound from the city in which the University is situated, and at least one-half penny in the pound from the other authorities, town and county of the district served by the University." If this recommendation were given effect to in India, the Corporation of Calcutta will

have to give a considerable amount of money in support of the Calcutta University, in addition to the exemption of the University property from rates and taxes. But the University of Calcutta is in no sense a local or what the "Times" calls a "rural" University. As the largest and the oldest teaching University in India, it is not merely local or provincial, but a national University in every sense of the term. As such, the University should obtain grants not only from the city of Calcutta, and the province of Bengal, but also from the Government of India, as the University serves the needs of the whole nation and is the foremost nationalised teaching and research institution in the country.

The Calcutta University, as we have already shown, is not the only University in the world with a large deficit for the current year. The British Universities inspite of liberal grants from Parliament, local authorities and private endowments and heavy students' fees, show an estimated deficit of £ 210,435 according to Mr. Hetherington of the University Grants Committee. Here, indeed, is a most suggestive set of facts:—

I.	Tuition and examination fees of twenty-one English Universities and colleges (excluding Oxford and Cambridge) ...	£ 587,039
II.	Treasury and other Parliamentary grants to the same	£ 540,637
III.	Local authority grants and endowment income	£ 350,916
IV.	Estimated deficit	£ 210,435

And this deficit of £ 210,435, inspite of the greatest care for economy during 1920-21 on the part of the Universities (according to the high authority of Mr. George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool) and also heavy tuition and examination fees raised from students, particularly in the Civic and Scottish Universities.

We may sum up this survey of University finance by saying that whether in England, Scotland, America or the Colonies, the State supports the teaching Universities very liberally by Parliamentary grants, local grants and endowments. In the case of State Universities whether in America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, or in France and Germany, the State meets almost the entire cost (80 per cent) of the Universities, only a small sum being raised from students' fees (22% in U.S.A.) and endowments as may be seen from the tables appended to this article.

In India, on the other hand, the Universities are supported almost entirely from students' fees, while the State only grants a nominal sum for certain specific purposes and at the same time insists on interfering with the autonomy of the University. Unless the State comes to the rescue of the teaching Universities in India, they cannot be maintained, as the experience of British and Foreign Universities amply testifies. The income from endowments and fees, rarely if ever, suffices to meet all financial obligations. Universities, being public service institutions, and not businesses conducted for profit, having nothing laid by for a rainy day.

It is a well known fact that those countries (and those sections of this country) which maintain the best schools and Universities and which spend the most on higher education are the most prosperous and are able to bear the burden of educational expenditure with relative ease. It follows, therefore, that increased outlays for education are more than made good by the increase in wealth that results from them. The same argument applies to scientific research, as may be seen from the experience of France, Germany, England and America. While not all research is materially productive, research in the aggregate has returned in wealth to those communities that have supported it many times its cost. The Universities themselves must interpret their services to the Country and their needs

and to demonstrate how these needs can be met by additional taxation or re-appropriation of revenues.

In the case of the Calcutta University, more than any other Indian University, private benefaction and endowment have played an important part. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the University of Calcutta has been supported more generously by private endowments than by Government grants. The result then is, that while private benefaction and students' fees (low as they are when compared with other seats of learning) have been substantial enough, the Government grants have been too meagre, coupled with interference with the autonomy of the University even when the State is disposed to grant a small sum only. It is high time that the Government came to the rescue of the one teaching University in India, which has been more or less self-supporting these many years. In a further article we shall deal with the expansion of the teaching departments of the University in relation to the financial resources and the needs of the nation.

A UNIVERSITY MAN

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

Many Indians do not quite realise the importance of a teaching university. Ever since the creation of the university in India in 1857 down to 1914, they have been used to a 'affiliating' type of university, which is primarily an examining and regulating body and not a teaching body. In their opinion the primary function of a university lies in the conduct of examinations, and by means of examinations and regulations alone continued efficiency can be adequately secured and the training of men for life can be left to colleges established primarily for the preparation of candidates for an examination.

But the traditional idea of a university in Europe and America is something altogether different. According to the settled views of all progressive societies, "a university ought to be a place of training where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge."[1] In the words of Lord Haldane, "a university is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed, and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their spiritual baptism."[2]

Judging from the above standard, the Indian universities down to 1914 were no true universities. They were not corporate bodies of scholars, but only of administrators. They were not concerned with the training of pupils, but only with their examinations; they had nothing to do with their culture except in so far as it could be tested by examinations. The colleges were he only places of learning. But as the real function of these colleges lay in preparing students for an

[1] *Vide* the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919.

[2] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 107.

examination, they were virtually so many coaching institutions. As they had the same curricula and had to pay too much attention to examinations, they were of the same pattern. Their teaching was limited to the ordinary conventional subjects, and their teachers within their own subjects were prevented from teaching things which they knew best. Thus the pupils were led not to value culture for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. Hence the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) recommends that "examination reform is a necessary condition for the reform of education." But the Bengal of to-day is more for retaining the examining side of the university than its teaching side which constitutes the real part of the university.

It is well known that all the Indian universities were formed after the model of the University of London. Since 1884 there had been a growing opinion in London that the university ought to have teaching functions and that it was no true university which did not undertake teaching. In 1898 an Act of Parliament transformed the University of London into a teaching university, while keeping intact its system of examinations for external students. In accordance with the recommendations of 1902, the Indian Universities Act was enacted which provided for the teaching function of the university and the Regulations were framed to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act. As the Act did not make any provision for the inclusion of the colleges as constituent colleges of the university, the teaching function of the Indian universities was confined only to post-graduate teaching in arts and science. Though the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904 and the Regulations were framed some time after, the teaching work on an adequate scale was assumed by the University of Calcutta only in 1914.

There is distinction between a college and a university. It is now generally admitted that college instruction is one

thing and university instruction is another. The chief duty of a college is to train young men between the ages of 18 to 22, who still require the guidance of a professional teacher. Its function is much like that of a secondary school. The only difference in the function between a secondary school and a college is that in the former the youth is placed under strong and despotic control, but the college training implies a relaxation in the outward form of control while still retaining for the tutor a sense of responsibility and a personal interest in young men placed under his charge. In the years of higher study at universities, the relation between the teacher and the taught is accepted on both sides as one of mutual independence—the teachers are only senior colleagues, guiding the independent research of the pupils. In other words, "college instruction requires definite, but not uniform methods, a certain deference to the authority of the master; while university instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a commander."[1] Thus a college and a university have to discharge two disparate functions. But in most of the progressive countries of the world, these two disparate functions combine in one organization under the name of university, whose purpose should never be confused. In Bengal, in the University of Calcutta, these two distinct functions have been kept separate, but in the recently created University of Dacca these two functions have been combined in one institution under the name of university.

As an institute for education, the university may either aim at culture for culture's sake such as all older universities of Europe and America profess, or it may organize vocational and technical institutions for application of culture to professional and industrial studies. Even in the latter case it has

[1] *Vide* the article "Universities" in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

to see that a maximum of liberal education is secured by the pupil pursuing professional studies. No college should encourage a course of study which sacrifices the aims of liberal culture on the pretence of preparing for a craft or profession.[1] Some universities lay special stress upon the first phase and others upon the second. Most of the older universities of Europe and America, lay special emphasis upon sound liberal education. Oxford and Cambridge of which the English people are proud still preserve their ancient character intact. They have taken centuries to grow up, they are rooted in splendid traditions which the English people do not like to disturb. In recent years, the University of Oxford has developed, expanded, and modernized. "In 1921 there is hardly a subject of human knowledge, hardly a single language of articulate and inarticulate men on this earth, which has not its own school, professor, and students." In spite of its development in different directions, its traditional character of being the seat of higher education in religion, philosophy, and the "humanities" in a liberal sense, is still dominant. Frederic Harrison tells us that "as the central pulse of the higher English thought, manners and ideals, it remains still the true nursing ground. And it will so remain till English society is very much more democratized —and until Labour recognises as education nothing but what will play in material things."[2] *Though industrial and commercial development is the cry of the time, no Englishman will ever think of disturbing the development which Oxford is undergoing on the side of sound liberal education. This is equally true of Cambridge. We learn from the papers that the Royal Commission recommends a grant of £ 110,000 for each one of these time-honoured Universities.* Will, therefore, any responsible critic of the financial condition of these two great universities be justified in asserting that they have

[1] The School (Home University Library), p. 158.

[2] *Times*, quoted in the *Indian Daily News*, August 5th, 1921.

expanded beyond their "financial capacity"? Other older universities of Europe and America are also having development and expansion on the side of liberal education. Inspite of stringency of funds, they never complain that their work is being overdone. But in Bengal the Hon'ble Minister of Education takes the Calcutta University to task for unduly developing her post-graduate teaching in arts and is even thinking of reducing some of its branches because they have few students. What would have been welcomed by any other civilized country is just the matter for censure here. Such is indeed the fate of this unhappy land! With regard to the question of small number students in particular branches of study, we would request the Hon'ble Minister of Education to bear in mind the following valuable words of Mr. Hartog —the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University:—

"The number of students in the department is relatively small, but, gentlemen, I think you would be surprised if you heard how many students, or should I say how few students, people of world-wide reputation in the west often have to fill a small corner within their large class-rooms. *M. Ernest Renan was very pleased to have in his class four students capable of understanding him. Many of the most famous continental schools have been content with that number or less. In some departments success is not to be determined by numbers. Ideas are not measurable by the dimensions of length, mass or time. They are incommensurable with these physical quantities, and I hope that India will take the lesson that if she really wishes to take the rank to which she has a right she must not be niggardly in encouraging her learned and scientific studies or measure success only by the actual number of students who attend the classes.*"[1]

Few people in Bengal have a clear idea as to the sum a university requires for advancement of learning. The

[1] An address delivered in the Curzon Hall, Dacca, on December 6th, 1921.

University Grants Committee of England have made it a point not to raise a college to the status even of a minor university unless it has an annual income of £100,000 or 15 lacs of rupees. There are some 20 universities in the United Kingdom, each of which has at least an annual income of £100,000. It must be borne in mind that the resources of Oxford and Cambridge are ample—they must be at least three times as much as those of the minor universities. All the universities of the United Kingdom are as much embarrassed for funds as the University of Calcutta. In spite of financial difficulties the people of England are providing a good deal for higher education, for they would not allow their people to retrograde. Only the other day, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher provided eight millions sterling for the university education of the ex-service men. We learn from the Teachers' Encyclopædia that according to the return of 1907-8 "there are 480 Universities and colleges of all ranks in the United States. Of these 89 are public institutions maintained by the states, and 391 are private; 143 are for men only, and 16 for women only, while 321 are common to both sexes." As to their finances, we learn from the same work that "the state Universities are maintained by state endowments and by direct state taxation. The private universities rely entirely on the munificence of private donors and on the students' fees. The older endowed institutions have amassed large capital funds. Harvard has capital investment of close on £ 5,000,000, and annual income of £ 3000,000; while Chicago, among never Universities, is not for behind. Fees in all the college and universities amounted to £4,000,000; investments produced £2,240,000, and state grants £1,300,000. From private benefactions there was received £ 2,560,000. The income available for all purposes was thus £10,000,000. In addition, a sum of £15,000,000 was received for the endowment funds of various Universities.[1]"

[1] The Teachers' Encyclopædia, Vol. VI.

"In Germany it is considered to be a good investment for the State to contribute seventy or eighty per cent. of the cost of the universities.[1]" But in Bengal the budget of the current year provides Rs. 31,55,000 for the university education of the whole province which consists of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, Government and non-Government Arts Colleges which number about 33 and Professional Colleges. Out of this sum, the Calcutta University gets Rs. 1,28,000, the Dacca University including the Intermediate Board, Rs. 9,40,000, Government Arts Colleges Rs. 12,62,000, non-Government Arts Colleges, Rs. 4,07,000, and Government Professional Colleges, Rs. 4,18,000. As the fees of the Government Colleges are taken as receipts in the Budget, which come to more than 3 lacs, the actual sum spent from the public revenues must be less by that amount. *It is evident that the Government do not spend for the university education of the whole Presidency even one-half of what a big university of the west expends for its development. The last Census shows that the populations of Bengal and United Kingdom are almost the same—about 45,000,000. But the United Kingdom spends about 30 times more than what the Government of Bengal spend upon its higher education. And it pleased the Hon'ble Minister of Education in Bengal to characterise these grants 'generous!'*

The Hon'ble Minister of Education in a recent budget speech says that there is a provision for about one crore fourteen lacs of rupees on the transferred side of education. Leaving out of account the grant to the Dacca University, the Dacca Intermediate Board and a few other educational institutions within the five miles' radius of Dacca, in his opinion, over a crore of rupees is spent by the Government for educational activities of the province. We respectfully submit that this statement is hardly correct, for on reference to the

[1] Haldane, Empire and Education, p. 70

budget estimate of the coming year we find that the fees realised from the students of the Government colleges and schools have been taken as receipts in the budget. In 1918-19, the Government got Rs 9,80,000 as fee receipts, in 1919-20, Rs. 9,93,000, in 1920-21, Rs. 11,10,000 in 1921-22 (revised estimate), Rs. 9,60,000, and the budget of the year 1922-23 puts Rs. 10,37,000 as probable receipts under the head "fees." Hence the actual sum spent from the public revenues for education in Bengal must be less by that amount. Now, how much does the University of Calcutta get from the public revenues? It is Rs. 1,41,128. The following table will show at a glance the actual allotment of the sum granted by the Government :—

	Per Year Rs.
Hardinge Professor	12,000
George V. Professsor	12,000
Minto Professor	13,000
Two Readers	4,000
Post-graduate teaching in Arts ...	15,000
Science College Laboratory	12,000
University Law College	30,000
Inspector's Pay and Travelling ...	30,000
Mess Grant	13,128
TOTAL ...	1,41,128

Leaving out of account the pay of the Inspector of Colleges and his travelling allowance we see that the Government actually spend Rs. 1,11.128 for the post-graduate teachiug in arts and science, and for the law college. But as a considerable sum is annually paid to the Government from the University on account of honoraria due to the professors of the Presidency College, the actual sum spent by the Government must be less by that amount. This sum amounted to Rs. 34,200 in 1917-18, to Rs. 34,998-0-7 in 1918-19, and to Rs. 33,460-6-11 in 1919-20. Deducting this sum we see that the Government actually spend

about 78 thousand upon post-graduate teaching in arts and science, and for the law college. And for how many students? *According to the latest return, the post-graduate department in arts teaches about 1,100 students, the post-graduate department in science teaches about 185 and the law college about 1,678 students. Thus a sum of about 78 thousand is spent by the Government for the university teaching of 2,963 students.*

Now how much do the Government grant to the University of Dacca? It is 9 lacs. For how many students? Mr. Hartog—the present Vice-Chancellor tells us that "about 850 students read in the Dacca University in addition to 67 students of the Dacca Training College and 160 students of the Dacca Medical School who study Chemistry and Physics in the University." *Thus we find that for about 1,000 students of the Dacca University the state provides nine lacs and for about 3 thousand students of the Calcutta University only about 78 thousand. If this is not differential treatment, we do not know what differential treatment is.*

In addition to the magnificent donation of £2,000,000 from Mr. Carnegie and other sources of income, the four Scottish Universities get an annual Government grant of £72,000. The following table shows for 1908-09 how that grant is distributed among the Universities according to the number of students[1]:—

	Grants	Number of Students.
Edinburgh	25,920	3,286
Glasgow	20,800	2,691
Aberdeen	14,400	970
St. Andrews	10,800	585

Everywhere in the world the allotment of the Government grant in respect of the Universities of the same type is made according to the number of students, but in Bengal we

[1] The Teachers' Encyclopædia, Vol. VI, pp. 61-62.

notice quite the reverse. We do not say that the newly created University of Dacca may not require 9 lacs or even more, but what we point out is that an equal amount at least should be granted also to the University of Calcutta. The Government of India did not show any special consideration when the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University was started in 1914. It is true that one-third of the examination fees of the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations (Pass and Honours) was granted for the maintenance of the post-graduate studies. That sum amounted to Rs. 2,28,476 in 1919-20, to Rs. 2,33,070 in 1920-21, and it is supposed that it will come down to Rs. 1,48,000 in the current year. We ask, is this sum sufficient for the maintenance of the post-graduate teaching of the Calcutta University? There is provision of 9 lacs for the maintenance of the Dacca University in the current year 1921-22. But Mr. Hartog considers the amount inadequate, for in an address he says that "*We are greatly increasing the recurring expenditure and we must, in order to be efficient, at least double the amount of recurring expenditure which is proposed in the Budget for 1921-22 and reach the amount proposed by the Calcutta University Commission.*[1]" Allow Mr. Hartog to double the amount of recurring expenditure, to which we have absolutely no objection, for a real teaching university requires much money, but is it not bare justice to provide at least an equal amount for the University of Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Minister of Education brings a serious charge against the University of Calcutta. To quote his own words, "I find that in the year 1918-19 the opening balance of the fee fund was 10 lakhs and odd, and in 1919-20 it was Rs. 1,88,743. But in the year 1920-21 the opening balance was a debit balance of Rs. 2,49,108, out of which no doubt Rs. 2,19,000 was an investment, leaving a nett debit

[1] An address delivered in the Curzon Hall, 6th December, 1921.

balance of Rs. 29,171. In other words, in the year ending June 1920 the Calcutta University spent Rs. 18,843[1] of the previous year's balance plus Rs. 29,171, totalling Rs. 2,37,914, over and above the huge fee receipts of Rs. 11 lakhs or so; that is to say, an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914." This huge sum in the opinion of the Hon'ble Minister has been spent for developing post-graduate studies. With due deference we submit that the statement of the Hon'ble minister is hardly correct. For on reference to the draft budget for 1921-22 we find that in the year 1919-20 the fee fund contributed Rs. *1,66,050*, in 1920-21 it contributed Rs. 1,67,341, and in the current year (1921-22) it contributes Rs. 2,65,945, only, for developing post-graduate studies in arts and science, and in the years under notice it contributed nothing towards the law college. Further, in the budget of 1921-22, there is a provision of Rs. 1,06,190 from the fee fund as contribution towards the science college. *Hence there is no basis for the statement that "an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914," has been expended by the University authorities in their laudable enthusiasm for expansion of post-graduate teaching. Further, we see that in 1919-20 the total expenditure of post-graduate teaching in arts and science comes to Rs. 4,78,297 only, hence Rs. 13,37,914 could on no account be expended for post-graduate studies. But the Hon'ble Minister holds the view noted above, on what authority, he knows best.*

The Hon'ble Minister is evidently in difficulty with regard to the expenditure of the huge fee fund. On reference to actual figures we find that the fee fund receives 9 to 10 lacs every year. Under the Regulations of the University referred to above one-third of the examination fees of the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. (Pass and Honours) is spent every year for advancing post-graduate

[1] The figure Rs. 18,843 is evidently a clerical mistake. The correct figure is Rs. 1,88,743.

studies in arts and science. This sum is more or less 2 lacs. On deducting this sum from the actual receipts of the fee fund we get 7 lacs or so. The Hon'ble Minister is aware that the Calcutta University is the largest examining body in the whole world. In 1918, the University examined nearly 32,000 candidates. A large sum must necessarily be required for that purpose. The conduct of examinations is a hazardous task. It requires great care and caution. Mr. Hartog of the Dacca University fully realises it. He says that he would have made over the responsibility of examinations to the Calcutta University if he could. But he cannot do so under the Act. Now, what is the sum that is annually expended for the maintenance of this vast examination system? On reference to actual figures we find that inclusive of remuneration to examiners about 6 lacs of rupees is spent every year for the maintenance of this vast system. The post-graduate department in arts and science may be abolished but this examination system cannot be abolished for it furnishes to our young men tickets for admission to profession and to calling. Thus it will be seen that the available balance left is considerably small. So there is hardly any room for the University authorities to spend more than a lac and a half from their fee fund every year in maintaining their post-graduate studies. If so, we ask, why are they accused of spending "an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914" in a single year for the same purpose? Is the money that is spent every year for the conduct of examinations to be taken as what is spent for advancing post-graduate teaching as well? We are sorry that the Hon'ble Education Minister of a province should indulge in such vague and misleading statements from memory. Now, why was the Calcutta University compelled to spend Rs. 2,37,914 in a single year ending with June 1920? Because the State did not provide a good sum to the Calcutta University from the very beginning which teaches about 3,000 students? The matter was

constantly brought to its notice, but it did not pay any heed to it. Instead of making due provision for the Calcutta University the Government wanted to exercise undue influence over it, to which the University authorities would not submit. This has been the source of all troubles for the Calcutta University. It has even been noticed in the Calcutta University Commission Report (1917-1919) which runs as follows :

" *The relations between Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of responsibility of the University authorities ; while the peculiar relation between the University of Calcutta and the Imperial and Provincial Government adds an element of complexity and confusion which is not found in the other Indian Universities.*" If so, we ask, who is responsible for bringing the University of Calcutta to the verge of bankruptcy ? If anybody is responsible for doing so, it is the Government itself. After the inauguration of the " Reforms " the Senate of the Calcutta University thought it advisable to apply to the Government of India to transfer the management of the Calcutta University to the hands of the Provincial Government in the hope that a better state of things would ensue. It remains to be seen what the representatives of our people do for the premier University of India.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education is under the impression that the University of Calcutta would be nowhere but " for the generous grants of the Government." For in his opinion all the institutions which benefit from the Government grant "go to feed it in realising its fees amounting to Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 lakhs." We are at a loss to understand what he means by the above statement. Does he mean to say that the fee fund of the Calcutta University is enriched by the fees of the students reading in the Government colleges and privately managed aided colleges alone? If so, he is

evidently in the wrong. We learn from the Fifth Quinquennial Report of Education in Bengal that in 1916-17 there were 33 colleges in all. Of them there were 8 Government colleges having 3,662 pupils, one Municipal college having 160 pupils, there were 13 privately managed aided colleges having 5,973 pupils, and 11 privately managed unaided colleges having 8,683 pupils. How much do the Government spend for the privately managed colleges which number 24 and how much for the Government colleges which number 7 or 8? On reference to the actual figures of the current year we find that the Government spend Rs. 12,62,000 for the Government colleges, and Rs. 4,07,000 for the privately managed aided colleges. Thus it is clear even to a casual observer that the fee fund of the Calcutta University is to a large extent benefited by the fees of the students reading in the private colleges. But why is the Hon'ble Minister so very anxious to establish the generosity of the Government in educational matters? We may at once point out to him that the Government may be generous with regard to military expenditure, may be generous with regard to police expenditure, may be generous with regard to the increment of the pay of the Civil and Imperial Services, may be generous with regard to other matters which help their Home interests but is not at all generous in respect of education in which the future progress of India lies. It is simply wanting in its duty towards higher, secondary, as well as elementary education in India.

We have noted above that the post-graduate department in arts teaches about 1,100 students and the post-graduate department in science teaches about 185 students. We have also shown above that the contribution from the fee fund towards post-graduate teaching in arts and science is not much. We admit that the development of applied science in every country requires a good round sum and it will require as much in Bengal too. Though in view of the number of the students taught in the science department at present, the distribution

of money can hardly be called unjust, yet we must say an adequate sum must be provided for the Science College for its proper development. The Trust Funds are hardly enough to meet even one-tenth of the expenditure necessary for the purpose. But it will hardly help the science department if you will transfer Rs. 30,000 from the law college to the science department under the impression that the law college is self-supporting. But before this step can be undertaken it requires to be seen whether it is self-supporting or not in view of the great fall in the number of law students in the course of a year or two.

Almost all the institutions of higher education in other parts of the world enjoy a large measure of autonomy. They manage their own affairs and have absolute control over their finances. They are accountable to none except their own Senate or Court which is the legal body corporate of the university. We have noted above that the Parliamentary grant to the four Scottish Universities is £72,000. The Teachers' Encyclopaedia tells us that "*the expenditure of this balance is not accounted for in detail to the Treasury, nor are unexpended balances surrendered at the close of the financial year.*" Under the Universities Act of 1904, all duties and liabilities have been imposed upon the Senate called the "Body Corporate" of the university. There is a Board of Accounts consisting of three Fellows other than members of the Syndicate, whose duty it is to examine and audit the University accounts and the account of the Endowment and Trust funds. Further, the University accounts are examined and audited every year by the Government auditors. Our members of the Legislative Council are not satisfied with that. They are for exercising stricter supervision upon the premier institute of higher education in India. In other words, they will not be satisfied with the exercise of a general control and supervision but propose to interfere with the internal administration of the Calcutta University.

The Hon'ble Minister only the other day declared that "financial matters are matters which are specially in charge of this House, and therefore there must not be any irritation shown by the Calcutta University when this House desires to enquire into them." In other civilized countries, financial matters of a university are subject to the control of the university itself, but here in Bengal we hear that they have every right to control them. Will the members of the Legislative Council be surprised to learn that all eminent educationists hold the contrary view? *Lord Haldane says that "University cannot live and thrive under the domination either of the Government or the Church. Freedom and development are the breath of its nostrils, and it can recognise no authority except that which rests on the right of the Truth to command obedience."*[1] Sir Michael Saddler in his evidence before the Lord Lytton Committee declares that "*It should be aided liberally from public funds and be released as far as possible from governmental control.*" All eminent educationists are for maintaining the autonomy of the institutions imparting higher education, but our Hon'ble Minister of Education is eager to assert his control over the financial matters of the Calcutta University!

But, how much do the Government pay to the Calcutta that they are so very anxious to control its finances? We have seen above that the amount is only Rs. 1,41,118. They may at least demand the account of the money that they pay. But why is such undue eagerness displayed for subjecting to scrutiny the whole finances of the University where only a few lacs of rupees are spent and not those departments where crores of rupees are spent? Are we to understand that they are all being efficiently managed and that there is want of efficiency only in the Calcutta University? Or are we to understand that the Council is simply helpless with regard to them?

[1] Haldane, Universities and National Life, p. 105.

Whatever may be the reason it is evident that the Council is more particular about the Calcutta University. It may be contended that it is more particular about it because there is a huge fee fund the receipts of which, according to current rumours, are being mismanaged by the University. But as educated men the Councillors must not be guided by vague rumours. Is there anything in the audit reports of the Government to substantiate these rumours? First look at them and then call for the accounts of the University. In every civilized country, the fee fund is in the absolute control of the university and the money accumulated therein is always spent for the development of the University. It is so in Germany, it is so in the United States, and it is also so in the United Kingdom. But in Bengal the fee fund is a public fund and the Hon'ble Minister has every right to control the fund! If the fee fund of the University is a public fund, the fee funds of all the privately managed colleges and schools are not less so.

But do you ever care to know anything about the fee funds of the privately managed colleges and schools? You rightly allow the fee funds of the privately managed colleges and schools to be utilised by their proprietors and you even probably allow the Dacca University to spend the fee fund for its development, but some restrictions must be put only in the case of the Calcutta University. You interfere most where you ought to interfere least.

Every department of the Government is allowed to spend money in urgent matters in anticipation of grants, but it amounts to "criminal thoughtlessness" only in the case of the Calcutta University! In connexion with the construction of the new Nurses' Home, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, you spend Rs. 1,38,000 though the budget of the current year provides Rs. 32,000; for the acquisition of land required for extension of the servants' quarters, Medical College, you spend Rs. 1,28,000 in anticipation of sanction though the budget of the current year provides nothing for the same work; for

the construction of the main block of the Bengal Secretariat Press at Chetla, you spend Rs. 5,38,000 up to 31st March, 1921, though the sanctioned estimate amounts only to Rs. 1,72,000; for the steel record-racks in the Financial Department, Writers' Buildings, you spend Rs. 29,000 though the budget of the current year provides no sum for the same; you allow Rs. 7,80,000 to be spent for the construction of buildings in connexion with the partition of the District of Midnapore, though the budget of the current year provides only Rs. 5,53,000 for the same. *Even you allow Rs. 6,03,000 for works in connexion with the Dacca University Buildings, though the budget of the current year provides only Rs. 2,00,000 for the same.* I need not multiply instances. The matter is common knowledge. But, we repeat, it is "criminal thoughtlessness" only in the case of the Calcutta University to demand more money for promoting post-graduate studies!

The Government can pass a deficit budget of over 30 crores of the Imperial Government and a deficit budget of about 2 crores of the Provincial Government of Bengal. They are even prepared to make up the deficit by exorbitant taxation of the people from the highest to the lowest. The next year's budget of the Calcutta Corporation reveals a serious financial position and being unable to meet the situation even by raising a loan of about Rs. 1,26,15,000, it was even proposed to raise the rates of the already over-taxed rate-payers. But a deficit budget of 5 lacs or so of the Calcutta University which is mainly due to your want of promptitude in providing necessary funds for the purpose is intolerable! You make arrangements in the budget of the coming year for the increment of the pay of the staff of different departments of Government. On the side of education, you make a provision of Rs. 9,92,000 for the revision of the pay of the officers below the Bengal Educational Service, you make a provision of Rs. 86,000 for the revision of the pay of the masters and mistresses and technica staff

of the European schools, and you make a provision of Rs. 32,000 for the revision of the pay of the ministerial establishment of the office of the Director of Public Instruction, to some of which we have absolutely no objection, for they are all poorly paid teachers and officers. Even the expenses of the Legislative Council can rise from Rs. 1,23,000 in 1919-20 to Rs. 3,47,000 in 1921-22 for its efficiency! But the poor pay of the teachers of the Calcutta University does not call forth your sympathy! Your opinion if rightly analysed comes to this: There is efficiency in all the departments of the Government except the University of Calcutta even though in the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission it has brought about considerable improvements by taking charge of the entire post-graduate work! Why is this invidious distinction? Is it because we have got for our Vice-Chancellor one who in your opinion "is one of the ablest men that we have not only in this province, but in the whole of India"? Is there wisdom in proposing to take steps that will surely spell the ruin of a University of 65 years' standing with a record of good work and useful career of which Bengal is naturally proud?

The Education Budget in every civilized country is a matter of special consideration. Anybody hardly takes exception to it even in cases when it increases by leaps and bounds. See what Prof. Findlay of the Manchester University says about it: "*As regards the general expenditure on education, public or private, no limit can be assigned and it is useless to exclaim that the budget of national or local expenditure increases by leaps and bounds.*"[1] This is the policy that is being maintained as regards education budget in every progressive country of the world. But our Hon'ble Minister of Education seems to hold the opposite view especially with regard to the budget of higher education of the Calcutta University. He is evidently for curtailing its "thoughtless" expansion. But our representatives are presumably of the opinion that no limit

[1] The School, p. 131.

should be assigned to the budget of the military, police and other departments of the Government, for they are all efficient, but strict limits should be imposed on the budget of the Calcutta University. If these are "Reforms," we must say, friend, save us from "Reforms."

Germany began her educational reform with the reform of the universities and organized the whole educational machinery from the top to the bottom. The Governments and millionaires of the United States are spending lavishly upon their universities because they believe that by reforming their universities they reform the whole educational machinery of the country. This is also the educational method of the France of to-day. "*Indeed, if it be true that primary education is indispensable to all, if secondary education should be offered to every pupil of the primary school who can receive it with profit, the one and the other would risk stagnation and loss of power if they did not constantly receive new principles of activity and of life from higher education. Primary and secondary education are the results, as it were, of higher education; they furnish it with recruits, and from it they draw their teachers.*"[1] Lord Haldane only the other day said "*It followed in a perfect system of education that the University would work downwards to the elementary schools. University graduates should find their way into all the schools, and thus should give a great uplift to education from its very foundations.*"[2] We see that all the eminent educationists of the world maintain that educational reform should begin with the reform of the universities. Teachers must exist before the pupils. Without efficient teachers we can neither improve our primary nor secondary schools. Efficient teachers can only be trained in the universities or in establishments having connection with the universities. The Calcutta University Commission recommends

[1] French Educational Ideals of to-day, p. 319.

[2] *Times, Educational Supplement*, October 22, 1921.

that each of the two Universities of Bengal should have a department of education and each should furnish 100 trained graduate teachers annually and 500 more should be trained annually in training colleges established by Government.

But our educational authorities in Bengal are going in a different direction. They are of opinion that they can improve the educational machinery of Bengal by spending some additional money upon primary or secondary education. In the current year's budget one lac of rupees is provided for the primary education of Bengal. But they could not spend the same for want of an well-defined scheme of education requiring less recurring expenditure. In the coming year's budget they are going to provide Rs. 50,000 for the advancement of primary education. We caution them against any such useless expenditure. We are convinced it will be sheer waste of money. If you really desire to improve the educational machinery of the land, first have the universities thoroughly organised and have efficient teachers. Then proceed to the secondary schools, and next to the primary ones, and your success will be as sure as anything. This is the tested path of Germany and other civilized nations and you can safely adopt it with reference to your own educational policy.

Higher education in applied science is the need of the time. India is unable to maintain her own existence longer without higher education in industries, commerce, and agriculture. A very large sum is necessary for the purpose. It will practically be of no help to the science side of the University if you abolish some branches of the arts side and turn the savings to the science side If you want to save your own land, then have an adequate provision for your applied science from the public revenues. You cannot neglect your arts side either, in which your special claim to civilisation lies. Your religion, your philosophy, your history, your ancient culture and arts, your economics, your languages and their origin are being studied in

different universities of the world and they are making ample provision for the same. Should you alone neglect them? Should there not be a premier University in India with adequate provision for the advancement of Indian and Islamic culture? To maintain your own progress at a par with that of other advanced societies of the world, it is absolutely necessary that Indians should take up the research of their own culture themselves. Time is not far distant when India will fully realise that men cannot live by bread alone, they need spiritual food as well. Any step which will deprive her of spiritual food will prove suicidal in the long run. We consider it highly disgraceful on the part of Indians if they fail to make adequate provision for culture which can be best studied in India alone. Is not the idea itself abominable if we have to go to foreign lands for a thorough grounding in Indian, Buddhistic, and Islamic studies which are the special inheritance of the East? We say again if you want to save India, compel the Government to make adequate provision for your higher education. Higher education has very strong, if not the strongest, claims upon the public resources of India, and upon the generosity of private benefactors. As millionaires are not coming forward, it is the precise duty of the Government to maintain it. If the Government of the country have really the good of the people at heart, which we have good reasons to doubt, our universities must be adequately equipped. It is the precise duty of a civilised nation to furnish adequate opportunities of training and self-development to a weaker nation under subjection. "*A model nation is not one that rapes and plunders and is ready to hurl itself on weaker nations in order to grow rich through despoiling them. It is a brave and upright nation, claiming for herself no right that she would not be willing to give to others.*"[1]

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

[1] French Educational Ideals of To-day, p. 324.

THE CRITIC

[With apologies to William Cowper]

I am critic of all I survey,
My wisdom there's none to dispute,
From the Zoo to the College Square Tank
I criticise man, mouse and brute.
Oh 'Varsity! fled are the charms,
That sages had seen in thy face;
Else why these financial alarms,
That makes thee a horrible place?

I am out of the 'Varsity's reach,
And my methods are all mine alone,
When I speak forth in plausible words,
I'm astonished myself, I must own.
The people my arguments hear,
And a champion of right in me see,
But their knowledge of such things, I fear,
Is quite *nil*;—it is shocking to me.

Advancement of Learning and Art,
Is the 'Varsity's motto, 'tis true;
But I have my feelings that hurt,
And my wishes that red might be blue.
My feelings I've got to assuage,
In a way that my purpose would suit;
What care I that wisdom and age
Find their efforts depriv'd of all fruit?

Ye rumours provide me with sport,
Ye convey just the thing that I need,
Some insinuating report,
Which in time might work havoc indeed:—
A young man is not yet of age,
And still doth a favour receive;
Or a second exam (I presage)
Might be held with intent to deceive.

How tortuous works human mind!
Compared with its twists and its turns
The serpent is left far behind,
And Mæander for very shame burns.
When I think of my own little game,
I can see Senate House left quite bare:
But alas! the Vice-Chancellor's fame
Soon hurries me back to despair!

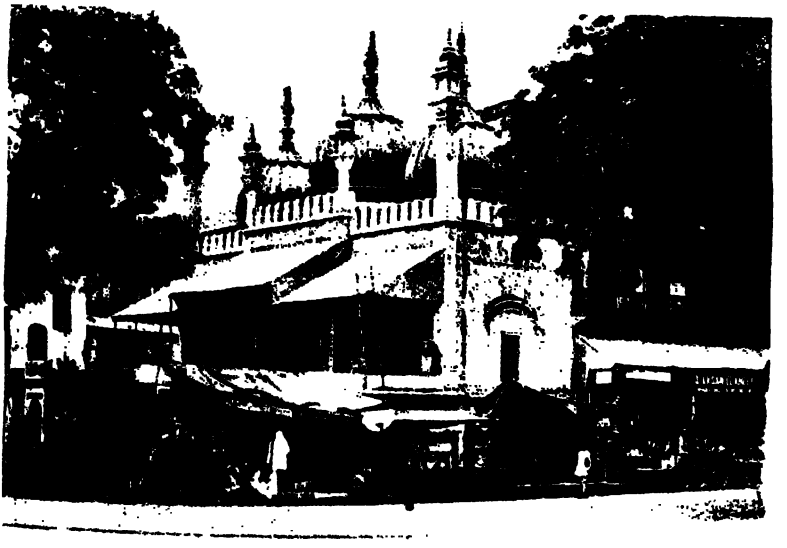
For the Councils shall go to their rest,
The journalists' pens shall be still:
For, "Advancement of Learning and Arts
Shall go on unchecked," is the will
Of every true man. There is yet
In our Ind for this 'Varsity place,
If their present afflictions beget
Strength and wisdom to call down God's grace.

SHADE OF SELKIRK

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS DELHI



Jumma Masjid



The Golden Mosque

' We are indebted to Messrs. Mirza & Sons, for these excellent photographs. Their Album of Delhi is worth a perusal

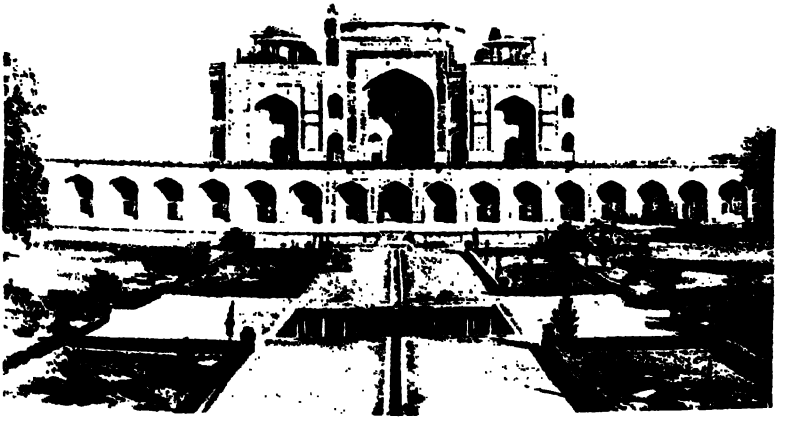


Old Hastinapur lies buried here





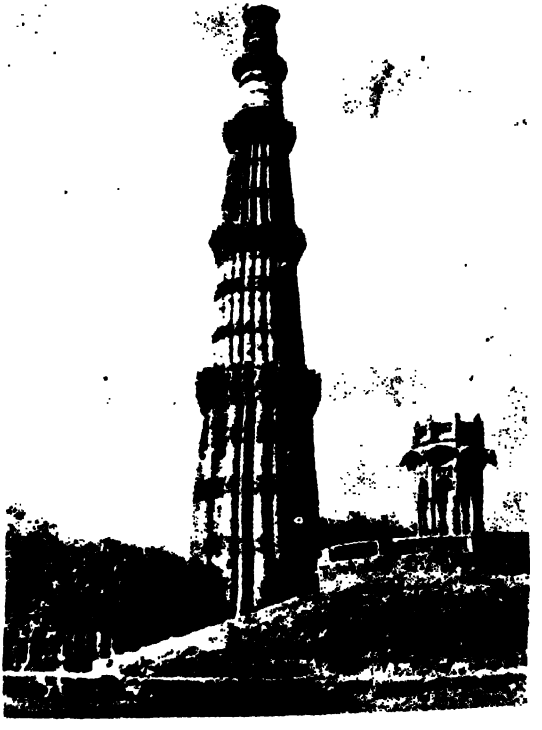
Firoz Shah's Delhi

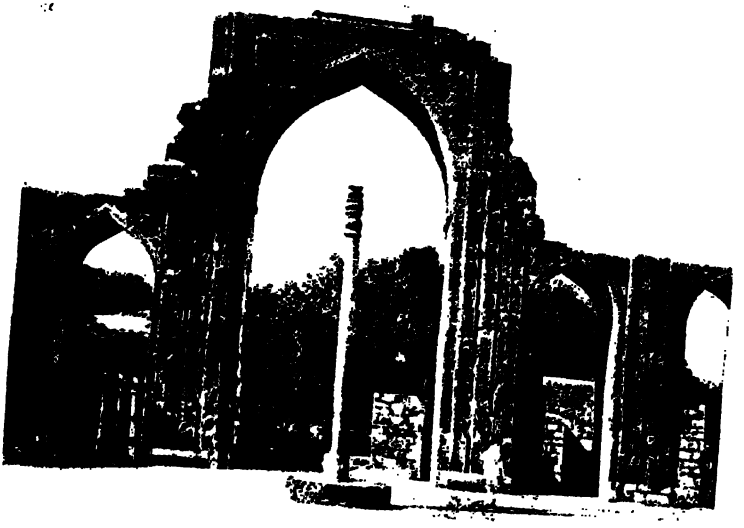


Humayun sleeps here



Green grass covers the tomb of Jehanara





Samudragupta's Iron Pillar



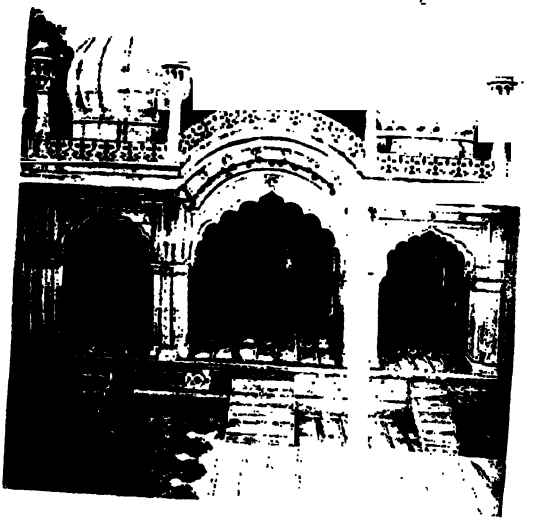
Emperor Altamash in death watches God in Heaven



Jantar Mantar (Jaysingh's observatory)



General view, Fort Delhi

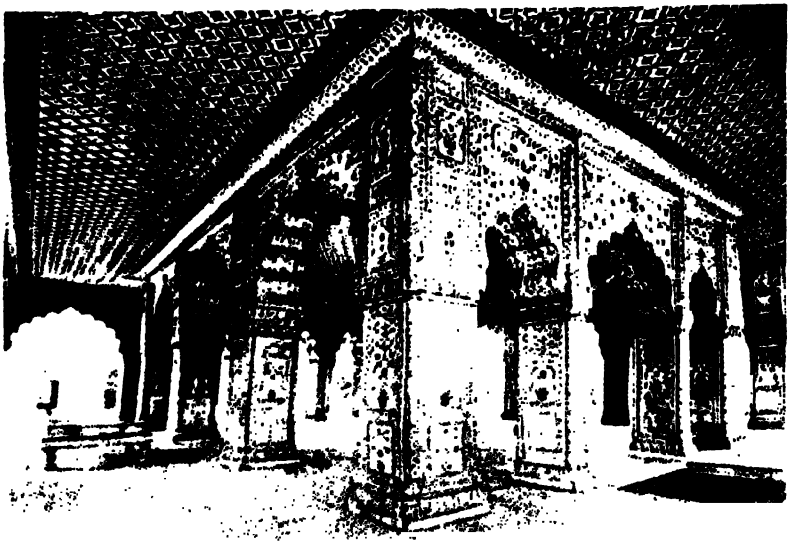


The Pearl Mosque





Diwani Khas - In



Diwani Khas (Throne in Front)



Diwan-i-Am.



Ham



White Pearl Throne Bazaar



Scene of Justi

Reviews

"Modern English Poetry" (Its Characteristics and Tendencies); by J. H. Cousins (Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1921).

This highly interesting and valuable small book of illuminating critical survey of the elements of modern English poetry, taken rather in an extended sense of the term so as to include "Indo Anglián"[1] as well as American Poetry of to-day, has grown out of a course of public lectures in Literature delivered in 1919 at Tokyo and is appropriately dedicated to Yone Noguchi and the Young Party in Japan. It contains seven chapters the last of which is devoted to the probable future trend of poetry. The author modestly claims that here only the ground-plan is sketched of a fascinating study.

The scope of modern English poetry as conceived in the opening chapter comprehends the poetry of Australia, Canada, America, India and Ireland besides that of England. The term modern as applied to poetry, the author rightly insists, may usefully indicate literary chronology which "officially began when Keats ended" but not qualities of poetry. He clearly explains his point of view by adding that "the real history of poetry does not move from past to present, but from the transient towards the permanent, from the animal towards the spiritual." There is a further elaboration of the true way of progress in poetry at pp. 172-174.

The school of thought and art-criticism represented by the author is indicated by his views regarding the function of art, the meaning of artistic creation, and the true test of poetry.

According to him the function of art is "interpretation, exaltation, the disengaging of the essentials of life from its trivialities"; the act of artistic creation is "the reflection of the divine creative urge in the universe" and the "production of an entity of greater spiritual value" to enable us "to contemplate the vision of the invisible." Criticism will apply more and more strictly in the future the standard of spiritual vision, for

[1] This newly coined term is explained at p. 179 of the author's, "Renaissance in India" (in the essay on Literary Ideals).

"it is vision that lifts poetry out of the transiency of emotion." So, "given two poems of equal beauty of expression, that one will have the longest life which adds significance to sound, and insight to imagination." This is not the test applied to-day to poetry but it is one that "a wiser criticism will apply." The new era is the era of spiritual evolution and "greatness in poetry can only spring from greatness of consciousness" which "inevitably embraces the contemplation of the fundamental relationships of humanity with itself and the universe and expresses them." He is thankful for indications in the new English poetry "that the door to this deeper Life is almost ajar." There is an elaborate enunciation of the function of poetry in the (last) chapter on the future of English poetry at pp. 188-193 in which reference is made to the region "somewhere behind the veil of the senses" where the arts are one and are "traceable to experience in consciousness." The simple fact, as it appears to us, is that very deep is the influence of the India of the *Upanishads* on Mr. Cousins (*cf.* p. 10, 14 and 194) which partly explains his just, yet generous, appreciation of not only the superb paetic genius of the world-poet Rabindranath Tagore but of the work of Aurobindo Ghose, Mrs. Naidu, and the young poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. He discovers a spiritual affinity in the poetry of Tagore and Yeats.

Mr Cousins is decidedly of a spiritual temperament and though free from bias or prejudice is rather inclined to be a bit impatient in dealing with poets who are frankly sensuous or openly defiant towards the religious spirit. Hence possibly the strong but not unjust words of rebuke flung at poets like J. C. Squire and Flecker who deserve a word of courageous and frank criticism against their cocksure attitude of enjoyment of the world of sense not penetrated by the higher vision of things eternal. His preference is for the elements of vision splendid, deep thought, philosophic insight, religious consciousness, noble seriousness and ecstatic utterance. To him D. H. Lawrence in his earlier work is "the laureate of youth's futilities" and even Rupert Brooke shows more of "melodious youthfulness —a matter of nerves, not of consciousness"—than of "the true tension of the spirit which is the living principle in literature," whereas Masefield, though not a great poet, stands high "through the exercise of intuition based on wide experience and reflection." The chapter (VI) on the new American poetry is full of fearlessly outspoken criticism on the "newest new poetry" of Miss Monroe, Miss Lowell, or Ezra Pound and contains some humorous hard hits on the new theories of poetry started by these writers. Equally unsparing are his courageous and frank remarks on "the febrile state known in the West as love—a mere sex-function" and its poetry,

on modernity, Imagist poets, on the foolish controversy over rhymed *versus* free verse, on patriotic poetry and incidentally on patriotism, true and false, and true democracy.

The special characteristic of the Irish Literary Revival on the other hand is a "tension towards an expansion of consciousnes" and the result of the Irish movement is, so far as its influence on English poetry is concerned, to call "humanity away from satisfaction in things seen or felt or heard to some deeper satisfaction of the soul, some affirmation of the immortal spirit." As regards the future evolution of poetry, "the heralds are with us already in A. E. and Tagore; Blake is of them"—"superlative masters in song whose eyes are not dazzled by the surface glitter."

We cannot praise too highly the sublime perfection of the concluding paragraphs at pp. 212-214 which are too long for quotation and should not be spoiled by a summary.

J. G. B.

The Angami Nagas—With some notes on Neighbouring Tribes by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S., with maps and illustrations. Pp. xvx, 480. 1921. Macmillan & Co.

Of the various monographs published on the Assam tribes up to the present day Mr. Hutton's seems to be the best, the most up-to-date and exhaustive. Though the author calls himself as 'a mere amateur' the work is full of information as we would have got from a trained anthropologist with the advantage that there is no prepossession on behalf of any favourite theory as is often the case with the latter. The chapters deal with domestic life, laws and customs, language, religion and folklore. There are very useful appendices and an exhaustive index. The chapter on folklore would have been more useful and valuable if the original version had been given along with the translation and the source of information noted in every case. The author has devoted a short appendix to Mr. Perry's appendix, only drawing attention to his articles but his recent work 'Megalithic Cultures in Indonesia' should not have been passed over in silence. It would have been interesting if all the points emphasised by Mr. Perry could have been examined in the manner he does his theory of orientation of the dead. In fact a little more of comparative study from the standpoint of an unbiassed field-worker would have

advanced the cause of Anthropology in general. In India there is such a heaping up of facts *qua* facts and often repetition in the District Gazetteers, Census Reports and books on Tribes and Castes that it is very hard for the student to wade his way through. In fact our author is to be congratulated in bringing in so much new matter and avoiding facts already dealt with in previous books such as Hodson's 'Naga Tribes of Manipur.' The Anthropometrical appendix is highly useful and one wishes for more anthropometric data from Assam to examine there the extent of Austro-Asiatic influence, if any from the physical standpoint. So in Religion the conception of the Angamis of the sun as female and the moon male would have yielded interesting conclusions in connection with the religious belief of other Austronesian peoples. The interesting custom of bachelor's dormitories and those for unmarried girls which is found by the author amongst the Memi, the Aos is also important from the comparative standpoint being widespread from Chhota Nagpur to Melanesia and Polynesia. Head-hunting, the use of masks, etc., all examined from the point of view of distribution as well as intensive study on the field would have helped to remove many misconceptions or confirmed the daring speculations of the modern ethnological school. But for the lack of this comparative standpoint and a dynamic view of society the author's contributions would have ranked beside the masterpieces of Rivers or Seligmann on the Todas or the Veddas.

P. M.

The Chirala Perala Tragedy—Price Re. 1; Ganesh & Co., Madras.

This book gives an account of the voluntary exile which the people of Chirala, a village in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency, chose when a Municipality was imposed on them against their will. The leader of the movement, Mr. Duggirala Gopalakrishnyya is an Honours Graduate of the Edinburgh University and a patriot of great piety and power of leadership. His speeches and writings are touched by a high idealism and as a witness thereof we may cite his final statement before the District Magistrate of Guntur (pp. 136-153). The book relates the growth of personality or the crash of character according as we accept or reject the principles of the non-co-operation movement. It is a valuable addition to the literature published by that enterprising firm of Madras, Ganesh & Co., on the new way of political thinking which has found favour with one section of our people.

R.

Ourselves

Our readers will, no doubt, peruse with interest the two Addresses delivered by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor at the Annual Convocation held on Saturday, the 18th March, 1922. Both the Addresses will supply ample material for reflection to all thoughtful minds. But that the same subject may produce very different effects upon different minds, is well illustrated by the following comments on the addresses which recently appeared in some of the leading periodicals published in the city.

The Indian Daily News

21st March, 1922.

"Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Convocation Address is one of the best ever delivered on a similar occasion and deserves to be widely read. It is a complete vindication of the methods and aims of the Calcutta University and if it has to justify itself as a Teaching and Research University it can do worse than proceed along lines indicated by Sir Asutosh. In the departments of both Arts and Science the University has always had high ideals held up before it. And those ideals are by no means exclusively foreign. They are mainly national, the foreign element not displacing but to a large extent leavening them. "The Indian Universities," Sir Asutosh says, "have not yet been able to take root in the life of the nation because they have been exotics. India was and is civilised. Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede much less be permitted to destroy the vital elements of our civilisation. I claim that in no other University in India has this view been realised and carried into effect as has been done in Calcutta." He develops this idea throughout his address and points out the strides the University has made and has been making. The post-graduate classes

are not his fad. They are the outcome of the Government scheme of 1917 and he has been nursing them with tender care so that the youth of Bengal may be benefited. They have lately been subjected to a good deal of captious criticism—spiteful, venomous outbursts which have never appealed to the sane mind of Bengal. The University has had of late a very rude shock at the hands of the non-co-operators, but it ought to make a rapid recovery now that both the students and their guardians have realised the mischievous character of the movement. The "Golamkhana" was similarly assailed during the Swadeshi days, but where are its assailants to-day? For our part we would advise Sir Asutosh to go on with his great nation-building work quite undaunted and his name will go down to posterity as one of its greatest benefactors. To teach the young mind how to shoot is one of the highest privileges of man.

The Capital

23rd March, 1922.

"At the Convocation of the Calcutta University on Saturday, Lord Ronaldshay, Chancellor, delivered an eulogium of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the broad-fronted Cæsar of the Indian University world whom spiteful pigmies are now attacking with poisoned arrows. "Far more than any other individual," said His Excellency, "Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been responsible for converting the Calcutta University from a mere examining board into an active centre of teaching and research." A true tribute spoken in good time.

His Excellency said that the greatest landmark in the history of the Calcutta University was the creation of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies which the Vice-Chancellor's critics have made the excuse for their waspish attacks on his administration. After dwelling on the importance, nay, the necessity of the department, the Chancellor concluded with the hope that the legislature would not lose sight of the importance of post-graduate work in shaping the future of Bengal, and that the University would consider whether in view of the straitened financial circumstances of the times it might not prove possible, without impairing the work of the post-graduate department, to prosecute it at somewhat smaller expenditure from University funds.

Sir Asutosh in a speech of great eloquence and much close logic took a comprehensive survey of the whole field of higher education in Bengal,

detailing with pardonable pride the achievement of the Calcutta University, always the foremost of the line in India. Here is his ideal of an University:

"To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training as well of men of thought as of men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the State for the conservation of knowledge, for the discovery of knowledge, for the distribution of knowledge, for the applications of knowledge, and above all, for the creation of knowledge-makers."

He claimed that the foundations of such an university were truly laid in Calcutta. This claim will not be disputed by the most casual reader of the Vice-Chancellor's catalogue of Departments, Chairs and Fellowships. Instead of carping it would show a much higher love of country if the hostile critics would set to work to collect money to make the Post-Graduate Department independent of official doles from Simla or Writers' Buildings. To pick holes is easy in any human fabric, but the better way is to employ one's energy in mending them.

A valued correspondent writes:—"Sometimes it is quite wonderful how unreasonable and unsympathetic the world gets. A great citizen of Calcutta, a man of outstanding abilities, who might have earned an enormous fortune as a lawyer, sacrificed everything and worked as few men either will or can work, to make Calcutta University what it is now. Like large-minded men, however, he dared and did great things. Men of smaller calibre, watching their opportunity, are now closing in upon him for his 'extravagance' and threatening to destroy the work of his life. 'Do not irritate us,' say those who hold the public purse-strings, 'or we shall lay the axe to this great tree.' As though public policy could depend on the temper of Ministers."

The Amrita Bazar Patrika

23rd March, 1922.

"SUGAR-COATED PILL."

Lord Ronaldshay's convocation speech was a very clever performance from all points of view. Though couched in the most pleasant words and full of compliments to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, it was nothing but a sugar-coated pill—a veiled criticism of the present administration of the Calcutta

University and specially its financial condition. Lord Ronaldshay like an accomplished speaker, as he is, began his speech by praising Sir Asutosh—his untiring energy and the ungrudging service rendered by him to his *Alma Mater*. He also praised Sir Asutosh for his share in transforming an examining University into a teaching University and styled it as "Modern Nalanda." Lord Ronaldshay specially mentioned the council of post-graduate studies as "the greatest land-mark in the history of the University in recent years." But these compliments were only a clever prelude to what was coming. He soon turned round and attacked the post-graduate department thus :— "It is precisely the post-graduate department of the University which seems to be exciting the most adverse criticism of the Indian public at the present time."

* * * *

Lord Ronaldshay did not also hesitate to trace out the cause of this public criticism and dissatisfaction. According to him the public think that the post-graduate department of the University is too costly and it is fed at the expense of the general department. Imagine that as much as one-third of the fee-fund, he exclaimed, is allocated to post-graduate teaching under the rules, that is, most of the money derived from fees paid by ordinary students are spent for the benefit of a limited number of special class of students. This is a kind of selfish luxury. Lord Ronaldshay at first assumed an air of surprise that the public should think so, but in the next breath he said, that in view of the present financial condition of the University, the extravagance of the post-graduate department should be curbed and the University authorities should not wildly aspire to widen the range of studies of the post-graduate department. We quote his words :— "I am not disposed to deny that in a poor country there are obvious limits to the extent to which such studies can reasonably be financed by public funds." Here some one might have asked, as Sir Asutosh later on actually did, "what about the financial help from the Government? If the University has no money for such noble object as post-graduate study, then the Government must supply the money." Lord Ronaldshay was ready for the reply. He said that the Legislature could not pay any money now as "the Legislature itself with, its extremely exiguous resources, is faced with many urgent demands."

* * * *

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, as clever as Lord Ronaldshay, no doubt received the hit in the spirit it was given and replied:—

"The custodians of the public funds though repeatedly approached have met the legitimate demand of the University with steady and persistent refusal. To me it is an unfathomable mystery that administrators in responsible positions should fail to be inspired to a sense of their paramount duty as servants of the people, even by the magnificent spectacle of self-sacrifice presented by the noble examples of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbihari Ghose." None can deny that Sir Asutosh returned the blow magnificently and Lord Ronaldshay, we doubt not, enjoyed it. We shall not be very wrong if we discover in these lines something even for Mr. P. C. Mitter, sometime Vakil, High Court, who behaved most cruelly towards his *Alma Mater* forgetting the example of lawyers like Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbihari Ghose. It is undeniable that the treatment of the Education Department towards the Science College has amounted almost to a crime, as the letter of Dr. P. C. Roy published in these columns sometime ago clearly showed. It will be an eternal shame both to the Government and the people of Bengal if the institution founded by the self-sacrifice of Ghosh and Palit collapse for want of funds.

Under the presidency of the eminent Indologist, M. Émile Senart of Paris, Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee, Lecturer on Egyptology and Assyriology, has been elected a "Membre de la Societé Asiatique" of Paris. M. Clement Huart, Director of the Studies of School of Hautes Etudes and M. Lucien Bouvat, Librarian of the Society, presented Dr. Banerjee. We are gratified to find that Dr. Banerjee has gained this high academic distinction.

UNIVERSITIES IN DANGER

PARLOUS STATE OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

ROYAL COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Oxford and Cambridge Universities are threatened with extinction unless Government comes to the rescue, is the burden of the Royal Commission's report recommending an annual State grant of £110,000 each, as the minimum necessary to prevent immediate decline, but as utterly insufficient for future development. The parlous state is mainly due to the change in money values.

The report adds, "The idle-rich idea can no longer be associated with the Universities. The undergraduates are for the most part hardworking and serious-minded. A large proportion are poor men." The Report recommends "higher pay for the professors, more scholarships and grants to the women's colleges."

The above telegram will furnish ample indication that the Calcutta University is not the only University which is "threatened with extinction" by reason of financial stringency. The only difference is that while people in Great Britain appreciate the importance of University education for national progress, people in Bengal may not be equally alive to the needs of the situation.

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The importance of the work carried out by Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, University Lecturer in the department of Experimental Psychology, has received well-merited recognition from beyond the limits of India. The illustrious scientist Professor Dr. Freud of Vienna writes as follows:

"It was a great and pleasant surprise that the first book on a psychoanalytic subject, which came to us from that part of the world (India), should display so good a knowledge of Psychoanalysis, so deep an insight into its difficulties and so much of deep-going original thought. Dr. Bose has singled out the concept of repression for his inquiry and in treating this theoretical matter has provided us with precious suggestions and intense motives for further study. Dr. Bose is aiming at philosophical evolution

and elaboration of our crude, practical concepts, and I can only wish, Psychoanalysis should soon reach up to the level to which he strives to raise it."

One may have to wait for many years before similar recognition comes from the countrymen of Dr. Bose himself.

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A valuable work on Atomic Theories by Prof. Loring has just been published by Methuen & Co. of London. This is the first book to deal comprehensively with the recent experimental and theoretical investigations on the Atom, which are engaging the attention of many of the leading scientists in all parts of the world. Sir Joseph Thomson observed in the Romanese lecture, delivered by him in 1914, that no fact discovered about the Atom could be regarded as trivial or could fail to accelerate the progress of Physical Science, for the greater part of natural philosophy was the outcome of the structure and mechanism of the Atom. It may not be generally known that Dr. Meghnad Saha, now Guruprasad Singh Professor of Physical Science in our University, has been engaged on researches of the highest importance in this field. Prof. Loring devotes several pages of his work to a description of the views advanced by Dr. Meghnad Saha, under the heads of "Elements in the Sun and their Ionisation" and "Atomic Energy and Solar Radiation." Prof. Einstein of Berlin, who has now attained world-wide reputation by his researches leading up to the Theory of Relativity, speaks of Dr. Meghnad Saha's researches as follows:

"Dr. Meghnad Saha has won an honoured name in the whole scientific world by his investigations on the thermodynamical and optical behaviour of elements at high temperatures. These works open a new way for a more exact understanding of the physical conditions prevailing in stellar atmospheres. In the interests of Science, it is urgently desired that Dr. Saha be enabled to continue his investigations."

Dr. H. N. Russell, Professor of Astro-physics in the Princeton University, speaks on the same subject as follows:

"The application of these principles to the Sun and stars which bids fair to open up a field of very great importance was first made, a year or so ago, by Dr. Meghnad Saha, an East Indian, who is a Professor in the University of Calcutta. Following his lead, we may learn a deal about what is happening in the Sun and stars." Dr. Meghnad Saha in now in Calcutta working in the University College of Science on the modest sum of Rs. 500 a month, though he has had more lucrative offers elsewhere; but he cannot get the necessary appliances to carry on his researches, even though a scientist like Prof. Einstein should maintain that it is in the interest of Science that Dr. Saha should be enabled to continue his investigations. It is undeniable that but for the opportunities given to Dr. Saha in the University College of Science as research scholar and lecturer, it would have been impossible for him to undertake the work he has so far successfully accomplished. The logical conclusion, according to some cultured persons, is that the work of the Vice-Chancellor should be belittled, the work of the scholars in the University should be hampered, and the University Post-Graduate teachers should be dispersed all over the country. We hope to be able to publish in a future issue a popular account of the work of Dr. Meghnad Saha and to indicate the adverse circumstances under which he and others like him have been kept alive by the efforts of the one man whose ideal is a great University in Calcutta.

* * * *

Apropos the rumour, which, not many months ago certain "friends" of the University were busily engaged in spreading, namely, that the University authorities were guilty of making *improper* use of certain Trust Funds, the following statement, which was placed by the Registrar before the Senate on 4th March last may interest our readers:

"3½ p. c. G. P. Notes for Rs. 10,50,000, being the equivalent of Rs. 6,25,000, were endorsed to Hajee Ganny Ahamed on the 19th September, 1921, and were received back from him on 22nd February, 1922. Hence the G. P. Notes were in his possession for *5 months and 3 days.* Interest for the above period, at 3½ per cent. amounts to *Rs. 15,616-12-0.* This amount the University did not get. But a total sum of Rs. 51,061-11-6 on account of interest was paid by the mortgagor during this period of 5 months and 3 days. Thus the University made a profit of *Rs. 35,445-15-6* in this transaction. Deducting Rs. 2,625, being the amount charged by the Bank as withdrawal fee on the above G. P. Notes, University has got a clear net profit of *Rs. 32,820-15-6.*"

The Senate, it should be borne in mind, proceeded to invest the securities in the Sir Rashbihary Ghose Fund on mortgage of immovable property in Calcutta, only after the necessary sanction had been received from the High Court; it is, therefore, mischievous to assert that the transaction was improper and illegal.

What is the immediate result of this transaction? With the extra income thus derived a workshop is being erected in the University College of Science for the benefit of students of Applied Chemistry. And here again one has but a woeful tale to narrate. It is said that the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education entertained—and, we are always open to correction—an attitude of utmost sympathy towards the Science College. But though the University sent a letter to that Government on 5th February, 1921 asking for financial assistance for the erection of a workshop, the Government, after a mature and careful deliberation extending over a period of nine months informed the University on 15th November, 1921 of its inability to comply with its request.

But, thanks to the tact and resourcefulness of the Vice-Chancellor, the Science College is, after all, going to have a workshop.

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Ramzan and the University Examinations

The following Statement was read before the Senate on Saturday, the 25th of March, 1922:

"In December and in January last, numerous applications were received from candidates for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, praying that the Examinations might be held later than usual in as much as there had been, in many cases, serious interference with the progress of their studies by reason of prevailing political excitement in the country. Memorials to the same effect were also submitted to His Excellency the Governor as Chancellor of the University. This was borne in mind when the dates for the Examinations were fixed by the Syndicate on the 20th January, 1922. The Matriculation Examination was directed to commence on the 6th April, so that it might be finished on the 12th April, before the commencement of the Easter Holidays. As regards the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, it was impossible to commence them at the same time as the Matriculation Examination on account of want of accommodation. Much less feasible would it be to hold all the five Examinations simultaneously. The Syndicate accordingly decided to commence some of the smaller subjects for the I.A. and I.Sc. and the Honours Subjects for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations before the Easter and to continue those Examinations in other subjects after the Easter. The Syndicate found that the consequence would be to make the latter part of those Examinations extend into the month of Ramzan which would commence on the 29th April. To minimise the inconvenience to the Muhammadan students, the Syndicate decided to have one paper only in the day and that as early in the day as practicable. For the younger students, that is, candidates in the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, the Syndicate fixed the time from 6-45 A.M. to 9-45 A.M. For the older

students, *i.e.*, candidates in the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, the Syndicate fixed the time from 10-30 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. According to the estimate of probable numbers of candidates at the I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations and in view of the accommodation available, the Syndicate could not fix the time for I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations from 6-45 A.M. to 9-45 A.M. Later on, it transpired that the number of candidates at each of those Examinations was smaller than had been anticipated. Under the instructions of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, the Controller of Examinations at once made an enquiry from the Superintendents at different centres whether from the 29th April all the candidates for the I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations could be simultaneously accommodated between 6-45 A.M. and 9-45 A.M. A favourable reply was received and orders were forthwith issued that from the 2nd May, papers for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, like those for the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, would be given out at 6-45 A.M. It will thus be seen that the question of the convenience of Muhammadan candidates has been constantly kept in view and everything that is practicable has been done with a view to minimise possible inconvenience.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was informed by Mr. Gourlay that Mr. Fazl-ul Haque had expressed a desire to see His Excellency the Chancellor with a view to make a representation to him on the subject and had been advised to see the University authorities. It must be remembered that, under the Regulations, the Syndicate alone appoints the dates for Examinations. Mr. Fazl-ul Haque did not, thereafter, bring the matter to the notice of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor; whatever action has been taken by the Syndicate has been taken of its own motion in the interest of Muhammadan candidates.

It was suggested by some students who interviewed the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor that the Examinations might be

interrupted from the 29th April and resumed after the lapse of a month. The Syndicate considered this impracticable.

It has been ascertained that, on many occasions in previous years, University Examinations had been held in the month of Ramzan and no objection had been raised."



Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc.

(Nominated by the Council of the League of Nations as India's representative in the Committee for the study of International Intellectual Co-operation.)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1922

THE FISCAL SYSTEM OF INDIA

The fiscal history of India divides itself into three fairly well defined periods. The first was the period of the East India Company's rule, when a protective policy was followed in the country. The protection was, however, in favour of Great Britain, and against India. The second period commenced with the transfer of the administration of India from the hands of the Company to those of the British Crown, and ended in 1914. These were the years during which the principles of free trade were applied with the utmost rigour. During both the first and the second periods, England carried out in India her own trade policy. The third period was ushered in with the sound of the war-drum, and is still continuing. The financial stress caused by the great world upheaval led to some modification of the fiscal system of India, but the aftermath of the war has been responsible for the introduction of still greater changes into it. The customs duties of recent years were imposed for revenue purposes, but their effect has been, though in a very slight degree, protective. In fact, this period may be said to mark the transition from an absolute adherence to free trade principles to the adoption of a policy of protection.

The first two periods, though very important, are now of merely historical interest. The third period, on the other hand, is a living reality, and in it are to be found the germs of the future tariff policy of India. In this article, therefore, I shall discuss the important features of the fiscal changes of the last few years.

On the eve of the European War of 1914, India was in a fairly satisfactory financial position. But no sooner did hostilities commence than the impact was felt in India, situated though she was many thousand miles from the theatre of operations. The Government were able, however, to meet the financial strain without resort to fresh taxation for the first year and a half of the war. But as the deficiency in the revenue tended to assume a more or less abiding character, additional taxation became necessary. In 1916, an augmentation of revenue was sought to be obtained from various sources, including customs. The general import duty was raised from 5 to 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*, the duty on sugar was increased to 10 per cent., that on iron and steel to 2½ per cent., and on other metals to 7½ per cent. The free list was considerably curtailed, and some of the articles which had previously been imported free were now subjected to a duty of 2½ per cent., while others were taxed at 7½ per cent. The special duties on arms, liquors, tobacco, and silver manufactures were also considerably enhanced. The salt duty was raised from Re. 1 to Rs. 1¼ per maund. Finally, an export duty was levied on two important staples, namely, jute and tea. The duty on cotton goods, however, was left untouched. Anticipating an adverse comment on this policy of partial treatment, Sir William Meyer said: "Well, the Government of India have not failed to represent their view that there should be a material increase in the cotton import duties, while the cotton excise, which has formed the subject of such widespread criticism in this country, should be left unenhanced, subject to

the possibility of its being altogether abolished when financial circumstances are more favourable. But His Majesty's Government, who have to consider the position from a wider standpoint, felt that the raising of this question at the present time would be most unfortunate, as it would provoke a revival of old controversies at a time when they specially desired to avoid all contentious questions, both here and in England, and might prejudice the ultimate settlement of the larger issues raised by the war. His Majesty's Government feel that the fiscal relationship of all parts of the Empire as between one another and the rest of the world must be reconsidered after the war, and they desire to leave the question raised by the cotton duties to be considered then, in connection with the general fiscal policy which may be thought best for "the Empire, and the share, military and financial, that has been taken by India in the present struggle."[1]

The proposals for increasing the customs duties met with the approval of the Indian Legislative Council. The only objection which was taken was with regard to the salt duty. As for the exclusion of cotton goods from the additional burden, although the action of the Government gave rise to keen disappointment, the explanation offered by the Finance Member went some way towards disarming criticism. Almost all the non-official members of the Council gave expression to the sense of injustice which had been done to India by the partiality shown to the cotton manufacturers of England. Many of them, however, were unwilling to embarrass the Government at a critical moment. But, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola moved an amendment for raising the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. import duty on cotton goods to 6 per cent. In the course of his speech on the subject, he said: "It appears to me that it is rather hard that when the Government of India want the revenue, when the country is willing to agree

[1] Financial Statement, 1916-17.

to give them that additional revenue from a source which is agreeable to themselves, that they should be debarred from doing so and in that way necessitate the proposal for the increased salt tax."[1]

In May, 1916, an Industrial Commission was appointed by the Government of India, but the tariff question was especially excluded from the scope of its enquiries. In the following year, the financial stress of the war increased, which necessitated further taxation. Various steps were taken to improve the revenue, and customs came in once more for their share in the scheme. The export duty on jute, both raw and manufactured, was doubled. The import duty on cotton goods was fixed at 7½ per cent., which was the general tariff rate, but the excise duty on cotton was left at 3½ per cent. Of course, this last measure was taken with the sanction of the Government of England, which had been accorded to enable India to make an adequate contribution towards the expenses of the war. The proposal was welcomed by the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council.[2]

In September, 1919, the Government of India introduced a Bill which sought to impose an export duty of 15 per cent. on hides and skins, with a rebate of 10 per cent. on hides and skins exported to any part of the Empire. The object was to ensure that the hides and skins of India should be converted into fully tanned leather or articles of leather so far as possible in India, and failing this in other parts of the Empire, instead of being exported in a raw state for manufacture in foreign countries. In the course of his speech introducing the Bill, Sir George Barnes, the Commerce Member, said that before the war the hide trade had been monopolised by the

[1] Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, 1916.

[2] One member said: "The principles of taxation devised in the Bill is a distinct indication of the sign that the Government is more and more in touch with the popular opinion, and that it has come to the conclusion that its future policy in the matter of taxation shall be, as far as practicable in the direction of a well considered system of protective tariff."—*Speech of the Hon. Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy in the Legislative Council, 7th March 1917.*

Germans, and the tanning industry of India had been of comparative insignificance, but great changes were brought about by the war. "We want," Sir George added, "to keep this industry alive, and we believe that in this case protection in the shape of a 15 per cent. duty is justifiable and effective." But, in reality, the Government wanted to kill two birds with one stone. The second object was described by the Member in charge of the Bill in these words: "Though Indian tanneries have enormously increased in number during the past three years, they can only deal with a comparatively small proportion of the raw hides and skins which India produces, and it is to the advantage of India and the security of the Empire generally that this large surplus should, so far as possible, be tanned within the Empire, and with this end in view the Bill proposes a 10 per cent. rebate in respect of hides and skins exported to any place within the Empire." [1] Sir George Barnes did not, however, make it clear how the manufacture into leather of hides in a country within the Empire but outside of India could be of advantage to India herself. Nor did he say which of the two objects mentioned by him was regarded by the Government as the more important.

The first part of the Bill was welcomed by the Indian as well as the European members of the Council. Mr. W. E. Crum supported the Bill on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and in doing so he pointed out that, as long ago as 1917, a Conference of the Chambers of Commerce had recommended that "any industries which can be regarded as key industries should be supported." [2] Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, while supporting the export duty of 15 per cent., saw no justification for the other proposal, namely, the grant of a rebate of 10 per cent. Another non-official member of the Council, Mr. B. N. Sarma, congratulated the Government most heartily upon the

[1] Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, September, 1919.
[2] *Ibid.*

departure from the economic policy which had so far been pursued by it, but moved an amendment to delete the second part of the Bill on the ground that it raised, in an indirect manner, a large and important question, namely, the question of preference between the various parts of the Empire. To this objection Sir George Barnes replied that the rebate was not proposed as part of any general scheme of Imperial Preference.[1]

In their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford incidentally referred to the question of Indian fiscal policy. They said, "Educated public opinion ardently desires a tariff. It rightly wishes to find another substantial base than that of the land for Indian revenues, and it turns to tariff to provide one. Desiring industries which will give him Indian-made clothes to wear and Indian-made articles to use, the educated Indian looks to the example of other countries which have relied on tariffs, and seizes on the admission of even free traders that for the nourishment of nascent industries a tariff is permissible.... He believes that as long as we continue to decide for him we shall decide in the interests of England and not according to his own wishes; and he points to the debate in the House of Commons on the differentiation of the cotton excise in support of his contention."

The Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament to consider the Government of India Bill recommended the question of the tariff as a "special case of non-intervention." "Nothing," they said, "is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the present moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.

[1] Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, March, 1917.

India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only, therefore, be assumed by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."[1]

Lord Curzon endorsed this view of the fiscal relations of India and England, when he observed in the House of Lords: "For the first time a responsible and representative British Committee, charged with shaping a government for India, have conceded to India almost absolute freedom of fiscal policy. They have laid down the policy and the principle that she ought to be free to exercise, in respect of her tariffs, and so on, the same degree of liberty as is enjoyed by the

[1] Report of the Joint Select Committee, p. 11.

great Dominions of the Crown. This is a change so fundamental and fraught with such stupendous consequences that I am amazed at the little attention it has attracted in this country."[1] These expressions are so clear and emphatic that there could not be the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Legislature as well as of the Executive Government of England in regard to this subject.

In 1921, the Government of India were faced with a large deficit.[2] The Finance Member was thus obliged to bring forward fresh proposals for taxation. Among other measures, he proposed a large addition to the customs tariff. In the first place, he proposed to increase the general *ad valorem* duty of 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent., except in the case of matches and certain articles of luxury, but inclusive of cotton manufactures. The excise duty on cotton was to be left at 3½ per cent. He estimated that this measure would produce an additional revenue of Rs. 3,84 lakhs. This measure was, of course, proposed after a previous reference to His Majesty's Government in order to make it clear to them that the sole object of the Government of India was the production of additional revenue and that they had no ulterior motive of a productive or any other kind. "It would," said Sir Malcolm Hailey, "ill become this country, at a time when the senior partner of the Empire, upon whom fell by far the severest burden of the war, both in blood and money, is anxiously endeavouring to face the most acute problems of unemployment and trade distress, to requite the services which Great Britain has rendered to the rest of the Empire, including

[1] Lord Curzon added: "It is a starting-point to a future career in the growth of self-governing institutions in India the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. I am the last to complain of it, because in all the controversies about these Cotton Duties, and so on, I have always fought the battles of India. Therefore, I am delighted to see my views and theories prevail." Debate in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1919.—P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitution.*

[2] This was due to various causes, the principal ones being exchange difficulty and increased military expenditure.

India, by taking the first opportunity to introduce a measure of protection against her manufactures. We made it clear, therefore, that it is solely our financial necessities, and no new departure of fiscal policy, which have obliged us to propose to the legislature this particular measure. We trust that our fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom will appreciate this and will acquit the Indian Government and Legislature of any desire to use their newly conferred liberty of action to injure the country which only a year ago conferred that liberty upon them."[1]

In view of the advantage which was thus to be gained by the weaving and spinning mills, the concession of the free import of machinery and stores required for use in these mills was withdrawn, and most of such articles were made liable to duty at 2½ per cent.

The second customs measure proposed by the Finance Member was the levy on matches of a specific import duty of 12 annas per gross boxes in place of the *ad valorem* duty of 7½ per cent. His third proposal was an increase of duty on liquors. The fourth measure was the raising of the general *ad valorem* duty of 7½ per cent. to 20 per cent. in the case of certain articles of luxury, such as motor cars, motor cycles and tyres (excluding lorries), silk piece-goods, fireworks, umbrellas, clocks and watches, musical instruments, cinematograph films, etc. Fifthly, the import duty on foreign sugar was proposed to be raised from 10 to 15 per cent. The Finance Member's last tariff proposal was that duties on tobacco, other than manufactured, be raised to 50 per cent.

While strong objection was taken to the other proposals for taxation, almost all the tarriff proposals were accepted by the Legislature.[2]

[1] Financial Statement, 1921-22.

[2] It should be noted that the composition, powers, and responsibility of the Indian Legislature were different at this time from what they had been a few months before.

The action of the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature gave rise to much consternation in Lancashire. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce appointed a deputation to wait upon Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, who, in reply, referred to the opinion of the Parliamentary Joint Committee and Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, and said : "After that Report by an authoritative Committee of both Houses and Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it is absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which, I believe, was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give to the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India."[1]

In October, the Government of India announced the appointment of a Fiscal Commission, with Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola as Chairman, "to examine with reference to all interests concerned, the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference and to make recommendations."

During the financial year which closed on the 31st March last, the revenue of the Government fell short of their expectations, while the expenditure largely exceeded the estimates. And another large deficit was expected to occur in the current year. The Finance Member, being unwilling to budget for a deficit, made various proposals for increasing the revenue, and his first thoughts naturally turned towards the customs. In view of the fact that a Fiscal Commission was sitting, he would have preferred to await the decisions of that body before proposing any further alteration of the tariff. But the needs of revenue

[1] Addressing the Labour members of the Deputation, Mr. Montagu said that the Labour Party gave valuable support to the passage of the Bill but they always protested that they took it because they could not get anything better—that they wanted more liberty for India, that the time had come to concede to her, if not complete self-government, something very near it. Now when despite the limitations of the Bill you concede to her the right to mould her own fiscal destinies, a section of the Labour Party feels that those rights and liberties which she has achieved are even too large for the well-being of the interests that they are here to represent to-day.—*The Times, 28th March*, 1921.

were urgent, and there was no escaping the conclusion that "the pressure of financial necessity must in any case inevitably involve the raising of our customs duties, purely for revenue purposes, irrespective of what the effect may be in the case of any particular tariff-head in the direction of protection, Imperial Preference, or free trade." Sir Malcolm Hailey was also careful to add that he had endeavoured to limit his proposals in such a way "as not to involve any important change of principle in the existing fiscal arrangements."[1]

The proposals of the Finance Member were the following: to raise the general import duty on all articles including cotton goods to 15 per cent.; to increase the cotton excise duty from 3½ to 7½ per cent.; to raise the duty .on machinery, iron and steel to 10 per cent.; to increase the duty on foreign sugar to 25 per cent.; to double the duty on matches; to increase the duty on petroleum; to increase the salt tax from Rs. 1¼ to Rs. 2½ a maund; to levy a duty of 4 per cent. on imported yarn; to raise the duties on luxuries to 30 per cent.; and lastly, to enhance the duties on alcoholic liquors, except wines, by approximately 20 per cent. The Finance Member estimated that the total of revenue obtainable from the proposed increases in customs would amount to 14,90 lakhs.[1]

Some of the proposals of the Finance Member did not find favour with the Indian Legislature. The two most important modifications introduced into the budget both related to cotton goods. The Legislative Assembly refused to give its sanction to the increase in the excise duty on cotton manufactures, and, on the motion of Mr. Rhodes, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the import duty on cotton goods was left at 11 per cent.[2] A few days later, that is to say, on the 29th

[1] Financial Statement, March, 1922.

[2] *Ibid.*

[2] The proposals for the enhancement of the salt tax and the duty on kerosine were also objected to. *Vide* Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly, March, 1922.

March, 1922, a deputation of Members of Parliament and others representing cotton textile interests headed by Sir John Randles, M.P., was received at the India Office by the Secretary of State, and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India. Lord Peel welcomed the deputation, but was obliged to leave the meeting in consequence of a sudden Cabinet engagement. He asked Lord Winterton to take charge of the proceedings in his absence.

The speakers on behalf of the deputation were Mr. Waddington, M.P., Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., Sir William Barton, M.P., and Sir Wm. Ryland Adkins, M.P. Representations were made that the terms of the convention recommended by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that the Government of India acting in agreement with the Legislature should be conceded the same fiscal autonomy as is possessed by the Dominions, travelled beyond the intentions of the Government of India Act of 1919, to which alone Parliament was committed. It was further argued that the indigenous cotton industry of India had been able to make headway against competition even in the days when the import duty on cotton was balanced by a countervailing excise duty of the same amount and therefore the industry itself did not stand in any need of protection. It was also stated that whereas Indian politicians of all classes were admittedly protectionist, the cotton duties were bound seriously to affect the poorest class of the population. The suggestion was made that the revenue derived from the cotton import and excise duties would be equally secured if the import duty were lowered from 11 per cent. to 6 per cent. and the excise duty raised from 3½ per cent. to 6 per cent. In general it was urged that the Government should recognise the grave dissatisfaction caused in Lancashire by the suspicion that the Indian cotton duties were dictated by a clique of wealthy mill-owners in India; and that the Government should ensure that a true balance was held between all parties

interested and should undertake that the representations made to them should receive their close attention in co-operation with the Government of India.

Lord Winterton replying on behalf of the Secretary of State indicated as regards the convention recommended by the Joint Select Committee that ultimate self-government must contain fiscal autonomy as an essential feature, and that, therefore, if and when, as was hoped, India attained self-government, the right of fiscal autonomy must then be unreservedly conceded. He expressed his wish, however, not to press this argument too closely for the moment, and he assured the deputation that there was no doubt that the ultimate responsibility for India's financial measures must in present circumstances rest with the Secretary of State.[1] He was not in a position to promise definitely that the Secretary of State would undertake to re-examine the whole position on the lines suggested by the deputation; but he expressed his full agreement with the view that close co-operation between the Home Government and the Government of India in this matter was essential in the interests of both countries, and he promised that the fullest consideration should be given to the representations made, which he would charge himself with conveying to the Secretary of State.[2]

The opinion expressed by Lord Winterton on behalf of the present Secretary of State for India seems to indicate a significant change in the attitude of the British Government towards India on this important question. Lord Winterton's words are in direct contrast with the clear

[1] Lord Winterton pointed out that the actual position as regards cotton import and excise duties had by virtue of the vote in the Indian Legislative Assembly been left as it was twelve months ago, viz., the figure of the import duty remained at 11 per cent., and that of the excise duty at 3½ per cent. He added that in one respect the British cotton trade was better off than other trades, since the general import duty had been raised in the recent Indian budget from 11 per cent., to 15 per cent. whereas by the vote of the Indian Legislative Assembly the import duty on cotton had been left at its former figure.

[2] Report published in the *Englishman*, April, 1922.

and emphatic language in which Mr. Montagu defined the constitutional position of India in respect of her tariff. And no wonder that this change of attitude has given rise to a keen and intense feeling of dissatisfaction among all classes of people in the country. It is, however, to be earnestly hoped, in the interests of the future good relations between India and England, that no attempt will be made to go back upon the definite assurance of fiscal freedom which was given by a responsible Parliamentary Committee and endorsed by the King's responsible Ministers.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

THE GUIDING LIGHT

Peace! Peace! And stay the torrent of those tears;
Weeping ne'er yet hath moved unpitying Fate.
The inmost secret of the stricken Heart—
Its holiest treasure—is its voiceless woe!
Across the pure still azure of the Soul,
Sorrow and Joy, like summer-fleecelets flit,
Chasing each other, casting lights and shades,—
Here scattering gladness, there a passing shower.
A Changing Scene—full of surprises—Life!
Aglow to-day; to-morrow fading fast;
A Dream—naught else—veiled in deluding mists.
'Tis better so! Ne'er draw that veil aside!
And should, O Saif, thy soul e'er yearn for Light,
Seek it *within thee*! There alone it shines—
A never-failing, ever-guiding Light!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

A GERMAN APPRECIATION OF DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[By Dr. Friedrich Düsel : Translated from the August (1921) Number of *Westermanns Monatshefte.*]

There is an ancient law which governs all human affairs. In times of a great crisis men feel an overpowering impulse to fly as far as possible from the burning presence; there is no epoch when the door of a civilisation opens so freely to everything that is foreign and distant as an epoch when the heavy hand of Fate knocks at the gate. When the storms of the War of Liberty shook the lands and peoples of Germany, storms which were the accompaniments of a great national movement, a movement which was mistrusted and discouraged by those who were growing old and who were despairing of the then existing conditions : it was at that time that Goethe-Hatem sang in the " Hegire " of the West-Eastern Diwan :

> " North and West and South are quaking,
> Thrones are crumbling, Empires shaking :
> Flee from here to eastern lands where Sages
> Breathed a purer air in distant ages.

That is the mood, the tune which, hundred and seven years later, is expressed and intoned by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. When eight years ago his name reached our ears for the first time, on the occasion of the Nobel Prize being awarded to the poet and philosopher of Bengal, the result was hardly more than a passing sensation, and the excitement caused by the Great War soon caused the event to be nearly forgotten. But now, when, overpowered by our enemies and crushed by internal strife, Germany lies

prostrate and is longing to discover the healing waters which will restore her health and innate strength, her children would not be the spiritual grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Winkelmann and Goethe, if they did not seek their safety in a flight from what is their very own inheritance. And now we awaken to realise the glorious achievements of the Prophet from the far East; now we begin to appreciate the Indian poet whose merits we only dimly realised in 1913. Inner and outer circumstances have contributed to this realisation. Rabindranath Tagore celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his birthday in the spring of 1921; he has visited German towns, and his visit resembled a triumphal procession, and he must have noticed in Germany tendencies similar to those which he, in his own country, is successfully endeavouring to bring to fruition. When thinking of Rabindranath, we are reminded of the "School of Wisdom" founded by Count Keyserling in Darmstadt, undoubtedly stimulated thereto by oriental studies. In the meantime the master-pieces of the Indian author have been translated into German and have been widely read by an appreciative public. The final impulse to this Tagore movement has been imparted by a physical and psychological need grounded in the sick and sickly feeling created by the so-called peace. Germans, body and soul, are filled with a deep longing after rest, contemplation, introspection; the best of them feel an ardent desire to live once more in peace, in solitude and in intimate communion with men of a similar mind, after having lived through years of violent emotions and exertions. This new—or more correctly—old-spirit is bound to form a bond between Germany and the Orient.

A picture of the outer life and the inner spirit of Rabindranath Tagore has been already drawn by Paul Cremer in the March number of 1914. Since then much more has become known of the Indian poet. We now know that in his own country he is celebrated as a real national poet and

is loved as a spiritual guide of his own people. In the course of thirty-four years he has published an immense number of poems, dramas, stories, novels, treatises, critical and historical studies, in books as well as periodicals and he has taken a prominent part in the war against social evils and for the regeneration of India. Among his practical creation one of the most important is the boys' school at Santiniketan near Bolpur, where the pupils, far from the maddening crowd, become imbued with Indian piety and yet make the acquaintance-ship with what is best in Western culture. A member of an old family of Brahmins, a member therefore of the spiritual aristocracy of India, the son of a father revered as a *Maharsi*, whose name is indissolubly connected with the history of the great Indian monotheistic movement—Rabindranath Tagore by his very descent is the heir to the indigenous culture with all its creative forces and many-sided achievements in religion and philosophy, music and art, history and mythology, philology and critique, education and social reform.

But his main achievement among his many-sided activities lies in the province of poetry. Rabindranath is first and foremost a poet, even when he philosophizes and lectures, a poet even in his practical activities and his daily life.

Although he has cultivated every branch of poetry, the very kernel of the fruit of his intellectual activity is a heart which feeds and vivifies all the members of the whole body of his creations; this heart is constituted by his lyric poems, Rabindranath is a singer of songs, a singer of his own people, in the most original and the most perfect sense a singer, as singers are only known in oriental lands. His poems, however perfect from the standpoint of pure art, are sung and recited among the people of Bengal in town and village, at work and when resting from work in the home and at festive occasions. Such a result is only possible, if poetical creation makes itself free from personal feelings and personal experiences and draws its inspiration from the realisation of what is superpersonal

and what is remote from the complexities of present-day civilisation and recognises the importance of what is simple and original. The village, nature, human life, including its beginning and its end, love and children's happiness, the simple joys provided by Nature, love of the Mother Country, longing for a more perfect life and the certainty of the existence of a loving heavenly father: all these supply subjects to the great poet. It is this combination of the natural, the eternally young, the intensely human which opens the door to our heart, and the breath of India, which, like a gentle breeze filled with sweet scents, permeates the poems of the great Indian and is felt even though translations can only be feeble reflexions of the original. Rabindranath has himself translated a selection of his religious poems into English and has chosen for the purpose the form of simple verse. We refer to his *Gitanjali*, the first of Tagore's works translated into a European language. A number of his other poems have been since translated into German. They all resemble each other in the fact that their highest beauty does not lie in their formal perfection, but in their moral and cultural value, in their being free from dogmatic fetters, free from the fetters of rites and religious traditions, in their being the sounds uttered by a loving mother, the sounds only to be heard in the garden harbouring the spirits of innocent humanity.

But the volumes containing the lyrical outpourings of Rabindranath do not permit you to forget that the poet is also a profound teacher of Ethics and a great prophet. As a bearer of a message he has appeared before the occidental world in a series of lectures, which he has delivered in English at American Universities before the Great War and which now, under the title of *Sadhana*, have been published in German translation. Tagore, in these lectures, explains his views on the relations of the Individual to the Universe, on the consciousness of the Soul, on the problem of Self and of Evil, on Self-realisation in Love and in Action, on the realisation of the

Beautiful and the Infinite, on the conception of a God without form and image, a conception contrary to that of the mass of his people. He embraces his God with all the force and strength of personal love and is united to him in living communion. To him God is not only the omnipotent ruler in Heaven, but still more the master who has appointed him to a definite place and in whose work he participates as the work of a friend and comrade whom he feels close and ever present, whether it is in the stillness of a sabbath, or when at work, whether in the dust of the working day or the crowd of the market place.

May Evil pretend to be overpowerful, as Germany has occasion to experience at present, the optimism of the Indian poet, strong in faith and full of hope, cannot be shaken. He knows that Evil is only Good gone astray and exists only to prepare the final victory of the Perfect Good. Good is Love. It is because possessed of such faith that the practical activity of Rabindranath is directed towards a union of all mankind, particularly towards the creation of a spiritual community of Asia and Europe, whose evolution has proceeded along very different paths and who, for this very reason, depend on each other for further development. The East has immersed itself more and more exclusively into the inner world of the soul and has consequently neglected to secure to itself its proper share of worldly goods and dominance over the Earth; it has remained behind Europe in Science and Technique, in Economics and Social Order. On the other hand, the West has equally one-sidedly directed its efforts to the conquest of nature and has consequently allowed its soul to become stunted in growth. This externisation and mechanization of life has led to the catastrophe of the World War, and the West will do well to listen to the message of the East.

The best among the German people are quite prepared to listen to, and to examine the message of the Indian poet. To listen to this message is the duty of all who are heir to the

faith in spiritual cosmopolitanism, which is a part and parcel of the real German character and has been consecrated by great minds, the creators of German culture and civilisation, though Germany has sometimes suffered by the excesses of a too pronounced cosmopolitanism. Germany owes it to the Indian prophet to ponder carefully over his message, the message of a man who understands and appreciates the essence of German civilisation. Has he not lately conceived the courageous and noble plan to found in his Santiniketan an international university where India and Germany, among others, are to play a prominent part in the bringing together of Orient and Occident? Both the Indian and German nations are bound together by innate idealism, and both nations have strong reasons to stand together to form a rampart against the forces of coarse materialism. Such community in fundamental ideas must, however, not make either nation abandon its very own characteristics, for neither deedless passivity nor feverish activity can lead to the real goal, and both the meditative and the active tendencies of the mind must be cultivated.

P. Brühl

THE INDUS

From old tradition that it flowed due south from north to the age-long idea that it entered the sea in the Gulf of Cambay,[1] from its legendary inclusion in the rivers that watered Eden to its mythical merging in a circumambient sea. From the days of Skylax and Nearchus when to descend its stream was to approach the mystery of an incomprehended vastness, to the last adventure of Burnes who with the spirit of the past travelled ahead of his baggage in impatient fret to

[1] This celebrated river was once supposed to have flowed in nearly a direct south line from its source into the ocean ' Pottinger. In almost all the Mapps which hitherto I have seen the River Indus is always described falling into the Sea at the inmost recess of the Gulph of Cambaia; which is a grievous error and as wide from truth as the whole Country of Guzerat is broad (and is no narrow one) for Indus which is discharged into the sea with two very large mouths sufficiently distant, runs not on the East of Guzerat, as it should do if it entered into the sea by the Gulph of Cambaia, but rather on the West, and so far from the Gulph of Cambaia that all Guzerat and perhaps some other countries lye between.'—*Pietre Della Valle, 1623.*

'I have one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our maps both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this Country. First the famous River Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is; Lahor stands upon Indus, from whence to Sinde it is navigable, to Cambaya not so.'—Thos. Roe to Lord Carew, 1615.

Idem to the East India Co., 24 Nov. 1615.

'I will observe that the famous river Indus doth not poure himself into the Sea by the bay of Cambaya but far westward at Sindu. For.....it is navigable to Syndu; to Cambaya not, but certayne bye-streams begotten by the seasons of rayne make mightie inundations which have cherished the error.'—Idem to Lord Bishop of Canterbury. 29 Jan. 1615.

Vid also Sir Thos. Herbert: 'Not many leagues from Surat and near the Cambayan gulf is Diu.....at the entrance into the Persian Gulf.....confined by Gedrosia.. ...a stream or arm of the Indus encompasses her so that she becomes a peninsula.'

'The next maritime Country to Sindy is Guzerat. The Indus makes it an island by a branch that runs into the Sea at the City of Cambaya.'—A New Account of the East Indies—Capt. A. Hamilton.

Vide also the Second Borgian map drawnsup by Diego Ribero in 1529 to illustrate the partition of the newly discovered regions of the world between Spain and Portugal. The Indus therein is made to flow direct south to its junction with the sea in the gulf of Cambay.

view the classic stream. From days when in legend its source was in the Euphrates or the Nile,[1] to time when Tod in picturesque and swollen untruth pictured it a thread of blue water meandering along a hinterland of desert. Even from these to the present hour when its life course ends upon a lone forgotten coast, in a scene of moribund decay, the great river of Sind has had a chequered way.

Sanctified by many a hoary legend of miraculous power, here at Uchch stayed in its advance by the brick of Khwaja Khizr more effectively than any chair of Canute stopped the incoming tide; here at Alor to save a threatened maid drawn with its burden of ships from out of one course into another; identified again with Sarasvati the purifier of celestial origin; withal its title Darya Shah the title of a king. Its old courses marked with many a name of village and town, its present going one almost throughout the valley a passing from silence into silence until it reaches oblivion in the sea; its course ever westering, its delta ever extending, its path strewn with the litter and ruin of abandoned cities whose lineage is beyond all tracing. The capitals of old were its associates; far-famed emporia the companions of its advancing delta—Patala, Bahmanabad, Alor, Mansura, Tatha the first; Barbarei, Debal, Lahribandar among the second; of these not one with a lifeline clear. And the delta with its memories of the wild hopes of Alexander, reminiscences of Tatha in its prime and the spacious days of the Moguls; a land of adventure to Persian, Greek and Briton alike, now lies divorced from the life of the valley the measure of which is Karachi alien in spirit, alien in origin from its deltaic predecessors as capital or port. To-day there is something anomalous in the apparent sovereignty of the King River as it flows through the heart of

[1] Duarte Barbosa says the Indus proceeds from the Euphrates. Al Masudi and Alberuni both correct the belief represented by Al Jahiz that the Indus flowed from the Nile.

the valley in studied neglect, its sole bond of continuity with its past its name.

The enthusiasm of a Western idealism for the reputed memorials of ancient Greece has touched well nigh with sacramental touch the name of Sind's great river, and thrown over the history of the Indus a veil that conceals its realities. In the unexamined continuity of its name has been found assurance that the river's actual course has always been much as it is, and to such assumed permanence of direction Sind owes a mass of historical errors written with the gravest sincerity in contemplation of a great Idea. To the influence of an abiding name Sind owes the sweet unreason and poetic insobriety of the Alexandrian tradition, that has given to the chief settlements of to-day a legacy from Greece that they will surrender henceforth with reluctance, and to the reverence for the glory that was Greece and to its great control it owes the failure to recognise an historic inheritance from the Persian.

To Greece [1] is usually credited a modification of the Sanskrit 'Sindhu' that has given a name to a river, and to a peninsular continent; it is forgotten that the name Indus was

[1] Vid Raverty. The Mihran of Sind: J. R. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1892, p. 156, n. 3. '.....the name Indus was and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanised by the Greeks out of Sindhu or they may have called it the Indus as being the river separating Hind from Iran-i-Zamin.....and not intending it to be understood that Indus was the proper name of the river.'

Tod thought Sindhu a purely Tartar or Scythic name.

Cp. Max Muller. India. Sindhu probably meant originally the divider from 'sidh' to keep off. 'Even the Greeks called it Indos, the people Indoi, hearing first of India through the Persians. The neighbouring tribes who spoke Iranic languages all pronounced, like the Persians the 's' as an 'h.' Sindhu became Hindhu (Hidhu) and as H's were dropped even at that early time, Hindhu became Indu. cp. Pliny 'Indus incol is Sindus appellatus.'

Now 'the Sanskrit.....is Sindhu, not Hindu from which the word Indus has come.....It is the ancient Iranians, the followers of the creed of Zoroaster, who first spoke of the river as Hindu and called the country as Hapta-Hindu. ...India the western or the European name of the country was first taken up by the Greeks from the Iranians who called it Hindu.'.....the old Hebrew word for India is Hoddu. The Hebrew form Hoddu is said to be contracted from Hondu, another form of Hindu, the Avestaic name of the Indus or the Sindhu. J. Bom. Br. Royal Asiatic Soc., 1916-17, Vol. xxiv, No. 3, Art. xvi.

really taken from the Persians by the Greeks, and by them passed on to the Romans who gave it with fresh sanction to the western world; that 'Indus' in fine is not a Hellenisation of 'Sindhu' but a Persian title denuded of its aspirate.

It remains true none the less that though in origin an Oriental name, it is because the Greeks took it to themselves that it maintained in European use its supremacy over many another transliteration of local names. Whilst the Hindu persisted in calling the river 'Sindhu,' whilst the Mahomedan historian and geographer spoke of the river of Sind and its affluents as the Mihran, the Ab-I-Sind, Aba-Sind or Nil Ab, and whilst again the Chinese [1] in obvious imitation spoke of the Sinto'u and Mila'n the European, when after the break with classic days his interest was again turned East, followed the example of the Greek. And this example came then to him with a greater appeal as it came with the sanction of the great Ptolemy whose ideas survived long with many an anachronism.

Yet if the name Indus with its double sanction has prevailed, it has not done so without some conflict with names that are feeble transliterations of the Hindu and Mahomedan equivalents The 'Sindu' of Cosmas, of Sir Thomas Roe, Thomas Kerridge and Fryer, and the 'Sindus' so common a feature of the reports of the East India Company's servants seem transliterations of the Hindu name. Sind, Sindy, Sindeh, Sinde that are equally generally used as names for the Indus even up to Rennell's Memoir of 1793 A.D. are more probably due to elision of the Persian 'izafat' from the title Ab-I-Sind in a manner similar to its omission in translations [2] of the last century. Whether modifications however of the Hindu or of the Mahomedan titles such names are the usual rendering in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

[1] Vid. Hirt Rockill. Chau-Ju-Kua. Itinerary of Kia Tan compiled 785-805 A. D.

[2] Op. the translations of Elliott and Lee in which Ab-I-Sind becomes 'the river Sind' or 'the Sinde.' Van Linschoten remarks that the 'Portingals have given the river the name of the land.'

of the name of Sind's river, and the title Indus is almost a literary memory save in this transformed way. Rennell's Memoir emphasises the distinction between these names and that of Indus by giving the former as names generally adopted by 'Asiatics' in contrast to that adopted by Europeans, thus enforcing a separation in origin of nomenclature that does not really exist. When the Greeks followed the Persians in the Indus valley, even as they accepted from them the Brahmanical wonder tales of mythology, so they took an oriental title of the river; when the Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries again descended upon the valley they accepted in a similar way the oriental titles that they found in use, and in their own way attempted to copy them. And the promise of these centuries was considerable that the Persian name for the river would be lost in the names deduced from the current Hindu and Mahomedan titles.[1]

The survival of the name Indus is in fact a facile illustration of the strength of literary tradition. Whilst the reports of the Company's factors, presidents and agents almost invariably contain modifications of the names still used in their time by the Hindu and Mahomedan there is a tendency for the traveller more independently to retain the title Indus. In the seventeenth century there is side by side with a mass of record that threatens to perpetuate a new title for the river, and one more closely resembling Sindhu or Ab-I-Sind than does the word Indus, a mass of literature that retains in classical imitation the use not merely of Indus but of other one-time stock of the geographer. The influence of Ptolemy after the Renaissance militates against change and preserves a title which might otherwise have been lost.

With the nineteenth century opens the last chapter in the history of the name 'Indus.' The passing of Sind under the

[1] The earliest instructions given by the East India Company for the exploration of the Indus delta (1610 A.D.) refer to the river Sindus or Saree; the record of the first voyage made to Sind by the Company's agents in 1613 alludes to the river Zinde.

control of the British was in academic wise a reconquest of the valley by the Greeks, and in the face of the unbridled enthusiasm for the tradition of Greece in Asia that characterised the nineteenth century the title hallowed by the Greeks received yet another sanction which promises to be its last. Out of the many oriental names of the river the Greeks transmitted to the Romans one that the Persians, conquerors of the Indus valley, had given it, the authority of the great Ptolemy had preserved it in centuries when other oriental titles had an influence more direct, and a militant enthusiasm that had more faith than logic revived in the nineteenth century its insidious appeal. Coloured almost from its beginning by its connection with Alexander, and its origin forgotten, it was a literary axiom to regard it as a naming by the Greeks, as something in short European in contrast to the confusion of Eastern titles, and in the belief that it was a European name Europe took it in the last century.

In the history of a name there are chance moments that forecast its future greatness, and even the retirement and self-immolation of Sind have been impotent to prevent the spread of the name of its river to two hemispheres. Parochial as is its record, secluded as the valley has remained for centuries from the larger history of the peninsula, its river has yet given its name to India and its detachment is preserved in the 'Indies' of the east and of the west. From the naming of the Indus valley India by the Iranians to the similar naming of the whole peninsula is but a sequence of time; to the chance that the first Arab invasions reached little beyond the limits of the valley is due the contrast of Sind and Hind that remained a literary distinction long after its *raison d' être* had ceased to be. The tradition that made the Indus a boundary between Irania and Hind; that made it again to the Greeks one of the natural boundaries of India; that occasioned the Arab separation of Sind and Hind; that was the bound of one of the three Indias of Nicolo de

Conti [1] in this in part is the origin of the multiple Indias that have left a memory in the 'Indies' of to-day.

A confusion of Africa with India is as old as the Romans. It reveals itself in the India Minor of Matthew Paris, in the Middle India of Marco Polo and Benjamin of Tudela, in the India Tertia of Jordanus and in the never-ending controversy of centuries as to the location in mid-Asia or Abyssinia of Presbyter John, the half mythical oriental ruler of Christians. Our 'Indies' of to-day are reminiscent of this ancient confusion but they are even more reminiscent of an actual division of the Indian peninsula by the Indus. And thus by a chain of circumstances subsequent to its decline, a name given by an imperial race to the boundary river of its empire, became the sign through which a local river bequeathed its name to two hemispheres.

The sovereignty of the King River is indeed anomalous. Without the sanctity of the Ganges, the Tapti or the Nerbuda though it possess its Khwajah Khizr and its Daryapantis; royal but not holy. Its capricious wanderings forbidding the settlements that have crowded with cities and shrines the banks of India's great rivers, and dooming it in large to unaccompanied solitude. To the west a stream of ill known parts long after the Ganges had become a familiar association withal the partner of a valley that serve as a portal to India's immigrants and conquerors has played an obscure role, the Indus has yet by the accidents of fortune and position acquired an imperial sway. And it is not the least strange aspect of this sovereignty that the river, its source, its delta and even its course, should have remained the subject of wildest error for centuries after its name had been given to a greater whole; that the ages that found 'Indies' in the West or sought them by the North West Passage should still bring the delta of the Indus to the Gulf of Cambay, and place one of its most ancient parts in Mekran.

J. ABBOTT

[1] The last division on the old lines was made by the treaty of 1739 between the Emperor of Delhi Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah.

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT II

SCENE IV

[*Scene* : *St. Thomas' Tent, Naranakal.* Curtain rises during the singing of the following hymn. Christians assembled ; St. Thomas, Xanthippus a converted *Rajah*, and Habban.]

Hymn

Father for Thy children caring,
All in love and knowledge bearing,
Shield our souls, by grace preparing
For the heavenly Land.

Saviour dear, whose life-blood bought us
Shepherd who from far has sought us,
Safely to thy fold hast brought us,
Keep us in Thy hand.

Holy Spirit, who hast sealed us,
With thy tender fires annealed us,
And from every wound hast healed us,
In our spirits shine.

In Thy Faith unswerving hold us,
In our Master's pattern mould us,
In thy Presence sweet enfold us,
Trinity Divine.

St. Thomas (*praying*)—

O Father, of these children gathered in
Do Thou Thyself the gracious Guardian be.
From every ill temptation shielding them,
That none whose hand is set unto the plough
Look back, or tarry on his heavenward way,
Or fail of his eternal recompense.

To those who make surrender at Thy call
Give faith to hold them steadfast in Thy Truth,
And hope that knows it shall not be ashamed,
And love that shrinks not from the sacrifice
Of home and kindred. When the trial comes,
And wolves draw nigh Thy flock to rend and slay,
Our lips embolden to confess Thy Name
In stripes, in torment, or imprisonment—
And be beside us at the hour of death
For His dear sake, who died that we might live.

(*Addressing Christians*)

Children beloved, who are my joy and crown,
I pray for you the grace of Constancy,
Lest aught befall us that may take away
The hand that guides, the shepherd from the sheep.
The King's return to Narankot is fraught
With danger to my life—be not afraid!
Should I be taken, for your shepherding
Look to Xanthippus here, our well beloved,
On whom an unction of the Holy One
Is newly fallen for his priestly charge.
Possess your souls in patience and in prayer.

(*Enter Magudani—rushes forward and throws herself at St. Thomas' feet.*)

Magudani—

O stay not, save thyself, *Mahatmaji*!
The King hath called to arms the royal guard—
E'en now they march to seize thee. Linger not

St. Thomas—

Is aught of danger threatened to my flock?

Magudani—

Belike—I know not. He was sore enraged.
And swore to have thy head ere set of sun,
Thine and the merchantman's who brought thee here.

St. Thomas—

Then for the safety of these little ones
Be first our counsel. To Xanthippus' house
With haste repairing, find a shelter there.
God's peace be with you, till we meet again—
In Paradise, if not in Narankot.

Xanthippus—

O great Apostle, who hast lit my lamp,
I leave thee only that its rays may fall
On paths of safety for thy flock to tread.

(Exeunt Xanthippus and Christians).

St. Thomas—

Next, faithful Habban, is our care for thee.
Hence, and make good thy flight from Narankot.

Habban—

'Tis not in Habban to desert his friend.
In all thy dangers bid me to a share,
But spare me this, the shame of flying them.

St. Thomas—

Nay, Habban, 'twere ill done to lose thy head
Ere to baptismal waters it be bowed;
And thou canst serve me better by thy flight.
Take ship and carry to Jerusalem,
Unto the Church my letter of farewell.

See, now I write it—also one to place
Into the hands of Mary Magdalene.

(*St Thomas writes—Magudani anxiously peering through the tent door. While he is writing, the first stanza of the farewell lyric from Act I may be musically rendered.*)

Homeland and hills of mine
Steeped in the sunset's glow,
Regrets more sweet than ye enshrine
No exile's heart can know.

St. Thomas (*giving letters to Habban*)—

God have thee in his keeping, friend. Farewell;

(*Habban rises, kisses the saint's hand, then exit*)

Magudani—

O hasten, *Swami*, for the love of God.

St. Thomas—

My daughter, wherefore? None can take my life
Until Christ summon me. His will is mine.

Magudani—

Yet e'en thy Lord would not in Jewry walk
When the Jews sought to kill him. Is thy life
Though in thine eyes a clog to cast away,
Not to thy converts dear above their own?
And wilt thou not regard it for their sake?

St. Thomas—

'Twere best regarded for their sake laid down.
Howbei't, my daughter, lest by ling'ring here
Thine own be dangered, we will get us hence.

(*They go to the tent door, Magudani leading the way. She throws back the door curtains—Ram Chandra is discovered with soldiers of the royal guard.*)

Ram Chandra (*advancing*)—

Salaam Mahatmaji! 'Tis hardly fit
Thou go abroad without a royal guard
To honour thy procession, though it be
Not to a palace of thy workmanship
But to the dungeon of thy just deserts.
Guards, seize the traitor. Bind him hand and foot,
Lest by his magic he elude us yet.
(*Guards seize and bind St. Thomas.*)
There should have been some other birds aperch
Within this pretty dove-cote. For their flight
It seems, fair lady, credit lies with thee.
The King may take it kindly that his guest
Repays his royal hospitality
With the abetting of his enemies!
Likewise[1] Mahadevan of Mailepur
May smile approval on the unenvied fame
Of Magudani, his kinswoman, found
Alone with a Jewish *Yogi* in his tent!

St. Thomas—

Were but my right hand free, thou devil's own,
'T would smile that lie upon thy slandering lips!

Ram Chandra—

A lie? then others have been here of late.
See that his cords be tighter. Search the tent;
And take this wanton with him in arrest
Then to Xanthippus' house, and search that too—
Ye gods, what names these Christians give themselves!

[1] Mahadevan, in its corrupted form Mazdeus—great divinity!

Scene V

[*As before*—Outside the King's residence, Narankot. Moonlight.]

(*Enter Treptia and Gad.*)

Gad—

How good it is to leave the banquet hall,
The flare of torches and the noise of tongues
For the blest quiet of these silvered walks!

Treptia—

Ay, though unquiet be the soul with fears,
Here one can think, and plan and cast about
For means to save our loved ones from their fate.

Gad—

Can fate be thwarted? All the powers of evil
Have rallied to Ram Chandra's side to-day,
And to the letter wrought their agent's will.
The blest Apostle in a dungeon lies,
And scores of his disciples share his plight
From every corner of the city haled.
Xanthippus has been wounded, and rough hands
Upon a Princess and a royal guest
Have laid such insult, we shall find ere long
About our ears the hosts of Mailepur.
Ah, yonder comes the King, and in his ear
That loathsome Brahmin still his evil pours.

(*The Queen and Gad retire into shadow—Gondophares and Ram Chandra approach from verandah.*)

Ram Chandra—

Once and for all, thou must this noxious weed
Tear from its roots and cast upon the fire.
Let not the King by kindness led astray,
Fail in his duty to his country's gods.

Gondophares—

Fear not, the root shall perish, we have sworn it.
We will despatch an executioner
To bring the head of Thomas to our feet.

Ram Chandra—

The King is pious, but withal too kind!

Gondophares—

Too kind? What wouldst thou have, then, more than this?

Ram Chandra—

Much more, divine one. As the offence has been
Public, so public be its expiation,
The proud magician must be flayed alive,
Then burnt to ashes in the market-place—
Xanthippus likewise—for a sacrifice
Well pleasing unto *Kali*, who thereat
Will turn her wrath aside from Narankot.
The others, let them all be sold for slaves
From Magudani downwards. I myself
Will bid high prices in the market-place.

Gondophares—

In truth, thy counsel, Brahmin, likes me not,
Methinks it verges on severity.

Treptia (*stepping forward*)—

O Gondophares, what a fool thou art!
For though thou wert a hundred times a King,
To call thee fool, I claim wife's privilege!
Else little privilege dost thou afford
Thy rightful queen, to whom since thy return
Thou scarce a thought hast given—Otherwise
A godlier counsel had controlled thy mind,
And kinglier action crowned thee. But instead,
Leaning on Chandra, from his evil heart

Hast to thine own drawn poison, bearing fruit
In deadly nightshade of unhallowed deeds.
Know'st thou what madness thou hast wrought to-day?
I will remind thee. Into dungeons vile
Scores of thy loyal subjects thou hast thrust
For no offence but that of honouring
The highest when they see it. More than this,
Under thy very eyes thou sufferest
To a royal guest a gross indignity,
Imperilling the safety of thy realm
When Mailepur on vengeance sets her mind.
And now, as if it were a little thing,
Thou talkest of beheading, nay, dost make
But faint demur at flaying and burning live
Two holy men, whose feet are beautiful
With golden messages, and shod with peace:
Whose hands, e'er since they came to Narankot,
Have scattered blessings, wheresoe'er they went;
Ask of the hundreds, once with sickness scourged
Halt, lepers, maimed and blind, by these made whole,
Straightened and cleansed and seeing. Ask the poor,
The naked clothed, the hungry and homeless fed.
Did they thy gold make use of? 'Twas well spent—
Thy people's trust to their advantage turned!
Should it have built a palace for thyself?
What if it have? One made withouten hands,
Of which thou yet mayst worthy prove thyself
By mercy that sets firm the throne of Kings!

Gondophares—

Yet can I never hope to prove myself
Worthy so great a queen! (*Kisses her hand.*)

Treptia (*falling on her knees*)—

O Gondophares,
In thy true greatness I would merge myself,

Contented but thine handmaid to abide,
If thou wouldst pardon those for whom I plead.

Gad (*also falling on his knees*)—

Grant pardon, noble brother! royal sire!
Ah, my breath fails me! What is this o'ercomes
My senses, chills my heart and blurs my sight?
My strength is leaving me—the pain, the pain!

(*Falls forward on his face—Gondophares and Treptia, who has risen, rush towards him.*)

Gondophares—

Quick! a physician! Gods! 'twill be too late.
His heart is failing. O my Brother Gad!

(*Enter attendants, including the mute, Tulsi.*)

Ram Chandra—

Sire, he is dying. Lay him on his back—
And place this lighted taper in his hand
To guide him in the darkness where he goes.

Gad—

O, pardon, Christ, and cast not out my soul!
Into Thy hands.....I die confessing Thee.....
Is Magudani there?.....All, all is dark.....
The Apostle would baptize me. 'Twas his wish.
Yet as I am receive me, gentle Christ!

Treptia (*weeping*)—

O all too dear one, go not yet away!
This may not be—Sweet Christ, be merciful!

Gad—

Did the King pardon?.....Ah, she played the Queen.

Gondophares—

O brother, doubt it not.

Treptia-

He did, he did!

Gad-

The King has pardoned……He has pardoned me!

(*Apparently dies.*)

Ram Chandra—

The soul of Gad is gathered to the gods!

(*Wailing and weeping.*)

Gondophares—

Ah, I could weep and will weep—but 'tis strange!
Snatched in a moment—he so young to die!
So full of vigour……Let me think awhile,
How died he?—by whose hand?—no wound is here—
Sight darkened—failing breath—the pain—the pain—
Poisoned. Ye gods! Who did it? Who hath filled
The prince's bowl this night?

Attendants (*in chorus*)—

Tulsi—the mute.

Gondophares—

Tulsi, the mute! so this is Tulsi, then.
Wretch, that so vile a hand had power to take
A life so princely! We will make thee speak.
Whose work is here? Who bribed thee to this crime?
Tortures shall wring it from thee, till thou point
The accusing finger at his murderer.
Summon the royal guard. Let none go forth
From banquet hall or garden, lest there be
E'en here the adder, lurking in our midst.

Treptia—

Ah, now I mind me who it was who said
Some standing here might feel that adder's fangs.

Sire, Magudani heard it, Gad and I.
They were Ram Chandra's lips that uttered it.

Gondophares—

Bring hither Magudani—bid the court
Assemble in our presence—and meanwhile

(*To mute*)

Thou wretch, ere up to torments thou art given,
If he the assassin whose foul work thou didst
Stands here before thee, point, and thou art saved!

(*Tulsi points his finger steadily at Ram Chandra.*)

Gondophares (*to Ram Chandra*)—

Priest, thou shalt pay as high a price for this
As thou wouldst wring from others, when thou saidst
"Flay them and burn them in the market place!"

Ram Chandra—

Because, divinity, a frightened slave
Points finger at a Brahmin when he hears
The queen, inflamed by jealousy and spite,
Indict me for a jest, wherein I used
A proverb of a snake—is therefore crime
Past all conception vile and horrible
To be imputed to me? Think again.

Gondophares—

There is enough suspicion on thee fallen
To warrant thine arrest, O subtle one!
Guards, make the priest of Ram your prisoner!

(*Guards hang back hesitatingly.*)

Ram Chandra (*scornfully*)—

The King would play at soldiers? Very good—
He shall be humoured. I will help him move
His men against me. Guards, obey your King.

(*Guards surround Ram Chandra.*)

Gondophares—

Away with him—and bring him up at dawn
For judgment at our throne without the gate.

Ram Chandra—

Where I will vindicate mine innocence,
And work a wonder that will bring the King
In meek abasement for this grievous wrong
Unto my feet for pardon. I will call
Upon the ancient gods of Hindustan
And in the power vouchsafed me from the skies,
Will summon to its earthly tenement
The spirit now fled, and that illustrious Dead
Shall walk before you. In the name of *Rama*
I challenge him that in a dungeon lies,
That false magician, Thomas Didymus,
Unto a contest, prayer to prayer opposed—
He who shall raise the dead, to be acclaimed
Guiltless of crime, and he who fails to die—
The time—at noon—without the City gate.
'Tis justice, and I claim it, King of Kings.

Gondophares—

'Tis justice, Brahmin. Be it as thou sayest,
The King hath spoken it.

All—

LONG LIVE THE KING !

CURTAIN—END OF ACT II

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY AND ITS CRITICS

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has contributed to the April number of the "Modern Review" an article on the "Present Condition of the Calcutta University." The article is sensational but bears evident marks of haste and hurry and lacks that precision and careful consideration of all available data, which earned for the historian of Aurangzib the well deserved reputation of a critical scholar. Like all real well-wishers of the Calcutta University he wants reform and expects the support of "the better type of Indian teachers working in the Post-Graduate Department." But he is afraid that "the vested interests, who are profiting from the present state of affairs in that University are naturally opposed to its reorganisation and reform." His apprehension, doubtless born of the solicitude for his *Alma Mater's* welfare, does him credit but is none the less unfounded. The Post-Graduate teachers, whether of the better or worse type, were all called upon by the Sadler Commission to submit their written evidence and many of them willingly responded. Their evidence is now public property and I am sure, it has not escaped the notice of so industrious and sincere an educationist as Professor Sarkar. Can he point out a single instance of a University teacher claiming perfection for the Calcutta University? We have all suggested various reforms according to our light. So whatever may be our fault we have never opposed reform and never will; but on what lines these reforms are to be made is a question about which, I hope Prof. Sarkar will concede, there may be honest difference of opinion. The present Vice-Chancellor was a member of the Calcutta University Commission and signed its report. The report suggests a number of reforms, some of them of a revolutionary character, so he too cannot be condemned as an anti-reformer. These

are the only people who may be suspected of having 'a vested interest' in the University and in the light of these facts I hope Prof. Sarkar will revise his opinion about them, for I am confident, he will be the last person to be deliberately unfair to those who may have the misfortune of disagreeing with him.

Prof. Sarkar invites "educationists of long standing and of more than parochial reputation, who have studied the work of the Calcutta University but can speak of it from a pure point of detachment.....to indicate the true lines of reform." Some educationists who can certainly claim a wide experience and "more than parochial reputation" have already done so. Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues carefully studied the work of the Calcutta University and the results of their enquiry and deliberation have been embodied in five bulky volumes. Prof. Sarkar might have assisted them in their arduous task by placing his views before them but he found himself unable,—no doubt owing to his scholarly labours, and lack of leisure—to co-operate with the Commission at that time. For the same reason, he failed to attend a single meeting of the Board of Higher Studies in History and to lend the weight of his experience and wisdom to the deliberations of that body when he was co-opted a member in 1917. It is, therefore, a matter of great delight that he has at last decided to devote his scanty leisure to the furtherance of University reform and to let educated India have the benefit of his opinion which the Board of Higher Studies in History sought in vain. But living at a distance of several hundred miles from Calcutta, he naturally lacks an intimate knowledge of the working of the University, and I hope he will not take it amiss if one who respects him as his *guru* presumes to place before him certain facts that may help him to form a more accurate estimate of the merits and demerits of his much maligned *Alma Mater*.

Professor Sarkar's criticism of the University administration can be divided under two main heads: (1) Financial and (2) Academic. He condemns the financial administration of the University as Micawberian and quotes with approval from a speech of the Hon'ble Education Minister of Bengal. I do not feel myself competent to comment on that speech, particularly as the Senate has appointed a Committee to ascertain and publish facts about the charges brought against the financial administration of the University. The report of this Committee is expected in a few days, and till then further controversy on this point will be absolutely useless.

I for myself agree that generally "Each University in the country should limit itself to some special field of research." But fabulously opulent England is but a small island and she has no less than nine Universities richly endowed by private generosity and substantially aided by the State. Bengal which is not smaller than England has only two Universities and until a year ago had only one. The neighbouring University of Patna persistently refuses to undertake teaching responsibilities. So far as Dacca is concerned a division of work is possible and should be made as early as practicable. The students of Bengal are extremely poor and it will be futile to ask them to go to Lahore to attend a course in Biology. How many Bengali students have hitherto been able to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Agricultural College of Poona or the Commerce College of Bombay? But if we had similar institutions in Bengal, students would have eagerly flocked to them in large numbers. A big province like Bengal should have half a dozen Universities, but since we cannot pay for so many and have only two, reduplication of work should, as far as possible, be avoided. So far we have no quarrel with our critic, but he is not probably aware that the hands of the Calcutta University are tied, inasmuch as the University is bound to undertake the teaching of a number of subjects according to the new regulations under

which the Post-Graduate Department was organised and, what is urgently necessary is early legislation and not sneers and insinuations.

Prof. Sarkar next complains that there are too many teachers and lecturers and "the method of the Calcutta University is, therefore, diametrically opposed to the principles laid down by Sir Michael Sadler, who says, "The chief problems of Universities are.....how to lessen the prevalence of lectures and to substitute courses of guided self-training in library and laboratory without leaving the idle without discipline and the inert without stimulus." The problem is there, but Prof. Sarkar does not pause to offer any solution easy or otherwise. A moment's thought, however, will suffice to convince any teacher that it will mean a good deal of expense. We have about 150 students in the Post-Graduate History classes. A course of guided self-training in a Library for so many students will demand at the outset, a larger number of tutors than we have at present and greater Library accommodation. We shall require at least 20 copies of each authoritative work on every subject and every important section of a subject. Prof. Sarkar has warned the legislators to be careful with the tax-payers' money and may we enquire who will pay if we try to introduce the method advocated by him?

He then proceeds to say that the University teachers are overpaid. "Here it should be borne in mind, that if a 1st class M.A. serves in a College he gets much less than the University salary of Rs. 300 (the mean) though he has to lecture for at least 15 hours a week." In his hurry Prof. Sarkar has allowed himself to be guilty of an inaccuracy of which he would otherwise be incapable. Much water has flown along the Hooghly since Prof. Sarkar left for Patna about 20 years ago. A glance at the Presidency College time table and the Bengal Civil List will convince him that if a first class M.A. serves in a Government College he gets much

more than the University salary of Rs. 300, which by the way is neither the maximum nor the minimum, not even the mean as Professor Sarkar imagines, though he has to lecture *much less* than 15 hours a week." The P. E. S. men have at last got a progressive pay with a time scale. We do not grudge them their liberal scale of salary (Rs. 250-800), nor do we hold for a moment that they do not deserve it. Far from it, many of them deserve promotion to the I. E. S. But even they will not deny that as College teachers they are not financially worse off than University lecturers. Every service has its advantages and disadvantages; if the University teachers are asked to do less lecture work than their brothers in the Government Colleges, the latter have their compensation in their liberal pay and liberal pension. Government service offers a still greater charm since the abolition of competitive examinations for the recruitment of executive officers. A lucky man, if he plays his cards well, can easily secure one of those much-coveted appointments for a son or a son-in-law and thus establish an *ijara* right over the public services of the country.

The scale of pay (Rs. 150-500) recently granted to the S. E. S. men is also more liberal than what the University can afford to give its lecturers. But perhaps Prof. Sarkar thinks that such worthless folks as University teachers, "sycophants, sneaks and sluggards" can hardly expect to be compared with the I.E.S., P.E.S. and even S.E.S. men who, judging from their superior pay, paid we believe out of the public funds, belong to the intellectual aristocracy of the land as "no sneak or sycophant, no plagiarist or sluggard, can belong to the world's aristocracy of the intellect." I shall examine this theory to some length later on. It will suffice here if we simply point out that some of the University teachers did belong to the P.E.S. before they committed the unpardonable offence of joining the University staff and others have been actually lured away from the Post-Graduate

department not merely to the P.E.S. but what correspond to the I.E.S. namely Archæological, Botanical and Meteorological Surveys of India.

Prof. Sarkar appeared before the Public Services Commission as the representative of the P.E.S. men of Behar and Orissa on the 13th of December 1913, and it will be interesting to compare his present views with those he then entertained. "The Indian and Provincial Educational Service would be amalgamated into one undivided service," wrote Prof. Sarkar, "with pay ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1,200 a month. For the first ten years after confirmation, the pay should be progressive, on a time scale, rising by annual increments of Rs. 25 from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 a month." He also suggested that P.R. Students should be appointed on an initial pay of Rs. 350. In his oral evidence he said—"The recruitment to the Provincial Service during the past 15 years had been rather unfortunate because out of the 18 Professors in the two Colleges there were only *six First Class M.A.'s*,[1] of whom only one was a Premchand Roychand student, which was the highest intellectual test in India. He was confident that if Government had offered Rs. 250 as the starting pay, all the 18 would have been First Class M.As'."[2] On the 13th of December 1913 he thought very highly of the First Class men of the Calcutta University and recommended for them a scale of Rs. 250-1,200. Most of the University Teachers graduated before the 13th of December 1913 and should be regarded according to Prof. Sarkar's own evidence as genuine coins. What has happened in the meantime that he now considers a salary of Rs. 200-300 as extravagant? We know that prices have gone up and even the cooly in the street has raised his demand.

Let us now see what a First Class man serving in a private college can expect. For obvious reasons the following

[1] Italics ours.

[2] Minutes of Evidence, Vol. XX, pp. 87-89.

figures have been compiled from the Inspection Reports of Calcutta Colleges:

BANGABASI COLLEGE, 1920-21:

Total strength of the staff—43.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—8.

(Principal G. C. Bose, drawing Rs. 800, is left out of account.)

Salary varies from Rs. 120 to Rs. 500.

Average Rs. 234-8 *as.*

DIOCESAN COLLEGE, 1921-22:

Not a single First Class M.A. on the staff.

C. M. S. COLLEGE, 1920-21:

Total strength—20.

Two First Class M.A.'s

Pay Rs. 170 each.

SOUTH SUBURBAN COLLEGE, 1920-21.

Total strength—21.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—5.

Pay varies from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300.

CENTRAL COLLEGE, 1918-19:

Total strength—11.

First Class M.A.'s. and M.Sc.'s—0.

CITY COLLEGE, 1921-22:

Total strength—45.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—7.[1]

Pay varies from Rs. 170 to Rs. 700.

Average—Rs. 231.

VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE, 1921-22:

Total strength—43.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—5.[1]

Pay from Rs. 150 to Rs. 604.

Average Rs. 241.

RIPON COLLEGE, 1921-22:

Total strength—36.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—10.

Pay varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 650.

Average Rs. 232.

With the above figures, let us compare the mean salary paid by the University in the year 1919-20.

Pay varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 600. (I have in my mind only whole-time officers, some of the part-time officers got much less.)

English—

Average pay less than	...	Rs.	200
If part-time men are excluded	...	„	265
Sanskrit		„	121
Persian and Arabic		„	117
Pali		„	115
Philosophy		„	220
Experimental Psychology	...	„	186
Pure Mathematics		„	248

[1] Some of these gentlemen are University Lecturers, and as such, gets an additional Rs. 100.

Economics	...	...	Rs. 231
History	...	...	„ 246
Ancient Indian History		...	„ 196
Comparative Philology		...	„ 200
Tibetan	...	...	„ 233

The mean, Rs. 204.

The vernacular department has been altogether left out of account or the mean would have been still less. The mean pay for March 1922 is Rs. 225-4 *as.* and not Rs. 300 as Prof. Sarkar imagines. Of course we get a slightly higher figure if part-time officers are excluded. Prof. Sarkar deplored the poor proportion of First Class M.A.'s on the staff of the two Government Colleges at Patna and Cuttack. I do not know with what feelings he will view the still poorer proportion and in certain cases the entire absence of first class men on the staff of private colleges in Bengal. Certainly the remedy is not to reduce the University salary to a low level and to deprive the University lecturers of the facilities for research work that they now enjoy, but to make the teaching profession attractive to really brilliant men.

I have no first-hand knowledge of English Universities and I frankly admit that I do not know what idle fellowships were like, but it has yet to be proved that Calcutta Lecturers are idle fellows. Prof. Sarkar is evidently unwilling to let the 'sacred name of research' to have anything to do with so profane a thing as a College time table. But when I first began what I regarded as research work of a humble character, I was told by Mr. Rowlands, a young Oxford man, then Officiating Principal of the Robertson College, that my research work should be regarded as College work and he accordingly reduced my lecture work by 4 hours a week. He regretted that he could not place a clerk entirely at my disposal to type my thesis for lack of hands. Evidently there is room for difference of opinion here as elsewhere about the concession to be made to

researchers, real or counterfeit. I may here tell Prof. Sarkar that no lawyer gets a progressive scale of pay with the single exception of Mr. A. C. Dutta, and they have to be satisfied with a fixed monthly salary; but this advantage is shared in common with many College teachers who also practise in the High Court and Police Courts.[1] Practising lawyers, however, should be appointed only in unavoidable cases, as for example in the case of Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, when no scholar familiar with the original sources of Islamic History was available.

Prof. Sarkar "insisted on a strict public audit and publication of the details of the University income and expenditure." He is evidently not aware that the University accounts are strictly audited every year by a qualified Government officer. His audit report is submitted to the Local Government, and is, therefore, a public property, as education is now a transferred subject. Had he not been in an excessive hurry, this simple fact would not certainly have escaped the notice of one so industrious and well-informed as Prof. Sarkar.

There remains only one more point with regard to the financial part of Prof. Sarkar's criticisms to be answered, that relating to the Press and Publication department. I admit that the Press can be made more paying by more widely advertising University publications. But if I remember rightly Prof. Sarkar himself demanded a few months ago that every thesis should be published in the interests of the successful candidates (probably in the July number of the "Modern Review," 1921), but now after an interval of ten months he has come forward to condemn the University for "the reckless issue of good, bad and indifferent theses in the name of research." Scholarly works naturally do not sell as readily as text books. Prof. Sarkar himself told me that it took 17

[1] So Prof. Sarkar is again wrong when he says that college Professors cannot do any other work between 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. Mr. A. C. Dutta gets a progressive scale of pay because he does not practise. There are only six practising lawyers on the P. G. Staff.

long years to sell 340 copies of his "*India of Aurangzib.*" That does not necessarily mean that the book was a bad one, and Prof. Sarkar will himself admit that he is no fit judge of all the publications of the University dealing with widely different subjects like Mathematics and Psychology.

As for the Commemoration Volumes, I wonder why Prof. Sarkar should ask the contributors to pay. He himself contributed an article to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, but I do not think that the organisers of that work ever asked Prof. Sarkar to subscribe to the expenses of the publication. Similarly the present idea originated with the University Professors and Lecturers and the expenses were met out of the University Funds. I need not tell a regular reader of the Times Education Supplement like Prof. Sarkar that in English Universities also Professors of long standing are presented with addresses or otherwise honoured. Here the University thought it fit to honour an ex-Vice-Chancellor about whose devotion to the University there cannot be any difference of opinion. Scholars were requested to contribute to the Volumes and with them it was a question of courtesy. Among those who were thus induced to offer *puja* to the "goddess of Kalighat" were many *mlechchhas* like Sylvain Levi, Thomas, Foucher, Grierson and Pargiter and perhaps the *pandas* were so delighted at this novel sight that they forgot to charge anything for *dalis*.[1] These Volumes were "profusely distributed gratis" for obvious reasons. Of course the contributors got a copy free. A man of Professor Sarkar's reputation has thought it fit to shower on University teachers such terms of appreciation as "sneaks, sycophants and sluggards" and has applied the no less laudatory term "of scissors and gumbottle" research to their work. Naturally the University authorities wanted to

[1] When the admirers of Sir Asutosh celebrated the anniversary of his birthday, they raised a fairly large sum by private subscription and handed over to the University the surplus of Rs. 1,000.

know what the European Scholars thought of these lecturers and their achievements. I do not know whether sycophancy is contagious and whether European savants like Thomas, Pargiter, Beveridge and Bloc have been infected, but they have spoken well, indeed very well, of the work done by some Calcutta University Lecturers.

Professor Sarkar's next charge is that the teacher examiners of the optional papers, by their undue favouritism can upset the decision of the whole Board. And he cites the following case to illustrate his statement. "An M.A. candidate secures the 4th or 5th place in the six common papers, *i. e.*, in the fair and open competition. His past academic career was not of exceptional brilliancy, as he did not secure the first place in B.A. Honours, but had come out nearer the bottom than the top in an unusually lengthened first class Honours list (peculiar to that year). Now in the remaining part of his M.A. course, *viz.*, the individual thesis which counts as two papers, his special examiners give him 96 per cent. marks and bring him up to the first place in the general result, because the examiners of the four topmost boys' special papers had not been so astoundingly liberal to them. It is immaterial for our argument that the two examiners of this favoured boy were also his private coaches."[1] The evident insinuation is that the private coaches dishonestly manipulated marks, for a boy who gets comparatively low marks in the compulsory papers cannot get extraordinarily high marks in the optional papers and one who stood low in B.A. Examination cannot stand high in M.A. My experience, however, is different. Even in the good old days some students did better in M.A. than in the previous examinations and I can cite half a dozen instances including that of Prof Sarkar from

[1] The case is absolutely fictitious. It is not however difficult to identify it since the rumour has been in the air for sometime past. Professor Sarkar will admit that documentary evidence is more reliable than hearsay evidence and after a careful examination of the University records, I have been convinced that the case, so triumphantly cited and elaborated by Prof. Sarkar exists only in the imagination of his informers.

the Calendar. Of recent cases I will give here two. Babu Kishori Mohan Gupta who stood first in the first class in M.A. History in 1914 had stood very low in the Second Class in B.A. Honours. Babu Indubhushan Bandopadhyaya, the gold medallist (History) of the year 1916, had failed to secure a first class in B.A. Honours. Ambitious students generally pay more attention to their optional papers and count on those two papers for securing a place. Even in the good old days, of which Prof. Sarkar speaks with approval, the marks of the optional papers often upset the calculation based on the compulsory papers. I myself secured second class Honours in B.A. In M.A., however, I stood second in the First Class. My total in the six compulsory papers was 345 only, but what my place was I do not know. The two optional papers were examined by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and Prof. J. N. Sarkar. None of them was acquainted with me. As a Dacca College student I could not have any influence with the Calcutta examiners. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh had given me 63, so the total of seven papers also fell short of First Class. But I did better in the second optional paper and Prof. Sarkar gave me 84. Dr. Mazumdar and Prof. J. N. Das Gupta had awarded me 48 and 46, respectively. How does Prof. Sarkar explain this extraordinary discrepancy of marks. Evidently he had upset the decision of the whole Board. The next year my friend and college fellow Babu Indubhushan Banerjee secured the gold medal in History. He also owes his first place to the extraordinarily high marks he got in his optional papers examined by the late Prof. Bepin Behari Sen, who could have no interest in unduly booming a Dacca College student. My experience convinces me that even third class boys sometimes do better in their optional papers. Last year I was appointed to tabulate M.A. History results (it may be added that the work was honorary or it may be cited as another instance of *ghas dana* granted to a sycophant), and I was particularly

struck by the marks secured by a student who eventually got a third class degree. In three papers he could secure third class marks only, in one paper he could not secure pass marks even, two of his papers were scratched. But in the two optional papers he had secured more than 70 per cent. marks. These papers were examined by Dr. Suhrawardy, Dr. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and Prof. A. K. Mukherjee of Dacca, two internal and two external examiners. And after a careful comparison of the marks assigned to the four halves I could detect no discrepancy. It is unsafe to base a theory on a single case, real or hypothetical. Had Prof. Sarkar studied the mark sheets of the last 10 or 12 years he would not have regarded the fictitious case cited by him as unusual or extraordinary. The question is whether under the circumstances teachers who are coaches of their pupils as well—for they have all to do tutorial work—should be allowed to examine M.A. papers and should students be granted any choice with regard to what is now known as special subjects. These are questions of broad principle. And so far as I am informed, other Indian Universities and English Universities as well allow optional subjects and have teacher examiners. If, however, the educationists of Bengal think that this should no longer continue, the only remedy is change of regulations which lay down that every University Lecturer should be *ex-officio* an examiner in the subject he teaches.

Prof. Sarkar deemed it proper to base his conclusions on a single isolated case (which had its existence only in the portentious brain of his informer) and then hastily concluded "the real point is that it is a rotten system of examination in which *one* special examiner can upset the decision of the whole board."[1] Yet in the very next paragraph he complains that the two examiners on Chaucer were not allowed to "upset

[1] It is a pity, however, that in the case referred to by the rumour, the examiners of the thesis had simply confirmed the decision of the Board.

the decision of the whole board." Prof. Sarkar thinks that a boy who gets comparatively low marks in the six common papers cannot or should not get high marks in his optional papers. He should not complain if the majority of the Examiners in English argued conversely and concluded that students who had secured uniformly high marks in seven papers cannot and should not get absurdly low marks in Chaucer paper. I am not competent to sit in judgment over them, but it is a fact that the marks obtained by the majority of the students in one half of that paper, varied from 2 to 9.[1] It is strange that in the previous paragraph Prof. Sarkar should uphold the right of the Board and in the next paragraph champion the two examiners on Chaucer and condemn the Board for asserting its right.

After thus hurriedly disposing of two extreme cases Prof. Sarkar hastens to conclude "The Calcutta system is, therefore, the direct negation of the Oxford system of examination, where the examiners sit round a table, the answer papers of the doubtful cases are handed round, they discuss their quality and come to a common (or majority) decision that this candidate deserves a First class and that candidate does not." I have been connected with the Calcutta University for five years. Prof. Sarkar was an external examiner in 1918, since then he has not been reappointed. On that occasion he sent a report, but did not attend the examiners' meeting. Hitherto I have not failed to attend a single meeting and our procedure has been invariably what Prof. Sarkar has detailed above. But there is one vital difference between Oxford and Calcutta. At Oxford, I understand, the minority accepts their defeat in good grace and concedes to the majority honest conviction, here at Calcutta the minority runs to the members of the Legislative Council or to his journalist neighbour to pour forth his tale of woe and anguish. Prof.

[1] The Board simply ignored this paper and awarded First Class to those who had obtained First Class marks in the remaining seven papers.

Sarkar suggests a remedy for the evil, he thinks he has detected, —"an appreciable improvement in the proportion and character of the external examiners." I give here a list of the external examiners in History who conducted the M.A. Examination during the last few years.

1. Dr. Rushbrook Williams.
2. Mr. W. A. J. Archbold.
3. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham.
4. Mr. E. F. Oaten.
5. Mr. F. C. Turner.
6. Babu Aswinikumar Mukherji.
7. Babu Adhar Chandra Mukherjee.
8. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji.
9. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
10. Mr. G. Anderson.

These names will speak for themselves.

Prof. Sarkar is undoubtedly wrong when he compares the stamp of the mint with University Diplomas. The stamp of the mint signifies uniform value, the Diploma can indicate only the minimum ability. Even in the old days all P. R. Students were not men of equally outstanding merit. How many of them are remembered to-day? How many of them have produced a work like the History of Aurangzib? Even in the old days every gold medallist in Philosophy did not possess the mental calibre of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal. This is true of every University. Every young man who gets a Doctorate in Science in the University of London does not turn out to be a potential Jagadis Chandra Bose and every young man who takes a science Tripos at Cambridge does not possess the genius of Charles Darwin. In the intellectual world Gresham's Law does not work. I entirely agree with Prof. Sarkar when he says of the Calcutta Ph.D.'s that "the great world outside—the only judge that counts—will take them at their survival value in the free and fair

contest of Universal scholarship." In that contest the really efficient teacher and the really sound scholar will not suffer, but in that contest their own merit and nothing else can help them. Even Professor Sarkar's adverse comments or "the talk of educational circles" behind the Sadharan Brahmo Mandir, cannot mar those who will not mar themselves.

Lastly I have to offer a personal explanation. Professor Sarkar has deigned to call me a sycophant. In his hurry he forgot to look at the dedication of my *Siva Chhatrapati* and mistranslated *Sivaji Sarkha* as 'Equal of Shivaji.' A profound Marathi scholar like him could not but translate the passage in question as follows :—"rock of resolution...like Shivaji," if he had only cared to look at it. But this is not the first time that I have been a victim of mistranslation. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, in one of his editorial notes, translated the same phrase as pseudo-Shivaji. I do not know when Ramananda Babu learnt Marathi, but evidently his knowledge of that language is getting rusty. The book, the dedication of which now marks me down as a sycophant, is an English translation of *Sabhasad Bakhar*. The translation was undertaken with the approval of Prof. Sarkar, the method was approved by him, the book was revised by him before it went to the Press. But the dedication has been taken exception to after a lapse of two years; for even in January last he received me with apparent cordiality and never in his correspondence or conversation with me made any reference to the passage he now condemns as an evidence of sycophancy. When I resigned Government service and joined the Post-Graduate department 5 years ago, I did so with his approval. I began my researches in Maratha History at his instance and under his guidance. Hitherto I have regarded him as my *Guru* and thought that he had accepted me as his *Chela*, for whenever a Calcutta student wrote to Prof. Sarkar for his guidance and counsel he referred him to me, and twice did he enquire whether I should like to accept an Assistant

Professorship at Benares when he was Professor of Modern History there. In 1917 Prof. Sarkar introduced me to Dr. Rabindranath and requested me to write a volume on Maratha History for the *Vishva Vidya Sangraha* series. I took my M.A. Degree 7 years ago. And I have during these years contributed at least 60 articles on various subjects to the leading magazines of Bengal and Bombay, published a volume on Maratha History (270 pp.) and prepared another work (The Administrative System of the Marathas) for the Press. These books and articles may have no merit, but they will prove that I have not been lacking in industry. So whatever I may be, I have not been a sluggard. As for sycophancy, it is strange that it took Prof. Sarkar six long years to discover that unenviable trait of my character. Had I been a sneak and a sycophant my published reviews of Prof. Sarkar's books might have been of an altogether different complexion. I wonder why the Argus of the Modern Review failed to expose me to public scorn if I had really been guilty of plagiarism ?

Prof. Sarkar is entirely wrong when he thinks that moral bankruptcy necessarily implies intellectual insolvency. Dryden was a moral bankrupt, but who will deny him or Oscar Wilde, or Jean Jacques Rousseau an exalted place in the intellectual aristocracy of the world. Only a few years ago a noted English mathematician committed a very bad offence, but that did not prevent him from solving difficult mathematical problems, or deprive him of his Fellowship of the Royal Society. The notorious thief Charles Peace had to his credit some inventions, and some of the eunuchs of the Byzantine Cæsars *made*, although they did not write, History. Abul Fazl, a flatterer of the Mughal Emperors, did add to India's stock of knowledge. But I will and do admit that a moral bankrupt should on no account be appointed a *University teacher* and I therefore most respectfully request Prof. Sarkar not to try to lower the University teachers in the estimation of

their pupils. The teachers *can* and *will* live down the libel but the evil done to the pupils will never be undone.

Calcutta University may not be an ideal body, all the examiners may not be equally dutiful, all the University teachers may not be equally able, perhaps they may not all perform their duties equally well, and none is so alive to their shortcomings as the University teachers themselves. They know where reform is necessary, but they cannot allow any libel against their *Alma Mater* or colleagues to go unchallenged. That does not mean that they are opposed to necessary reforms. Constructive suggestions are always welcome, but insinuations and sneers will neither help the University nor further reform.

Our critics should remember that reorganisation requires time and mere legislation cannot work wonders. We have been often reminded of what is expected of Lecturers and Professors at Oxford, but our critics either do not know or prefer to forget that Oxford had not always been what she is to-day. My knowledge of English and Continental Universities is by no means wide, and when I speak of them, I do so with considerable hesitation. But I believe Sir Frederick Pollock knows something about the University on the Isis and according to him Oxford was by no means an ideal seat of learning half a century ago. "Work full of gross blunders and fictions," he writes, "which has not yet ceased to mislead uncritical readers, was produced almost without protest by writers at the head of the legal profession." "The days are past," he proceeds to say, "when a college archivist presumably competent in purely English matters, reading 'Nos Ricardus Dei gratia' at the head of a grant, could promptly docket it as of Richard I. In fact the next significant words were 'Rex Romanorum' and the grantor was Richard of Cornwall." But Oxford, thanks to the devoted labours of her sons, has outgrown this stage and there is no reason why Calcutta

should not prosper as well. The new system was introduced here only a few years ago, it is not just to condemn it without giving it a fair trial. What is necessary is patient work and sympathetic criticism. A system does not grow in a day or in a decade. The genius of Sir Jagadis transplanted a full-grown Banyan tree, but even his genius cannot create one so big as that of Sibpur in an hour. It is doubtful whether the genii of Aladin could perform a feat so wonderful. Said the late Lord Bryce, "The great creative spirits, men like Archimedes and Newton, the men of wide vision and profound discernment, appear from time to time, but hardly more frequently than they did in the past. The Temple of Knowledge rises rapidly, but it rises by the co-operative toil of an increasing number of trained workers, who cut, raise, and lay the stones better than men knew how to do some centuries ago. But the architects who can design a noble building and the artists who can decorate it with inventive grace are as rare as ever." Such architects and such artists are born; they are not, they cannot be, made. It is the ambition of the Calcutta University to train a devoted band of sincere workers, masons, who will work and wait for the great architects, and even this demands time. It took 20 years' hard work to make Prof. Sarkar what he is to-day. He cannot expect that the Calcutta Lecturers will be finished scholars within the short period of 5 years.

Bitter criticism, sneers and insinuations, and spiteful recriminations are, however, not unexpected though they are absolutely unjust. Sir Hall Caine has very justly remarked "Jealousies and dissensions there will be...They always come. They are not to be reasoned with. They are not always to be understood. Sometimes they are malicious, more frequently they are born of sheer stupidity. By some queer kink in human nature they are usually most active when there is least cause for them; when they are most dangerous, when they threaten chaos. At his last election, immediately before his death,

Lincoln ran the risk of defeat. In the crowning days of Washington as the father of his country he was a subject of slander and treachery."

SURENDRANATH SEN

"I WISH THE GODS HAD MADE THEE POETICAL"

(From *Sanskrit*)

I have in lives gone by
Broken Thy law divine;
Punish as seemeth fit,
But mercywards incline,
Oh, Lord of Faces Four![1]

Condemn me not to try
Poesy to expound
To unpoetic fools,
That creep upon the ground:
Not *that*, I Thee implore.

POST-GRADUATE

[1] Brahma.

THE ABBASIDS IN ASIA

IV

In the last years of Mamūn's Caliphate even Khurasan could not be regarded any longer as a dependent province. In 822, Tahir omitted to mention the name of the Caliph in the prayers, and Mamun took him to task for it. Shortly after, he was poisoned by a eunuch whom the Caliph's *Wazir* had presented to him, and who was instructed to murder him as soon as he showed signs of revolt. But so powerful was Tahir's following that Mamun found himself compelled to confer the governorship on Abdullah, son of Tahir, who sent his brother as his deputy there, and only took over charge of the province after his death in the year 828. From this time onward, the descendants of Tahir became practically the rulers of Khurasan, steadily extending their rule over other provinces, without openly severing their connexion with the Caliphate, which was, indeed, more concerned with its own affairs than with those of the Empire.

Both Tahir and his son were lavish and affable. They patronised arts and sciences, and, by their winning ways and high intellectual attainments, won the affection of their subjects. Tahir's letter to his son Abdullah on his appointment as governor of Mesopotamia was regarded for centuries as a model of style, and an epitome of political wisdom. Tahir's generosity was likened to a sea, and throughout his life he maintained this reputation unimpaired. On one occasion he awarded 3,000 dinars to a poet who sang his praises. His son Abdullah was himself a poet and musician. Abu Tamman, collector of the poetical anthology known under the name of Hamasa, and himself a poet of the first order, was a friend and admirer of Abdullah. Other generals and statesmen

of that epoch, emulated Tahir's love and devotion to letters; notably Fadhl and Hasan Ibn Sahl.

Under Mamun science took precedence of poetry, which had then become the handmaid of power and riches. The study of history, philology, theology, jurisprudence and medicine, which began under Mansur, and continued under Mahdi and Harun, yielded under Mamun their finest results. Mamun's leaning towards the Mutazalites urged him to favour the study of Greek philosophy. He had Greek MSS. collected and translated into Arabic, with the result that Aristotle became the favourite study of the Mutazalites, and his logic the approved method of dogmatic controversy. Works on mathematics and medicine too were translated by or under the direction of Mamun's physicians, especially those of Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates and Galen.[1] Along with these newly explored fields, historical and philosophical studies received fresh impetus. Even theology and jurisprudence—inspite of Mamun's despotic tendencies—secured a sure basis, by reason of trustworthy collections of traditions. As already mentioned, the Qur'an failed to meet the numerous religious questions which now pressed for solution. It had, therefore, to be supplemented by oral traditions. So long as these were handed down from mouth to mouth, there was ample opportunity for invention and distortion—most serviceable in those days of political and religious strife.

Ismail Ibn Mohamed of Bukhara—known generally as Bukhari—a contemporary of Mamun—for the first time collected and arranged the sayings and teachings of the Prophet and his Companions, and made them public under the title of *Al-Sahih*.[2] This collection of traditions—followed later by others—secured for the theologians a sounder basis for their study and activity. The respect in which the collectors were held—for great was their renown for piety, fervour and knowledge—

[1] I would refer the reader to Prof. Browne's recent work "Arabian Medicine."

[2] Goldziher's *Moh. Studien* contains the most masterly study of *Hadith*.

prevented any further appeal or reference to traditions, not found in their works. Ahmad Ibn Hambal, one of the founders of the four orthodox schools, was also a contemporary of Mamun, and belonged to the small group which openly opposed the court theology; namely, the Mutazalite doctrines. He was put in chains, and was ordered to be taken to Tarsus: where Mamun was then in residence. On reaching Rakka, information arrived of the death of the Caliph (7th Aug. 833). He was forthwith set at liberty. But he was later whipped by Mamun's successor, who like him persecuted the orthodox theologians.

Under Mamun, who caused the tongue of the famous poet Alakawwak to be cut off for praising the general Abu Dulaf, who had sided with Amin, and who had a cousin exposed for three days to the burning sun, and then executed because he had supported Ibrahim—the unbending theologians might perhaps have fared worse. But, as with other tyrants, so with Mamun, we occasionally find indications of virtue and mildness. Thus, Fadhl Ibn Rabiya, the author of the fratricidal feud, and the supporter of Ibrahim, was forgiven. And so was Ibrahim himself, though only after being exposed to ridicule and contempt. It is reported that Mamun ordered him to ascend the pulpit in a woman's dress (which he had worn ever since his dethronement, to avoid detection), to deliver a sermon, and finally to play the lute.

Mamun's successor was not the Kasim, nominated by Harun, soon after the death of Amin, whom he had probably joined. He was shelved, and in his place Abu Ishaq Mohamed, another brother, was designated as Mamun's successor. This Abu Ishaq Mohammad ascended the throne under the name of Al-Mutasim. The event did not pass off quite peacefully, for a portion of the troops proclaimed Abbas, a son of Mamun, as Caliph. But the trouble soon ended by Abbas swearing allegiance to his uncle, and acknowledging him Prince of the Faithful. In the first

years of his reign Mutasim had to deal with several insurrections. There was trouble in Khorasan with an Alide pretender. Babak and his supporters—in alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel—kept busy the Turkish Afshin, Mutasim's best general. The Zat, a people of Indian origin, who had settled on the banks of the Lower Euphrates, between Basra and Wasit, held in check for several months Ujaif Ibn Anbasa, an experienced Arab general. Theophilus, with whom the Caliph had concluded peace, found the moment favourable for avenging past defeats. In 837 he crossed the frontiers of Syria and Mesopotamia, destroyed several Muslim towns, slaughtered all men capable of bearing arms, and took away women and children as slaves. At first the Caliph could only send a small number of troops to the frontier to protect his subjects against further violence and molestation. But as soon as war with Babak had ended, he collected a large army, and in the spring of 833 set out with them for Asia Minor. Afshin took an easterly course across Armenia; while the Caliph, with another general, advanced in the direction of Tyana, through the Cilician passes. Theophilus, who was then in Cappodocia, turned his attention towards Afshin, but was beaten and put to flight. Afshin, who owed his success to the Turkish archery under the general Itach, without further trouble joined the Caliph. The entire army then advanced in three columns towards Amorium, which the Caliph had sworn to destroy in revenge for the destruction of the Muslim towns. Theophilus took up his position in Dorylaeum, but did not dare to fight an army vastly superior to his; nor could he offer any relief to the sorely pressed town. The garrison, nevertheless, defended the town with great courage, until, after a siege of fifty-five days, through treachery it fell into the hands of the Caliph, who carried out his revenge in fullest measure. The town was reduced to ashes, and the garrison, along with the inhabitants, were partly slain and partly sold as slaves (Sept. 838).

On his return, Mutasim ran the risk of losing his throne and his life. The ignored, slighted, insulted Arab generals, envious of the foreigners, sought at one stroke to murder Mutasim, and to raise Abbas to the throne. Through want of care and caution, the conspiracy, however, was discovered, and the guilty found no quarter. Abbas and Ujaif Ibn Anbasa [1] were killed with thirst, and another Arab general was buried alive. Even before this there was trouble in Baghdad, in consequence of the excesses and violence of the unmanageable foreign soldiery who constituted the body-guard of Mutasim. Things reached such a pass that no soldier could with safety enter the Arab portion of the town. For this, as well as his differing religious views, Mutasim left the capital and took up residence in Samara, a town newly-built, some three days journey, north of Baghdad. Mutasim was not the first, however, to govern the Arabs through foreign troops. The Abbasids owed their throne mainly to the help of the Khorasanis, and Mamun conquered Amin by Persian aid. Even when, by reason of his fluctuating politics, Mamun could not wholly rely on the Persians, he gathered the Turkish slaves round him. Mutasim went still further. He formed the kernel of his troops from the *Mamluks* (slaves); increased their strength to 70,000; and formed his entire body-guard of foreign elements. They were absolutely devoted to him, and he could place far greater trust in these than in the Arabs, entangled as they were in all manner of tribal feuds and religious and political complications. Moreover, pressing then was the need for a standing army, to maintain order at home, and to carry on war abroad. It is to be noted, however, that at this time a distinct lack of serviceable Arab soldiers was felt. The Beduins, who in the first wars of Islam had taken the most active part (when there was no more prospect of

[1] Ujaif was the chief of the conspirators.

glory and booty), went back either to their desert or settled down in the conquered provinces, especially in the many newly-founded towns in West Africa, on the Euphrates and the Tigris, as also on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Soon the luxurious life there enervated and enfeebled them. They lost their martial valour, and were drawn off more and more to arts and sciences; to agriculture and cultivation; to trade and commerce. Nor must we forget that about this time trade was entirely in Arab hands. Baghdad was the centre of world-commerce, both by land across Persia to Tibet and China, and across Mesopotamia and Syria to Byzantium, and by sea to India.[1] The new sources of gain and livelihood were far more attractive to the Arabs than the old military service. The Caliph, therefore, had to recruit troops from among a people less corrupt, more vigorous and of greater endurance than the luxury-loving Arabs. After the conspiracy referred to above, Mutasim inclined still more towards the foreigners, with the result that the army was gradually cleared of Arab leaders—their places being filled by Turkish and Persian generals. But between these there was neither unity nor peace for long. Envy, greed, ambition, and lust for power were their dominant and striking traits. Foreigners were they to the country and the people, and as such devoid of genuine interest or real sympathy with them.

We are now approaching nearer and nearer that melancholy period in the history of Islam when the most important historical events—having no longer any reference to political principles, or religious motives, or even the personality of the Caliphs—were the direct outcome of unabashed selfishness and the contemptible intrigues of governors and arm of leaders.

[1] The most illuminating book on the subject is "Histoire du Commerce du Levant" by Heyd. Leipzig 1885. For further information I would refer the reader to Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuge, pp. 45 et seq.; Makkari,' Vol. I, p. 360 (note 126). Arab reference to the Genoese and Pisans. *Ibid.*, p. 393, note 52, Vol. I, Von Kremer, Vol. I, p. 300; p. 325; p. 342; p. 349; p. 352. for Egypt, see p. 353. Yakuby, pp. 119, 120, 126.

The Caliphs were reduced to the shadow of a shade—mere slaves in the hands of the chief of the bodyguard.

We shall not go into pure personal matters, but only call attention to those that have an important bearing on the Caliphate. Afshin was jealous of Abdullah Ibn Tahir, because of the governorship of Khorasan. Abdullah was wroth with Maziar, Prince of Tabaristan, for sending the tribute direct to the Caliph—since Tabaristan formed part of the Governorship of Khorasan conferred upon Abdullah. Afshin made use of this tension of feeling between Maziar and Abdullah to incite the former to rebel against the Caliph, promising to go over to him with his troops to make a joint attack on Abdullah. But Afshin was deceived in his expectations, Maziar found little or no support among his people. Abdullah's troops speedily suppressed the insurrection, and when Maziar found himself betrayed by his closest relations, he at once gave in. Simultaneously with this insurrection another broke out in Adherbaijan, which also was set down to the credit of Afshin—its leader being a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by Afshin. This insurrection, too, was soon suppressed by the Turkish general Bogha. Thereupon Afshin was charged not only with high treason but also with being a bad Muslim and a devout partisan of the old Persian religion. As there was no sufficient proof forthcoming, he was not condemned to death, but was thrown into prison where he was slowly starved to death. We should not infer from this single instance that the majesty of the law was rigorously upheld under Mutasim. Great was the following and devotion to Afshin in Transoxiana, and great also was the love which the army cherished for him. This fact, perhaps, accounts for the formal procedure adopted against him. Not without a show of justice could they very well get rid of him. In other cases we see that, even under Mutasim, law was nothing more than the arbitrary expression of the will of the Caliph, his *Wazirs*, and his generals, and that the Government when

so inclined, disposed of the life and property of the subject *ad libitem*, although the Chief Judge—Ahmed Ibn Abi Daud—who enjoyed a high reputation under Mutasim—did his very utmost to restrain violence, check arbitrariness, and uphold law and order. To the influence of this Judge, as also to that of some of the *Wazirs*, must be ascribed the continued patronage of letters, for which the ignorant Caliph had neither the taste nor the discriminating intelligence. Under Mutasim lived that world-renowned Al-Kindi, the first Arab Scholar in the European sense of the word, who by his translation of and commentary on Greek Philosophy, opened the eyes of the Arabs to the priceless treasures of the Hellenic civilisation. On the 5th June, 842, Mutasim passed away. He is known as the octonary because he left behind him eight sons, eight daughters, ruled eight years and eight months, died at the age of 48, was born in the eighth month of the year, left behind 8,000,000 dinars and as many dirhams, and conducted eight campaigns.[1]

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

(To be continued.)

[1] Suyuti, Tarikh-ul-Khulafa (Eng. Trans.), 348.

THE MOON

ACT I

[*Scene*: The humble interior of a village hut. When the curtain rises the room is deserted save for the heads of two old men that are peering in together through the door that leads to the street. They enter cautiously.]

1st old man: There is no one in here yet. We may safely enter. And may we not just as safely enter if there were somebody here? There was a time that you and I and Nogen talked for hours together into the advancing evening, in this very room, till the moon in its course, fell upon us as we sat there...and then we knew that the evening was no longer young and that it was time to go.

2nd old man: Ah, yes brother, I remember...though it is fifteen years since we last met together in this chamber and fifteen years since Nogen was in this village.

1st old man (*nodding*): Too true, brother...fifteen years... And Nogen went away from here to work in the large city, and then by some strange fortune he rose in power, rose till he became indispensable to the King himself, who appointed him his Grand Visier. Then Nogen forgot you and me, forgot even his native village, forgot the happy talks we had here together until the moon came to us and touching our shoulders whispered gently it is time to go home. To think that mightiness should cause one to forget the friends of one's childhood.

2nd old man: And to-day he has come home, back here to his native village after fifteen years, and the world is wondering what penitence it is that brought him, or what sin he has committed to incur the King's displeasure, or what jealousy has driven him from the court?

1st old man: Mayhap, he has come only to revisit the scenes of his childhood, to refresh his memory.

2nd old man: Mayhap he has come to see us?...Not he... I have heard that as is always the way with those who have risen to power Nogen possesses a host of enemies, and they have been whispering about him to the King, whispering evil.....

(*Enter Nogen, an elderly man, bowed with care and humility; modestly dressed.*)

2nd old man: Ah here is Nogen himself. (*Both bow low in homage.*)

1st old man: We have come to pay thee our respects, Grand Visier.....

Nogen: I pray thee, brothers, don't mock me. I return to you to-day as I went...a nobody. What I have been at court is a thing of yesterday. I have but a month to live through my early past, let me enjoy that past, brothers, in so far as it is possible for me to enjoy anything during the days that are left me. And if you will be my friends, happy am I to have you. But if you won't, pray, I beseech you, add not to the number of my enemies.

(*2nd old man gives a knowing look to 1st old man as if to say, "I told you so."*)

1st old man (*placing arm around Nogen's shoulder*): Friend, we are your friends, trust us. How often have we not lived in that early past of our friendship to which you have now returned. How often have we not revisited this the scene of so many happy evenings, where we talked sitting there, and talked till the night grew old, old as we are now, and the moon came in through that window to warn us it was time to go home.

Nogen: The Moon.

(*He looks agitated, peers into the sky out of the window, and then looks upon the floor at the spot indicated by the 1st old man. He nods sadly.*)

2nd old man: You say but a month to live again through your early past. What do you mean, brother? The days left you?...

Nogen (*shaking head sadly. He looks out of the door to make sure he is not overheard*): This morning was I driven from the court by the King.

1st old man: Driven?

Nogen: Ay, it is the same thing. He bad me go and fetch him the moon within the space of one month. If I fail I am to die.

(*The old men look at each other.*)

2nd old man: Fetch him the moon? Who can fetch the moon from out of the sky?...

Nogen: That's just it brothers. Who can fetch the moon from out of the sky? It is a plot to do away with me. There were people who were jealous of my sudden rise to prominence. They have had their say, no doubt; and the King has believed all they have told him. It is a conspiracy by mine enemies to have me driven from court, to have my very life taken from me. To think that evil should prevail so.

1st old man: Pray, brother, pray. Heaven will show you a way out of it.

Nogen: There is no way out of it.

(*Enter little boy from the street, with hoop. He goes to Nogen who seats him on his knee and strokes his hair.*)

1st old man: And this is your daughter Nathi's little son?

Nogen: You hadn't seen him before?

2nd old man: No, but we had heard that Nathi had married up in town and that a son had been born to her, soon after her husband had died.

(*Nogen strokes the boy's head affectionately.*)

Little Boy: When will you be well again, grandpapa? I don't think I like staying in this quiet little place. I want to go back to that big house where I could play on the lawns instead of on the roadside, where there were so many servants to do so many things for me. I told mother I wanted to go back, but she says we shall have to stay here till you are quite well. When will you be quite well, grandpapa?

Nogen: How can I say my child? The doctors say some day. But I seem to grow worse and worse. How can I say if I shall ever recover?

(*The old men look at each other sadly, and at the boy pityingly.*)

1st old man: My child, pray to God to help your grandfather, and then perhaps you will go back to town and to your big house and your many servants very soon?

Little boy: How soon?

1st old man: Very soon. But pray to God to help your grandfather.

Little boy: But will God listen to my prayer?

1st old man: He listens to everybody's prayer. Even the little birds in the trees pray to him, and he hears them. The tiny ants pray to him too and he grants their little requests.

Little boy (*reflecting*): The birds and the ants. The birds wake up each morning and say "Oh God, listen to our prayer and let us live through the day." And a man comes along with a gun and kills them. And the tiny ants when they wake up in the morning say, "Oh God listen to our prayer, and let us live

through the day," and mother goes round the kitchen floor killing them all with her slipper.

1st old man: Hush, my child, you mustn't talk in that way.

Little Boy: But it is true. (*Pat of a slipper off the stage.*) There; there's another ant whose prayer has not been listened to.

(*Nogen helps him off his knee, and strokes his hair. The child kisses him on the cheek and runs inside the house* (*left*) *with his hoop.*)

2nd old man: That a child should utter such wisdom.

1st old man: Wisdom? Blasphemy!

Nogen: I feel my case is like the case of the ants. No prayer can help me. Can praying bring me the moon? And nothing but the moon will save me.

1st old man (*brightening*): I have an idea brother. And to think it has only just struck me. It came to me so suddenly. Brother, while you were away in the great town we saw pass above here men who could fly. They flew in the blue above in great big ships and went very very high. I thought at first that they were some strange birds. But one of these ships came down in a field yonder, and men came out of the ships and sat on the earth and ate like you and I, and talked like you and I. And so I knew they were human beings. Now brother, the idea that has occurred to me is this. If we looked for these men with these airships we might find them, and they would perhaps fly so high as to steal the moon from out of the sky and so save you.

(*The second old man is flabbergasted at the suggestion.*)

Nogen (*smiling*): No brother, you cannot steal the moon from out of the sky. And these men with the airships of whom you speak, I have seen them too. None of them has been so high as the moon. The moon is very, very far away. And if they did reach that height,

could they take the moon away? Is not the moon fixed in its course at Heaven's ordering?

1st old man: That's what I say, brother, pray to Heaven. Heaven will help you.

(*Second old man still flabbergasted.*)

Nogen: Help me? There is only a month left. We must find the men. Then they must fly that high, and steal the moon. Can all that be done within the space of one brief month?

1st old man: Heaven can make all things possible. Pray to Heaven as I have told you, brother. Meanwhile there is no time to be lost. The evening is on us already. I shall myself go on the quest, and start at once. (*To second old man.*) You stay here friend, and, comfort our brother in his distraction. (*Affectionate farewell. Exit 1st old man.*)

(*The other two sit in silence awhile. The evening advances and the Moon shines out. They start at seeing the Moon. Then the sense of being startled gives way to a feeling of pleasure that the Moon has not been stolen already. Lovers go by the front door in affectionate embrace.*)

Nogen: Steal the moon from out of the sky. And what would lovers do thereafter? Constrained for ever to coo at each other in the darkness. Is it fair, to save one life, the life of one old man who has not perhaps one year to live through, that we should bring eternal discomfort upon all lovers!

2nd old man: To bring him the Moon. What a proposition. The sort of thing a child would ask for.

(*There passes by the front door an elderly grasscutter, with his scythe. The Moon has risen and he is on his homeward journey. He pauses at the entrance and looks in.*)

Grasscutter: Do I see aright? People within these rooms (*He enters.*) And if it isn't our Grand Visier come back to his native village! (*He falls upon his face meekly.*)

Nogen: Arise, grasscutter. (*He stoops to help him up.*) Arise. No more your Grand Visier, but one of you.

Grasscutter: One of us? Have you come then to stay with us, to live among us? Oh, happy, happy village! But surely it is not misfortune that brings you here?

Nogen: Alas, grasscutter. You have spoken too truly. It is.

Grasscutter: Hai, hai, hai, hai. Misfortune? What would I not do to help you master? (*He falls upon his face meekly once again.*)

Nogen: No, no, grasscutter. Do not do me homage. I know your heart is true, and that you would help me if you could. But alas, it is in the power of no man to help me.

Grasscutter: Of no man to help! How so, master? Is it a trouble that can be told? The telling of it and the talking about it might show us a way out of your difficulty.

Nogen (*laughs bitterly*): Alas no, grasscutter. Nothing can help. Can you find me the moon? Can any one bring me the moon?

Grasscutter: But what to you master, seems as difficult as the moon to find, may to another seem simpler. What is the trouble?

Nogen (*placing an affectionate arm upon the grasscutter's shoulder*): That is the trouble, my dear friend, that is the trouble. The King has commanded me to bring him the moon within the space of one month, failing which I forfeit my life.

Grasscutter: Hai, hai, hai, hai. How will you ever bring him the moon? It shines so beautifully on high (*points at the moon in the sky*) and we are down here. Can we go up there or the moon come down here that one can seize it?

(*The other two shake their heads.*)

Grasscutter: But stay. I have seen the moon in a tank. (*The others laugh.*)

Grasscutter: Why do you laugh? Have you not seen the moon in the tank yonder? I cut the grass by the tank-side

and when the sun has set and the moon has risen, it is on high as well as in the water. It dips into the tank just as our women do, and its long tresses wave in the gentle breeze that plays upon the water.

Nogen: Oh, you dear, simple grasscutter. Have you ever tried to seize the moon that you saw within the water?

Grasscutter: I have, master; but it dipped low and eluded me. I had not a fisher's net. And I am told that a fisherman once by the coast seventeen miles beyond the nearest village threw in his net into the water and fetched up the moon. I will seek this fisherman for you, master. I will ask him to seize the moon once more from out of the water and so save you.

Nogen (*taking the grasscutter's hand affectionately*): I appreciate it all, my good friend. But it is not possible.

Grasscutter (*with confidence*): Everything is possible. master. You will see. I shall fetch the moon for you. (*Makes to go.*)

2nd old man: Don't forget. Within one month it must be brought.

Grasscutter: I go now. (*Exit.*)

Nogen: Here have two loving friends gone on helpless errands. But what can they avail? Nothing. I might as well prepare to be resigned to my fate. My final month of life will be made happy, brother, in your society; and the thought that there are so many ready to do me a service will comfort my dying moments.

(*There passes outside an old fakir.*)

2nd old man: There's the village *fakir*. He reads the sky. He knows all the stars by name. Mayhap he knows something of the moon, and where it can be found. Ho *fakir*!

(*Enter Fakir.*)

Fakir. And if it is not Nogen come back amongst us.

(*Nogen greets him.*)

2nd old man: Oh, *fakir*, he comes amongst us needing your help. Can you aid him?

Fakir: What is the trouble, brother?

Nogen (*in despair*): I must find the moon for the king within one month.

Fakir (*astounded*): The moon!

Nogen: Yes, the moon.

2nd old man: Or forfeit his life if he fails.

Fakir: Hum (*reflecting*).

2nd old man: Canst thou help?

Fakir (*still reflecting*): Hum.

2nd old man: It occurred to me as we saw you pass, that here is a man who studies the Heavens. It is possible he knows all that can be known about the moon and may tell us where to find it.

Fakir: I study the heavens it is true, and know all that can be known about the moon, but not where one can find her. I know for instance that the moon rose at six to-day and that to-morrow it will not rise till seven, and that some other night it will not rise at all. Or again when for some moments it hides its face for a brief period, or hides part of its face. The moon will hide its face completely for the space of ten minutes a month from to-night. Stay. I have an idea. Brother, what say you to this? Go unto the King and say to him, "I will fetch you the moon, sire. A month from to-night I shall bring it to you." I shall have a moon cunningly devised for you, cold and luminous and round, and when the moon is obscured in the sky you can place it in the King's hands.

Nogen (*brightening*)—

2nd old man; What a splendid idea! You are saved brother. You are saved.

Fakir: Stay and what is the reward?

Nogen: I will give you *fakir*.....

Fakir: Not my reward but yours, from the King?

Nogen: The King has said 'I will give unto you if you will bring me the moon, my entire kingdom, renouncing it all for you.'

Fakir: And there was no talk as to whether the moon should be his for one hour or for all time?

Nogen: No talk, brother. The King merely said, 'Bring me the moon.'

Fakir: And you will bring him the moon. How fortunate that the eclipse should occur now to aid us. There will not be another eclipse for sixteen years, and that only a partial one.

Nogen: For sixteen years!

Fakir: Not another for sixteen years, and that only a partial one.

(*Enter little boy running to grandfather.*)

Little Boy: Grandfather, grandfather,—this place was simply full of ants and cockroaches, but mother has killed them all since morning.

(*The moonlight streams in at the point indicated by the 1st old man earlier in the evening, and all on the stage except the child look at it in astonishment.*)

CURTAIN.

ACT II

[*Scene*: The King's audience chamber. Blowing of conch shells. Dance by a girl before the King. The King on throne with courtiers around him.]

The King: The hour draws nigh for Nogen's coming. Tell me is it time yet?

New Grand Vizier: Not yet, sire. It lacks but some moments.

The King (*laughs heartily*): This man has promised to bring me the moon to-night. He has not yet got it in his

possession, and it lacks but a few moments. Ha, ha, ha, ha. There is the moon, high up in the sky. Do you think he can bring it to me within the few moments that are still lacking?

New Grand Visier: No, sire.

The King: Ha, ha, ha, ha! This Nogen seems to have turned a wizard or is he attempting to delude me? When I said to him 'Bring me the moon and I will give you my kingdom, or else you die,' I had said in effect within a month you will die'; granting him out of my kindness a month to live before I took away the life that Heaven has granted him. Of course he cannot bring me the moon. Nobody can bring me the moon. And the man in his impudence has sent word to say—On such and such a night I will myself bring the moon to the King's house and deliver it into his hands.

New Grand Visier: An impudent fellow, sire. What can one expect from a village simpleton without any breeding.

The King: I will show him what it is to be impudent. And if he comes not to-night, I will scour the whole kingdom, nay the entire world, to find him; and then his punishment will not quite be to his liking. (*The King's wrath calms, and he chuckles.*)

The King: Say, does it lack many moments yet?

New Grand Visier: But one minute, sire.

(*The King chuckles. Very gradually the room darkens; the moonlight is disappearing.*)

The King (*in alarm*): See, the moon is going out of the sky.

(*Enter Nogen, with the moon in his hands.*)

Nogen: Here, sire, I have brought thee the moon to deliver into thine own hands at the appointed hour.

(*The King sits back startled. Nogen goes up and hands the luminous globe into his hands.*)

The King: How cold and livid. (*Then in alarm*): It is the very moon! Only just now it was in the sky, and now it is there no more, but in my hands.

Nogen: And now, let your part of the promise hold good. Surrender your kingdom. Gentlemen, from this hour forth I am your King according to an agreement that the King has himself made. Vacate the throne then!

(*The King walks slowly down from the throne, still clinging on to the moon. Nogen assumes the throne.*)

Nogen: And now, you as a subject must obey me. (*The Fakir moans low outside the window, Nogen pricks up his ears.*) Surrender the moon.

(*The King clings to it.*)

Nogen (*to courtiers*): Take the moon from him, it is my order.

(*Nobody moves.*)

(*Nogen gets down himself, takes away the moon and going to the window makes as if he is throwing it into the sky, but hands it down to the Fakir. The moonlight wonderfully streams in. Everybody is flabbergasted. They look at each other in wonder and then bow down in homage to Nogen.*)

Nogen (*now secure that he will be obeyed implicitly. ven the King is making obeisance*): And now my man (*addressing the King*) from this hour forth you are banished from court. Listen to the offer I make you. It is far more liberal than the one you as King made me. I give you fifteen years in which to fetch me half the moon and if you fail, never return again within my presence. (*The ex-King bows meekly. Exit.*)

(*Enter grasscutter, who is being stopped by guards.*)

Grasscutter (*falling before Nogen*): Alas, my master, my mission has failed.

Nogen: But your love has not failed me. (*To courtiers*) Reward this man liberally; and there will come presently an old man who went seeking airships to snatch the moon from out of the sky. Reward him too liberally. He meant well.

CURTAIN.

R. J MINNEY

AUGUST STRINDBERG

V

NEW FAITH

Under the head of "theme and treatment," a gradual growth has already been to some extent traced in Strindberg's attitude to the problems of life. But we have reserved for a separate consideration one important topic, *viz.*, his treatment of the theme of *love* at different stages in the progressive growth of his mind and art. This, it is hoped, will more convincingly bring home to his readers the momentous change in his outlook on life, the development from the *intellectual to the spiritual* phase in his dramatic career and the birth of his new faith.

The naturalistic plays mostly deal with love considered mainly in the light of a biological factor and in them it is represented generally as taking the form of sex-battle ending oftener than not in the conquest of woman by man and occasionally in the exploitation of man by woman. Sex-attraction and sex-repulsion are the forces recognised as principles regulating the relations of man and woman.

Maurice in *There Are Crimes and Crimes* succumbs to the bewitching powers of the Astarte-like Henriette who lures men to ruin. His conscience cannot be totally deadened. It torments him for broken faith with his betrothed Jeanne—so simple, self-sacrificing and devoted—yet he is irresistibly drawn into the snares of the new attraction—the charming company of this *La belle dame sans merci* who is ready to desert Adolphe without a qualm. Maurice and Henriette decide to sacrifice their best friends, helpers, well-wishers on the altar of their new passion and enjoy a new life in a new era, freed from old bonds of love and friendship, relieved of

social burdens and lingering memories that may inconveniently connect them with the past. With savage imperiousness this woman robs poor Jeanne of a betrothed lover, innocent Marion of a father, and sincere Adolphe of a friend; throws into the fireplace Jeanne's love-tokens; roughly silences Maurice's scruples by calling him a "Philistine who will never be an artist" and triumphantly refers to her unnamed crime as something that "placed her outside and beyond life, society and fellow-beings."

Jeanne as contrasted with Henriette in this play is, by the way, somewhat of a counterpart of the "wordless" character[1] Miss Y introduced with rare skill into *The Stronger* (1890), and the final moral triumph is on her side, though she is temporarily defeated by the stronger Henriette who possesses some of the characteristics of a "vampire nature" as described by the author in his *Dance of Death*. The vampire, we are told, "will crawl into another's life when he (or she) feels his life slipping away, interfere with other people's destinies, suck interest out of other existences, regulate and arrange the doings of others, take one's friends away to make them his (or her) own"[2]—"is an insect, one of those wood-borers, that eat up your insides so that one day you find yourself as hollow as a dying pine tree."[3] We must not digress beyond barely referring in this connection pre-eminently to plays like *The Comrades* (1888) and *The Creditors* (1890) and secondarily to *The Father* (1887) and even *Miss Julia* (1888).

As regards this biological treatment of love, we have already noted how Captain Edgar and his wife Alice are made in the *Dance of Death* to swing like a pendulum between love and hatred (both of a queer type) alternately attracted and repulsed by what Curt designates their *love-hatred*.[4] A

[1] *Cf.* Pp. 174 and 175, Second Series of Strindberg's Plays.
[2] *Cf. Dance of Death*, Part I (p. 191, First Series).
[3] *Cf. Ibid*, Part II (pp. 232-33, First Series).
[4] *Cf.* Vol. II, No. 1, p. 117 of the Calcutta Review.

distinct change is observed in Part II of the play exemplifying a notable modification in the treatment of an old theme discernible in the Judith-Allan love episode running as a silver thread through the coarse warp and woof of the main theme. At the outset, love's dawning in Judith manifests itself as sex-attraction masquerading, however, in a sweet idyllic fashion as girlish sex-duel. To her unsympathetic mother Alice, Judith is a chip of the old block—one who inherits from her father Captain Edgar the family trait of trampling others down and bullying them for mere fun. Young Allan, too, at first condemns her as cruel and rude. A better judge, Curt, sympathetically characterizes her as a *fine girl* though a bit imperious. This coquettish creature plays the little tyrant with the bashful Allan (in the opening scene) whom with feminine naughtiness she torments with love's delicious ancient pin-pricks. In vain does the love-bewitched poor young man fret and fume with the piteous cry "I am your slave..... The slave must be tortured." We shall here just refer to Old Shakespeare who knew the secret much better than all of us put together.

With a woman's unerring instinct Judith next detects that Allan can yet appreciate the torturer's company. Instantly she adds a pinch of spice—that of playful banter rich in romantic flavour: she offers to help him in his examinations by her influence with his teacher-examiner, the Lieutenant, of whom, sure enough, the timid youth is a bit jealous as his rival in love! Allan's futile taunt—"You want to eat me.....You want to put your beautiful eyes in pawn to get possession of my head" is quickly met by the beautiful and grand retort from her—"Oh, you have been looking at my eyes? I didn't expect that much courage of you." Unable to tear himself away from the glamour of love's delicious witchery, Allan in his torments seeks solace for "a jealous and wounded heart by burying his face in Alice's bosom even though Alice is

cynical in her attitude towards this romantic love affair. Thus here Strindberg's naturalism is tempered with romanticism. Orthodox criticism will notice in this a reversion to the author's *early* manner. That need not imply, however, anything like a symptom of atavism. We prefer to call it a rich blend—the fruit of riper days of æsthetic development.

Now, love makes Judith, though yet girlish in her pranks, suddenly heroic in resolve and she proves how a girl can strike a decisive blow for one she really likes. With a woman's firmness she resents Captain Edgar's undue paternal interference with her freedom of choice when he arranges for her a marriage of convenience with the Colonel, an old widower. Straight comes her appeal to whom but Allan and that in these burning words—"Yes, Allan, 'tis unbearable here—here, where they speculate—in soda and human beings!"

Once more we note in passing Strindberg's revolt against external pressure or outside interference hampering the free growth of one's personality.

We next come across Judith in her new role—Judith, who did not at first understand why *men* should "run around and weep in the woods" or should suffer so intensely at the thought of ill-requited love but has learnt anon the whole mystery of love, now exclaims—"how it hurts—oh!"—"the way it feels like choking as if one is going to die!" Oh, no; she was not in fact *cruel* to Allan, she explains—only "she didn't know better." Assuredly Strindberg means to show here the working of genuine and deep love in budding womanhood as distinguished from mere sex-attraction.

They now plight eternal troth and in the powerful love scene that follows we behold two beautiful selfless young people in a halo of romance united soul to soul by a strong love that alone knows how to dare and set the whole world at naught. In the exuberance of youthful emotional fervour Judith proposes a piece of romantic adventure even at the moment of her oppressive grief—

flight from the prison life in her father's house "inside of a round fort built of granite" symbolically representing her severe isolation from all healthy influences. There is a Shelleyan touch in Judith's visionary flight when she says to Allan—"Let us go together—we'll take the small boat, the little white one—and we'll sail far out * * * till we founder—* * But we should have washed the sails yesterday—they should be white as snow—for I want to see white in that moment—and you swim with your arm about me until you grow tired—and then we sink—"

Judith, the girl, has become transformed by the magic touch of love. The new phase of love presented here is very interesting and suggestive in itself but more so as an evidence both of the author's tendency in the last period of his career to return to his early romanticism and of the growing new faith in him which reaches a higher stage of development in *Swanwhite* (1902) viewed as a symbolic and mystic presentation of love in which the theme takes on a new colouring and receives a new handling. It is also necessary to observe an important change in Strindberg's attitude to womanhood through his new treatment of love. The old sex-duel is now replaced by a new vision of the relations between man and woman ideally presented in the mysterious love that binds the souls of Swanwhite and her Prince by a heavenly tie. To the Prince's query as to who is the rightful *owner*, Swanwhite's simple and compelling reply is contained in a short monosyllable—"*both*"! In the poet's language

> "Thus she with happy favour feeds
> Allegiance from a love so high
> That thence no false conceit proceeds
> Of difference bridged. * * * * *"

Sex-barrier, if any, is completely broken down by the puissance of love, not manifested in "sensations sweet, felt in the

blood" nor in vulgar contentions for sexual supremacy, but "passing even into the pure" soul "with tranquil restoration"; for, it is love that dissolves and fuses two hearts into a sacred unity and transcends "mortal blisses."

This is powerful, profound and mysterious—deep calling unto deep and soul answering soul. Swanwhite's are, verily,

> "Keen lips that shape soft sayings
> Like crystals of the snow,
> With pretty half betrayings
> Of things one may not know."

We are next led to a brief dialogue, as sweet as suggestive, (p. 56, Third Series) accompanied by an equally valuable symbolic stage-direction so closely associated with the development of Strindberg's art in the last phase of his dramatic career. Love's potency—"bright still from heaven"—is seen in the mysterious change in the "Step-mother" and her three "Maids" when Swanwhite exclaims—"so that is love? Blessed be it by the Lord! The Lord Omnipotent who made the world!" The fulness of her bliss melts into sacred tears of joy. The Prince may say, in response, with the poet,

> "We carry the Heavens, with us, dear,
> While the Earth slips from our feet."

Yet a human touch is lent to this love, white as a lily, by Swanwhite's yearning to "have each other," even *though in* sleep the loving pair did "walk hand in hand within the land of dreams" from which at daybreak the Prince came to greet his heart's beloved. She insists "I want you in my arms! Against my heart I want to feel the beat of yours—upon your arm I want to sleep—"

Held fast in a sacred embrace they are merged in each other; for, "the Prince" exclaims—"Lost both of us! For

I am you, and you are me!" and the girl's response is "we two are one till" the Prince gratefully finishes off—"God, who is good, has heard your prayer! We have each other!"

They realise that this is the promised eternal bliss that has no flaw and knows no end. We have once before spoken of Strindberg's quest of the holy grail of true love and here the quest ends.

Indications of this growing faith in love's redeeming power are dimly visible in the romantic touch in his *Dream Play* (1902) where "The Officer" wistfully waits for "his Victoria" making the "Daughter of Indra" observe "what she is to us and others matters nothing to him. And what she is to him that alone is her real self." The "Daughter" ultimately believes that "life is hard—but love overcomes everything" and "the Poet" says "lay not hands on love! It is treason!—"

But this new ideal of redemption by pure love is beautifully worked out in *Swanwhite* in a convincing *dramatic* manner in the scene representing a miraculous change in "The Stepmother" (p. 54) who after all her machinations is thrown into temporary ecstasy at the heavenly sight of the happy lovers locked in each other's arms in deep sleep with the Prince's sword symbolically placed between them. Her wicked jealousy and inhuman cruelty yield to love and joy at the blessed sight than which, she avers, nothing more beautiful she has ever beheld—"two roses brought together * * two falling stars that join * * it is too beautiful!—Youth, beauty, innocence and love!" Wonder of wonders! "The Stepmother" becomes altruistic finding joy in the happiness denied to herself and rejoicing at other's happiness—"some kind of joy, at least, at other's love"—and though the thought of her own daughter Magdalene soon very naturally alters this mood she still cries out—"O love omnipotent—eternally creative Lord—how you

have rendered soft this lion's heart! Where is my strength? Where is my hatred—where my revenge?"

A finer and more mystical note is struck towards the close of the play. Seized by passionate longing for his beloved Swanwhite, "The Prince" ventured to swim back the straits and dropped dead with her sweet name on his lips! "The Fisherman" briefly tells how the young Prince's corpse, dashed ashore on the white sand by the raging sea, presented an awe-inspiring sight—with smiles on his lips and his cheeks rosy with beauty and youth—to the beholders gathered on the shore who cried aloud—man saying unto man—"lo! this is love!"

Finally, when "the Duke" remonstrates with his daughter, Swanwhite, that "what was loved in life has little worth beyond," her indomitable faith in renovating love fills her with hope that "should love's power not extend to the other side of death, the gracious Lord will let him out of heaven"—yea, "he must come to me—back to this earth." As in the case of the Hindu wife Savitri or of Laodamia, the Greek dame, deathless faith and constancy is rewarded with fruition and the marvellous result of bringing "the Prince" back to life follows from Swanwhite's innocent self-effacing love—love that is the regeneration of "The Stepmother" and which means resurrection and re-juvenation to "the Prince." The curtain may be allowed to fall on the words of the erst hostile and vengeful "Stepmother"—now the newly converted Duchess—"Blessed be love which can work miracles like that!"

(*To be continued*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LICCHAVIS OF ANCIENT INDIA

The Licchavis were included in the great Vajjian Confederacy that dominated over the Vajji or Vṛijji Country. But sometimes Vajji and Licchavi were used indiscriminately as synonyms. At the time that Buddha lived, "the Vajjis were divided into several clans such as the Lichhavis, the Vaidehis, the Tirabhuktis and so on and the exact number of these clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were arranged before the Aṭṭhakūlakā or eight clans which would appear to have been a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe."[1] All these Vajjis lived in great amity and concord which was a particular mark of their confederacy and this union coupled with their martial instincts and the efficiency of their martial institutions made them great and powerful amongst the nations of north-eastern India.[2] Their sympathy for one another was exemplary. If a Licchavi fell ill, the other Licchavis came to see him. The whole clan would join any auspicious ceremony performed in the house of a Licchavi; if any foreigner of rank and power paid a visit to the Licchavi capital, they would all go out in a body to receive him and do him honour.[3] The young Licchavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.[4] The Buddha on his first meeting with the Licchavi nobles in their gay attire and rich and splendid equipages of various colours was led to compare them to Tāvatiṁsa Gods. A similar account we get from the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta when the Licchavi

[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 447.

[2] *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 3; *vide* also Turnour, *Pāli Buddhistical Annals*, No. 5, J. A. S. B. Dec. 1838, p. 992.

[3] *Sumangala-Vilāsini* (Burmese), pp. 103-105.

[4] Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 79.

nobles went out for the last time to meet the Blessed One as soon as they learned that he had arrived at Vaiśālī and was staying at the Mangoe-grove of Ambapālī in the outskirts of their city. "Ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted them and proceeded with their train to Vesālī. Some of them were dark,[1] dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments."[2] Exactly the same description of the colours favoured by the Licchavis is given in the Aṅguttara Nikāya,[3] which shows that the Licchavis wore these colours not only on great festive occasions but in their ordinary daily life also. Once when the Enlightened One was staying at the Kuṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana, five hundred Licchavis were seated round him doing obeisance. Some of them were *nīla* or blue all over in clothes and ornaments and similarly others were yellow, red or white. We may compare these descriptions with the more detailed account in the Mahāvastu of the colours preferred by the Licchavis. Thus says the Sanskrit Buddhist work: "There are Licchavis with blue horses, blue chariots, blue reins and whips, blue sticks, blue clothes, blue ornaments; blue turbans, blue umbrellas and with blue sword, blue jewels, blue footwear and blue everything befitting their youth"[4] and here the Mahāvastu quotes a verse, apparently from an older work or a traditional saying. In the very same terms the Mahāvastu speaks of the Licchavis deckd all in yellow (*pita*) and in

[1] Nila (Digha-Nikaya Vol. II p. 96.) has been translated as "dark" by Prof. Rhys Davids; though for the complexion this may be a fair rendering, it is not so for the attire and the equipage.

[2] Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 31.

[3] Anguttara Nikāya PTS, Part III, p. 239.

[4] *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 259, for the text. The author is responsible for the English translation.

light red, the colour of the Bengal Madder (*Manjiṣṭha*), in red (*lohita*), in white (*śveta*), in green (*harita*), and some in variegated colours (*vyāyukta*).[1] Perhaps the Licchavis were divided into separate clans, as Senart suggests, by the colour worn by each; otherwise it is difficult to explain why the same colour should be preferred in the trappings of the horses, the decorations of their carriages, as well as the articles of dress adorning their own persons. There was moreover a profusion of gold and jewels in everything in their equipage. Besides those in the carriages drawn by horses, there were others on gold-bedecked elephants; others again in palanquins of gold set with all kinds of precious stones. Altogether there went out of the city of Vesālī twice 84,000 conveyances decked in pearl and gold, with all the wealth and splendour of kings (rājarddhiye and samṛddhiye).

All this speaks of a people who were greatly prosperous and in affluent circumstances and it may be expected that they would be given to luxury and indolence. But this was not their character at the time that Buddha lived and preached among them. The Saṁyutta Nikāya preserves a saying of the Exalted One: "Look ye Bhikkhus here, how these Licchavis live sleeping with logs of wood as pillows, strenuous and diligent (appamattā), zealous and active (ātāpino) in archery. Ajātasattu, Vedehiputto, the Magadhan King, can find no defect in them nor can he discover any cause of action (against them). Should the Licchavis, Oh Bhikkhus, in the time to come, become very delicate, tender and soft in their arms and legs, should they sleep in ease and comfort on cushions of the finest cotton up till the sun is up in the heavens, then the Magadhan king, Ajātasattu, Vedehiputto, will find defects and will discover cause of action."[2] This testimony of the Buddha goes to show that the Licchavis

[1] We have here followed the interpretation suggested by Senart of the word *Vyāyukta* (*vide Mahāvastu*, note, p. 574); this meaning however is very doubtful.

[2] *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, P. T. S., Part II, pp. 267-268.

were hardy and active, ardent and strenuous in their military training so that their enemies could have no chance of getting them at a disadvantage.

They were fond of manly sports such as hunting. The Aṅguttara Nikāya narrates how a large number of Licchavi youths, armed with bows ready with the strings and set and surrounded by a pack of hounds, was roving about in the Mahāvana but finding the Buddha seated at the foot of a tree in the forest, threw away their bows and arrows and sending away the pack of hounds, sat by the Great Teacher, subdued by his presence, silent and without a word, in a reverent attitude with the palms joined. A Licchavi of apparently advanced years, Mahānāma by name, who came to pay his respects to the Buddha, expressed his great wonder at the sight of the Licchavi youths, full of life and vivacity, notorious for their insolent and wanton conduct in the city, thus sitting silent and demure, in an attitude of reverence before the Great Teacher; he pointed out the defects in their character, the defects that are found in youngmen of every country where the people are rich and powerful and of a high temperament. "The Licchavi youths oh Lord!" goes on Mahānāma, "are rude and rough and whatever presents are sent to the families, sugarcanes or plums, cakes, sweetmeats or preparations of sugar, these they plunder and eat up, throw dust at the ladies of good families, and girls of good families; such youngmen are now all silent and demure, are doing obeisance with joined palms to yourself, O Lord."[1] Here we get an insight into the daily life of these young cockneys glorying within the walls of the city of Vaiśālī. It shows that the young Vaiśālians, though they indulged in the pranks and peccadillos of youth, were not so wild as to lose all sense of reverence or respect due to religious men.

[1] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P. T. S., Part III. p. 76.

"In the Buddh's time the young Licchavis of the city," says Watters, "were a free, wild, set, very handsome and full of life and Buddha compared them to the Gods in Indra's Heaven. They dressed well, were good archers, and drove fast carriages, but they were wanton, insolent and utterly irreligious.[1]" This is an exaggeration and was probably based on the Chinese translations of such passages as the following from the Lalitavistara where some of the Tuṣita gods were pointing out the defects in the character of the Vaiśālians. When their city was recommended by others among them as a suitable place of birth for the Bodhisattva, these Devaputtras in the Tuṣita heaven averred, "Vaiśālī is unfit. What is the reason? Look here they do not speak with propriety towards each other, there is no practice of religion among them, nor obedience to those in high or middle position, nor to the old and the elders. Each one of them thinks, 'I am a king and I am a king.' They do not accept the discipleship of anyone nor the religion of any one. Therefore is Vaiśālī unfit."[2] Whatever might have been the opinions of these 'Sons of Heaven' before the birth of the Bodhisattva, they must have changed their opinions about the people of Vaiśālī who showed such remarkable veneration towards the Enlightened One and received such marked favours from him. Do we not often read of five hundred Licchavis visiting him at the Kuṭāgāraśālā surrounding him and doing obeisance to him? The only conclusion we can draw from the above account in the Lalitavistara is that the Licchavis were rather independent in character and would not easily accept a subordinate position to any one whether in politics or in religion or in ordinary daily life.

Then again the statement that the Licchavis did not respect their elders or were irreligious is in direct contradiction of what the Buddha said about them to Vassakāra, the

[1] T. Watters on Yuan Chhāng.

[2] *Lalitavistara*, ed. E. Lefmann, Vol. I. p. 21.

Magadhan minister: "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—... .. . so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper."[1]

Theft was almost unknown among the Licchavis as a passage in the Vinaya Piṭaka indicates.[2]

Vaddha, a Licchavi, at the instigation of some dishonest Bhikkhus, had preferred a false charge of adultery against Dabba, a Mallian, but Vaddha afterwards made a clean breast of the whole ugly plot as soon as he saw the measure of his iniquity.[3]

The young Vajjians, of whose martial instincts and sportsmanlike character we have got evidence above, appear to have been in the habit of training elephants. Among the Psalms of the Brethren (Theragāthā) we find one composed by Vajjiputta, the son of a Licchavi Rājā at Vesālī who became known among the followers of Buddha as the Vajjian's son and who in his early life was engaged in training elephants.[4]

Besides being partial to these manly arts of war and sports, the Licchavis were great lovers of fine arts too.

The Licchavi young men went to distant countries for their education. We read of a Licchavi named Mahāli who went to Taxilā to learn Śilpa or the arts and returned home after completing his education. It is said that he in his turn trained as many as five hundred Licchavis, who also, when educated, took up the same work and in this way education in arts spread far and wide among the Licchavis.[5]

[1] Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 80.

[2] Vinaya Piṭakam, Ed. by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, Bhikkunī-Vibhaṅga Sanghādidesa, pp. 225-226.

[3] Vinaya texts, S.B.E., Pt. III, pp. 118,125.

[4] *Psalms of the Brethren*, Translated by Mrs. Rhys Davis, p. 106.

[5] Fausboll—Dhammapadam, (old ed.), p. 211.

Artisans such as tailors, goldsmiths and jewellers must have been very much in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of seven thousand seven hundred and seven *rājās* or nobles, and we can very well imagine what a great strain these artisans were put to in order to devise suits of dress and ornaments to fit up the various coloured Licchavis, the blues, the reds, the yellows, the greens and the whites.

The art of building also was much developed in Vaiśālī; the sumptuous palaces of the Licchavis are spoken of in the Lalitavistara.[1] They were equally enthusiastic in the building of temples, shrines, and monasteries for the Bhikkhus and we are told that the Bhikkhus themselves superintended the erection of these buildings for the order. The Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka tells us also how when on one occasion the Enlightened One was staying at the peak-roofed hall in the Mahāvana, "the people were zealously engaged in putting up new buildings for the use of the order), and as zealously provided with the requisite clothes, and food, and lodging, and medicine for the sick, all such Bhikkhus as superintended their work."[2] We are further told how a poor tailor of Vaiśālī intent on building a house for the Saṁgha raised the walls of such a house, b t, as the Cullavagga tells us, "by his want of experience the laying was out of line and the wall fell down." Then the poor tailor felt disturbed, grew angry and murmured thus:—"These Śākyaputtiya Samaṇas exhort and teach those men who provide them with the requisite clothes, food, lodging, and medicine, and superintend their buildings for them. But I am poor and no one exhorts or teaches me or helps me in my building."[3] This passage shows that some of the Bhikkhus themselves were

[1] Lalitavistara, Chap. 3, p. 23. (Biblio Indica Series.)

Cullavagga, VI. 5. Translated by Drs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S.B.E., XX, pp. 189-190.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 190.

master builders who supervised the erection of houses for the Buddhist order, just as in the mediæval times in Europe we find the monks excelling in many of the fine arts including painting, sculpture and architecture. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī had built many shrines or caityas inside and outside their great city and we have seen from the Mahāvastu passage quoted in the last chapter, with what great liberality and magnanimity they delivered over the best among them to Buddha and the Buddhist Church. That these caityas were beautiful and noble buildings where one might prefer to dwell as long as one liked, even to the end of the kalpa, appears from a passage in the Dīgha Nikāya where the Buddha while staying at the Cāpāla Caitya said about each of the caityas that it was charming and then suggested to Ānanda that the Tathāgata might be inclined to live there for a kalpa[1] or the remaining part of a kalpa, meaning perhaps that in such beautiful surroundings life would be pleasant and worth living.

About the marriage rites of the Licchavis, it is said in the Tibetan books that there were rules restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī to that city alone. They state "the people of Vaiśālī had made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second or third; that one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and second; but that one born in the last district could marry in any one of the three; moreover, that no marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī."[2] A passage in the Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Sanghādidesa,[3] indicates that a Licchavi who wanted to marry could ask the Corporation or the Licchavigaṇa to select a suitable bride for him.

They appear to have a high idea of female chastity; violation of chastity was a serious offence amongst them.

[1] Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 58.

[2] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 82.

[3] Bhikkhunī-*Vibhaṅga Sanghādidesa II*. Vinaya Pitakam, Ed. by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225.

Buddha himself says that "no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction."[1] The Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā gives a story of a Licchavi *Rājā* named Ambasakkhara who was enamoured of the beauty of a married woman whose husband he engaged as an officer under him; he wanted to gain her love but was foiled in his attempts.[2]

The punishment for a woman who broke her marriage vow was very severe, the husband could with impunity even take away her life. But even an adulterous woman could save herself from the punishment by entering the congregation of nuns by getting the pabbajjā ordination as can be seen from the Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Sanghādisesa.[3]

A Licchavi wife committed adultery. The husband warned his wife many times but she heeded not. The Licchavi informed the Licchavigaṇa that his wife had commited adultery and he was willing to kill her and that he asked the Gaṇa to select a suitable wife for him. When she heard that she would be killed, she took her valuables, went to Sāvatthi and asked for Pabbajjā (ordination) from the Titthiyas, by whom, however, she was refused; then she went to the Bhikkhunis who in a body also refused; she then went to a Bhikkhunī, who was persuaded to give ordination to her and thus she was successful. The Licchavi went to Sāvatthi and saw his wife ordained, complained to the king Pasenadī of Kosala who asked him to show her wife. The Licchavi informed the king that she had become a Bhikkhunī. The king said that as she had become a Bhikkhunī, no punishment could be inflicted on her.

After the occurrence of this event, an agitation was going on among the Licchavis who reported the matter to the Buddha who told the Bhikkhunis that they should not give

[1] *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 3 and 4.

[2] *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, Sinhalese Ed. Simon Hewavitarane's Bequest Series, No. 1, pp. 154-156.

[3] Vinaya Piṭaka, by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, pp. 225-226.

ordination to such a woman.[1] Thus we see that cases of adultery were tried by the Licchavigaṇa.

They used to kill animals on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of the lunar months and eat their flesh.[2]

There are various methods prevalent among the Licchavis with regard to the disposal of the dead. Besides cremation and burial in the earth, the custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals seems also to have been in existence in Vaiśālī. When the Bodhisatta was at Vaiśālī, he is said to have observed a cemetery under a clump of trees and enquired about it from the Ṛṣis who explained that the corpses of men were exposed to be devoured by the birds and there they used to collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons. They burnt corpses there and the bones were preserved in heaps; the corpses were hung from the trees by them; there were others buried such as had been killed by their relatives fearing lest they should be born again while others were left upon the ground that they might go back, if possible, to their former abodes.[3] Dr. Vincent Smith says that it proves a belief that the ancient inhabitants of Vaiśālī disposed of the dead "sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation, and sometimes by burial."[4]

The Licchavis had various festivals, of which the Sabbarattivāro or Sabbaratticāro was the most important. At the Sabbaratticāro festival, songs were sung, trumpets, drums and other musical instruments were used.[5] When a festival took place at Vaiśālī, all the people used to enjoy it and there were dancing, singing and recitation.[6]

BIMALACHARAN LAW

[1] Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa., Vol. II, p. 225.
[2] Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil), p. 186.
[3] Beal's Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, pp. 159-160.
[4] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXII. pp. 233-236.
[5] Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 201-202.
[6] Psalms of the Brethren, p. 63.

DEAN SWIFT AS A POET

"Sir, you will never be a poet." So Dryden is reported to have told Swift, and Swift's verse must not be taken too seriously. He did not take it very seriously himself.

"Have you seen a rocket fly?
You would swear it pierced the sky:
It but reached the middle air,
Bursting into pieces there;
Thousands sparkles falling down
Light on many a coxcomb's crown.
See what mirth the sport creates:
Singes hair, but breakes no pates.
Thus should I attempt to climb,
Treat you in a style sublime,
Such a rocket is my Muse:
Should I lofty numbers choose,
Ere I reached Parnassus' top,
I should burst and bursting drop."

Or again :—

"But, I beg, suspend a while
That same paltry, burlesque style;
Drop for once your constant rule,
Turning all to ridicule."

Swift was perfectly aware of his own limitations :—

"The Dean was famous in his time,
And had a kind of knack at rhyme.
His way of writing now is past;
The town has got a better taste."

The tendencies of men to overreach themselves is well described in these lines :—

"Brutes find out where their talents lie :
A bear will not attempt to fly ;
A founder'd horse will oft debate,
Before he tries a five-barr'd gate ;
A dog by instinct turns aside,
Who sees the ditch too deep and wide.
But man we find the only creature
Who, led by Folly, combats Nature ;
Who, when she loudly cries, Forbear,
With obstinacy fixes there ;
And, where his genius least inclines,
Absurdly bends his whole designs."

At verse Swift was extraordinarily facile, and much of his most scathing satire is to be found in his poems. These, however, have been unduly neglected. They are said to be too coarse and repulsive for our day, and the worse the critic, the more coarse the verse will appear to be in many places. Here is a fair example, showing Swift's mock-heroic verse rather than his coarseness :—

"The secret thou shalt ne'er impart,
Not to the nymph that keeps thy heart ;
(How would her virgin soul bemoan
A crime to all her sex unknown !)
Nor whisper to the tattling reeds
The blackest of all female deeds ;
Nor blab it on the lonely rocks.
Where Echo sits, and listening mocks :
Nor let the Zephyr's treacherous gale
Through Cambridge wait the direful tale :
Nor to the chattering feather'd race
Discover Celia's foul disgrace.
But, if you fail, my spectre dread,

Attending nightly round your bed—
And yet I dare confide in you ;
So take my secret and adieu :
Nor wonder how I lost my wits :
Oh ! Celia, Celia, Celia sh.....".

The last line reminds us of Goldsmith's remark : "Sir, a well placed dash makes half the wit of our writers of modern humour." Swift is full of dots and dashes.

Of course, woman and her foibles is a very favourite topic with Swift. There is a tradition that he was a woman-hater. He is also reported to have been unusually chivalrous towards women. However that may be, in his verse Swift can be a trenchant critic of the ways of women :—

"Say, foolish females, bold and blind,
Say, by what fatal turn of mind,
Are you on vices most severe,
Wherein yourselves have greatest share ?
Thus every fool herself deludes ;
The prudes condemn the absent prudes :
Mopsa, who stinks her spouse to death,
Accuses Chloe's tainted breath ;
Hircina, rank with sweat, presumes
To censure Phyllis for perfumes ;
While crooked Cynthia, sneering, says,
That Florimel wears iron stays ;
Chloe, of every coxcomb jealous,
Admires how girls can talk with fellows
And, full of indignation, frets
That women should be such coquettes :
Iris, for scandal most notorious,
Cries, "Lord, the world is so censorious ! "
And Rufa, with her combs of lead,
Whispers that Sappho's hair is red :
Aura, whose tongue you hear a mile hence,
Talks half a day in praise of silence ;
And Sylvia, full of inward guilt,
Calls Amoret an arrant jilt."

This quotation is an example of Swift's method of satire. It is quite general and presumably designed to improve the morals and manners of his time; but as we read the verse, Swift leaves the impression that he had a great knack for verse and wrote because it amused him and because he believed he could write verse as well as any one else of his day:—

> "Yet malice never was his aim;
> He lash'd the vice, but spared the name;
> No individual could resent,
> Where thousands equally were meant;
> His satire points at no defect,
> But what all mortals may correct;
> For he abhorr'd that senseless tribe
> Who call it humour when they gibe:
> He spared a hump or crooked nose,
> Whose owners set not up for beaux,
> True genuine dulness moved his pity,
> Unless it offer'd to be witty.
> Those who their ignorance confest,
> He ne'er offended with a jest;
> But laugh'd to hear an idiot quote
> A verse from Horace learn'd by rote."

What he preaches here, Swift did not always practise. In his later poems in particular he lashes individuals by name. Conscious even at an early age that his work possessed the qualities of permanence, he was originally chary of introducing names into his verse:—

> "For, should the vilest scribbler to the pit,
> Whom sin and want e'er furnish'd out a wit;
> Whose name must not within my lines be shewn,
> Lest here it live, when perish'd with his own."

But this principle later on was often departed from and we find mentioned a number of dignitaries, usually political

or ecclesiastical, whose names would long ago have perished had it not been for Swift. An exception must be made in the case of Sir Robert Walpole, one of Swift's favourite butts under the designation of Sir Robert Brass. Swift, as a Tory, at a time when party passions ran high, could scarcely be expected to do justice to the great Whig and he wrote:—

"I knew a brazen minister of state,
Who bore for twice ten years the public hate.
In every mouth the question most in vogue
Was, when will they turn out this odious rogue?
A juncture happen'd in his highest pride;
While he went robbing on, his master died."

One merit Swift in his humorous, contemptuous way does ascribe to Walpole. That student of human nature knew the value of the press to his government and made full use of the Whig writers of the day:—

"A pamphlet in Sir Bob's defence
Will never fail to bring in pence:
Nor be concerned about the sale,
He pays his workmen on the nail."

For this reason English Literature at the commencement of the eighteenth century was warped. Men of letters were too much involved in politics and literature became the handmaid of the politician. This accounts for some of the bitterness shown by authors to each other and distorted their judgment. Swift writes:—

"Thus Steele, who own'd what others writ,
And flourished by imputed wit."

The rival parties repaired to their respective coffee-houses and proceeded to tear to shreds the work and reputation of their adversaries:—

"And here a simile comes pat in;
Though chickens take a month to fatten,
The guests in less than half an hour
Will more than half a score devour.
So, after toiling twenty days
To earn a stock of pence and praise,
Thy labours, grown the critic's prey,
Are swallow'd o'er a dish of tea;
Gone to be never heard of more,
Gone where the chickens went before."

A good deal might be written, on Swift's similes. They form no inconsiderable part of his wit and skill. Incidentally they often go to sustain the charge of coarseness against him. Here is an example:—

"So, naturalists observe, a flea
Has smaller fleas that on him prey;
And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
And so proceed ad infinitum.
Thus every poet, in his kind,
Is bit by him that comes behind."

Characteristic of his verse is Swift's mock-heroic description, verging on the ludicrous and always interesting. As parody it is delightful:—

"Now hardly here and there a hackney-coach
Appearing, shew'd the ruddy morn's approach.
Now Betty from her master's bed had flown,
And softly stole to discompose her own;
The slip-shod 'prentice from his master's door
Had pared the dirt, and sprinkled round the door.

Now Moll had whirl'd her mop with dext'rous airs,
Prepared to scrub the entry and the stairs.
The youth with broomy stumps began to trace
The kennel's edge, where wheels had worn the place.
The small-coal man was heard with cadence deep,
Till drown'd in shriller notes of chimney-sweep :
Duns at his lordship's gate began to meet ;
And brickdust Moll had scream'd through half the street.
The turnkey now his flock returning sees,
Duly let out a-nights to steal for fees :
The watchful bailiffs take their silent stands,
And schoolboys lag with satchels in their hands."

Or take the closing lines of the "Description of a City Shower" :—

"Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow,
And bear their trophies with them as they go ;
Filth of all hues and odour, seem to tell
What street they sail'd from, by their sight and smell.
They, as each torrent drives with rapid force,
From Smithfield to St. Pulchre's shape their course,
And in huge confluence joined at Snowhill ridge,
Fall from the conduit prone to Holborn bridge.
Sweeping from butchers' stalls, dung, guts, and blood
Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drench'd in mud,
Dead cats, and turnip-tops, come tumbling down the flood."

Politicians, poets, priests, and women all at different times come under the lash of the satirist. Lawyers were also one of his pet abominations and he has referred to them in lines not unlike a parody of some of the poetry of Longfellow :—

"Now the active young attorneys
Briskly travel on their journeys,
Looking big as any giants,
On the horses of their clients :

* * * *
Brazen-hilted, lately burnish'd,
And with harness-buckles furnish'd.
* * * *
And with bridles fine and gay,
Bridles borrow'd for a day,
Bridles destined far to roam,
Ah! never, never to come home.
* * * *
And with ruffles to be shewn,
Cambric ruffles not their own;
And with Holland shirts so white,
Shirts becoming to the sight,
Shirts bewrought with different letters,
As belonging to their betters.
* * * *
And with rings so very trim;
Lately taken out of lim——."

And again he writes :—

"I own the causes of mankind
Sit light upon a lawyer's mind:
The clamours of ten thousand tongues
Break not his rest, nor burst his lungs;
I own, his conscience always free,
(Provided he has got his fee,)
Secure of constant peace within,
He knows no guilt, who knows no sin."

Here then we have in the verse of Swift an instrument of terror and torture to his victims. Hatred is the key-note from beginning to end and to anyone unacquainted with these effusions their vitriolic bitterness is almost incredible. Irony there is of a cutting kind. Swift regarded this as his peculiar discovery :—

"Arbuthnot is no more my friend,
Who dares to irony pretend,

Which I was born to introduce,
Refined it first, and shew'd its use."

Of malice, despite the bitter tone, there is no trace. His recipe for that he expresses in a single couplet :—

"The most effectual way to balk
Their malice is—to let them talk."

What moved him to write was sham and pretence and injustice or tyranny wherever found. Then he poured forth the vials of his wrath in no uncertain manner, taking as the motto of his verse this couplet :—

"Hated by fools, and fools to hate,
Be that my motto, and my fate" ;

or even two lines written in an early poem long before he had become famous or secured a hearing :—

"My hate, whose lash just Heaven has long decreed
Shall on a day make sin and folly bleed."

J. H. MAXWELL

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PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

(*A Reply*)

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's article on the Calcutta University published in the April number of the *Modern Review* contains a number of incorrect and exaggerated statements which are likely to create a wrong impression on the public mind and which, therefore, must be immediately contradicted in the interest of truth and fairness. I have no intention to dwell at length on the financial issues raised there. But one thing may be mentioned. Professor Sarkar takes it upon himself to inform us that the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were going to get additional financial assistance from the British Treasury only on the unpleasant condition of increased Government control over their administration. But this misgiving, I may point out, has been completely laid at rest by the Report of the Royal Commission. That Report, while urging the necessity of additional financial assistance, does not at all insist on additional control. But why go so far as Cambridge and Oxford? Nearer home we have instances which do not support the doctrine that state assistance to a University must always be conditional on state control and interference. All the new and reformed Universities of India are almost entirely financed by the state, but the control exercised by it over their internal management is quite nominal and slight. This view will be entirely confirmed if we recall the attitude taken and opinions expressed by the Honourable Mr. Chintamoni and some other responsible officials during the recent budget debates in the U. P. Council when attempts were made by some members of that Council to interfere in the internal administration and management of the University of Lucknow. The officials

concerned made it quite plain in their speeches that the University was endowed with the fullest possible autonomy and that, therefore, it would not be right for the Government or the Council to seek to interfere in its internal affairs, financial or otherwise. Besides, the Calcutta University has been exercising this valuable right of self-government for nearly a couple of decades now. And at last Professor Sarkar comes forward to tell us that this privilege must no longer be allowed to exist. I shall only content myself with the remark that the advocacy of such a course, specially at a time when we, in India, are persisting in our demands for the extension of the principle of self-government, can only be characterised as reactionary in the extreme.

Let me now turn to the academic portions of the learned Professor's article. I must concede at once that it is very much to be desired that the Calcutta University took sufficient care to keep strictly within the limits of its financial resources. All the same, it is very difficult to accept the opinion expressed by our ardent reformer that the multiplication of teachers in that University is altogether needless and extravagant. I shall only take up one instance which he has himself cited, *viz.*, that of a department where a single paper has been divided between two lecturers. According to Prof. Sarkar, such a division of work is diametrically opposed to the principles laid down by Sir Michael Sadler. But with all due deference to the authority of our distinguished Professor, I feel constrained to say that such an interpretation of the Sadler Commission's principles is fundamentally wrong. For, as the same Commission observes, the University teacher is not a mere teacher, but must also be a researcher, an eager enquirer after truth, who must seek to get at his knowledge first-hand. Accordingly, the Commission holds that the University teacher must be provided with a reasonable amount of leisure, and not handicapped by too much teaching work. Hence it would be very difficult to justify the remark that the University

teachers have not had sufficient teaching work to do. Apart, however, from considerations of research, even from the narrow standpoint of efficient teaching, I can assert without any fear of contradiction that the instruction provided by the much abused University teachers is of a distinctly better type than what was available under the old system even in the Premier College of Bengal, where I had the privilege of studying for a number of years. And this is quite natural. For, in these days of rapid and many-sided extensions of knowledge, it is simply impossible for one single man to acquire a sound, comprehensive and up-to-date knowledge of a subject, or even a broad division of a subject. Such sound and thorough knowledge can be acquired only if everyone confines himself to a comparatively narrow and limited field.

My point will be sufficiently clear from a comparison of some of the results of the old system with those of the new. There are many first Class M.A.'s and P.R.S.'s produced under the good old system who have been long associated with the profession of teaching. And yet we would look in vain for even a dozen scholars of the old type who have made any substantial contribution to our stock of knowledge. On the other hand, inspite of "the rapid multiplication of 1st Class M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s created by an examination not of the right standard," the Calcutta University has sent out a steady succession of young and brilliant scholars who can hold their own in any seat of learning in the world.

I would next examine the rather hasty judgment which Professor Sarkar passes upon the examinations of the Calcutta University. He does not in the least add to his great reputation for patient and scholarly research by trying to mislead the public by giving a wrong and partial analysis of the methods and procedure followed or by drawing equally wrong conclusions from it. I would only mention a few relevant points which our learned Professor finds it quite necessary for his purpose to omit. In the first place, so far as my information

goes, the system of "sham examinations" where the teachers exercise a predominating influence is not a monopoly of the Calcutta University, but is also prevalent on a much larger scale in most of the Western Universities. Hence, even if that system is really defective, the Calcutta University has only borrowed that defect from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford about which we hear so much from the pen of Professor Sarkar. In the second place, there is a standing rule almost invariably observed by the Calcutta University of associating an external examiner of outstanding position along with an internal examiner for every paper that is offered for the M.A. examination. A well-informed critic of the Calcutta University like Prof. Jadunath Sarkar must surely be aware of that rule and still he finds it rather convenient to omit the slightest reference to it. And yet again, Professor Sarkar tries to prove from the single fact of a large number of passes and first classes that the degrees of the Calcutta University do not deserve to be given much credit. But I would like to remind Prof. Sarkar that while in his days, scarcely a dozen candidates offered themselves for the M.A. examination in any particular subject, the corresponding number in these days was to be counted by the hundred. Hence, it is no great wonder that the number of first classes in recent years should of necessity have been much greater than in the good old days which Professor Sarkar appears very fond of recalling many a time for us.

But our veteran scholar and unsparing critic surpasses even himself when he comes to tell us of his own valuation of the P.R.S.'s and Ph.D.'s of the Calcutta University. I need only mention a few specific cases. Here is a list of the Calcutta P. R. S.'s from 1910 (new régime) onwards and of a few Ph.D.'s and D.Sc.'s selected at random :—

P. R. S.

1910—Bagchi, Haridas	1911—Ray, Manmathanath
„ —Sarkar, Anukulchandra	„ Sengupta, Hemendrakumar

1911—Majumdar, Surendranath
1912—Majumdar, Rameshchandra
1913—De, Bimanbehari
„ Mukherjee, Girindralal
„ Banerjee, Gauranganath
1914—Mukherjee, Bhujangabhusan
„ Ganguli, Surendramohan
1915—Mukherjee, Radhakamal
„ Law, Narendranath
„ Banerjee, Sudhansukumar
1916—Dutt, Rasiklal
„ Ghosh, Brajendranath
„ Chatterjee, Sunitikumar

Later Years :—

Mukherjee, Jnanendranath
Dey, Susilkumar

Ph.D (*new régime*)	D.Sc. (*new régime*)
Mukherjee, Radhakumud	Ghosh, Jnanchandra
Majumdar, Rameshchandra	Saha, Meghnad
Mukherjee, Radhakamal	Banerjee, Sudhansukumar
Ghosh, Jnanchandra	Dhar, Nilratan
	Dutt, Rasiklal

The number of P. R. S.'s in the list is 20. Most of these scholars are comparatively young still, there are at least a dozen names that are honourably mentioned for genuine first-class scholarship even beyond the boundaries of the particular academic exchange where Professor Sarkar appears to be one of the very few monopolistic or semi-monopolistic dealers. Again, each of the eight scholars included in the Doctors' list has established a reputation which has spread itself far beyond the boundaries of Professor Sarkar's academic exchange and in some cases has even penetrated into continental Europe. Besides, Professor Sarkar can easily find out for himself that many of the P. R. S.'s and all the Doctors except one, *viz.*, Dr. Meghnad Saha, are at present occupying very responsible academic positions outside the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. These scholars have won the laurels in the free and fair contest of universal scholarship. Are we still to be told that "the inflated First Class M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s of Calcutta have sunk to the same value (or level?) in the academic exchange of India as the inflated kronen of the

Austrian currency has done in the monetary exchange of the world" ? That is very likely to be true in an exchange where Professor Jadunath Sarkar happens to be a sort of more or less a monopolist dealer. But in the wider exchange of universal scholarship where there is really fair and open competition, the academic products with the Calcutta trade-mark have already come to be highly appreciated as thoroughly genuine in character.

HIRENDRALAL DEY

VENGEANCE IS MINE

SECOND BOOK

CHAPTER I

At the same time as Raghubhai was sleeping off the fatigue after Ramkisandasji's ready justice, Hakumatraiji was smoking the *hookah* in Surat and was unconsciously stroking his white moustache. He was blowing rings and clouds of fragrant smoke around him with all the enjoyment of an expert connoisseur. A superficial observer might have taken the old Raiji for a deep thinker. But those who knew him were quite sure that his brain capacity was not equal to any depth of thought, nor had he troubled himself often about the processes of pure reason. Some minutes later he put aside the *hookah* and opening his small wallet began to prepare *pan* and tobacco for chewing.

"Well, what are you about, now?" cried Mistress Maghtkor entering the room, "I told you often enough,—my jaw even aches with the telling—but you were always for 'poor Nilkanth' and 'dear Nilkanth.' And now you reap the consequences. You have invited trouble yourself, so don't blame me. Grin and bear this extra burden. As if you had not enough burden of your own."

Old Raiji quickly shook his huge head, he had known and had endured his wife's temper and tongue for years. He put a wad of *pan* into his mouth and asked, "Has Bachu gone to fetch them?"

"Oh yes, certainly! Provide for all poor relations you can hunt out of a dungheap. A wife has yet to be found for Bachu and poor Kiki hardly knows if she would ever be married and here are your new relations!"

"My dear, I am a bit tired of your sharp tongue. Why do you assume that Gunavanti shall prove a burden?"

"Oh dear, no! No burden at all! Of course she will be a blessing in the house! I can see all that!

Old Raiji smiled faintly.

"But here is a carriage. Here they are at last."

The carriage stopped at the door, Bachu jumped out and shouted for the servant. "Welcome, dear aunt," he cried going up to her. With heavy heart and eyes blinded with tears Gunavanti had come back after many years to the ancestral home of her husband. But the Lord of her love and her home, with whom she had set out on life's pilgrimage,—him she had left behind and had come back alone to be dependent upon her husband's old brother in the dark days of her widowhood. With streaming eyes and bent head she glided into the house.

The old Raiji got up. He had scarce the courage to welcome the widow of his younger brother. His old heart, hardened by experience, was wrung at the remembrance of the premature decease of his favourite younger brother. A few big tears flowed down his wrinkled cheeks. A smile of welcome was on his face but the corners of his mouth were turned down by the force of his grief, which he was trying hard to control.

Jagat entered immediately after his mother. Old Raiji called the boy to his side. The voice of the old man was shaking with unshed tears.

"Well, my boy? Do you remember me, Jagat?"

Jagat's recollection of the old uncle was rather vague. But he had heard about this uncle from Nilkanthrai and Gunavanti, and had grown to hold him in such awe that he was quite terrified at being addressed in this way by the old man; he stood half shy, half in fear.

Old Raiji drew him by the hand towards himself and patted the boy's head.

"May you live long, my child, and may you add lustre to the name you inherit. Now go inside and have a wash and change."

The old man wiped his eyes and sought consolation in his *hookah*.

Jagat went in. Auntie Mahakor was bustling about loudly in the kitchen.

"So this is your boy! Good."

For a long while the mother and son sat there in silence. What could the new arrivals say? They remained sitting where they were. Nobody showed them their room, none bade them welcome. Poor Gunavanti's heart was breaking; she felt she was not at all welcome to Mahakor. But where else could she have gone. There was no other relation of hers on earth.

Bachu[1]—Gunavantrai—came in.

"But, aunt, how long will you sit here like this, come upstairs with me. Come along, friend Jagat, do look alive, you look quite done up," with these cheering words he led Jagat upstairs. Bachu was about sixteen years old and a spoilt child, but he was frank and open-hearted albeit a little lacking in wisdom. He never could agree with his mother, and he had a wholesome dread of the father. But old Raiji was so easy-going that there were not many occasions when this dread was actually experienced by his son.

They went upstairs and Bachu bustled about arranging their boxes; and he fixed up a few pegs for their clothes.

"Auntie, let me give you some good advice. Don't you speak too much to mother. If you want anything, ask me. Mother only gets wild."

Gunayanti did not reply, but acknowledged Bachu's goodness with a smile of gratitude.

"Bachu, I will now put Jagat under your care. You see he must be feeling very strange and awkward here."

[1] "Bachu" was the pet name used at home.

"Oh, don't you worry! He will get along very well in a couple of days. You shall see the change yourself. Come along, youngster." Bachu had learnt from his schoolmates to assume a lordly air of patronage, and he delighted to show it off at every opportunity.

"Bachu! In what form are you at present?"

"What form! I have been kept back in the sixth."

"English?"

"Ha, ha, ha," laughed Bachu, "who the devil can get up so high! It's lucky I managed so far."

"But why? My Jagat reads in a higher form than you."

"But how could I help it! Dash it—I cannot pass the examinations," Bachu defended himself in an injured tone.

"Perhaps you do not read enough."

"No, auntie, I do read. But," added he in a low whisper, "I am always unlucky. Father does not speak up to the teacher. And in every examination my seat is exactly in front of the teacher's table, so the others can pass by unfair means, whilst I dare not even whisper to my neighbour.

Gunavanti could hardly suppress a smile even in her grief. But the conversation was interrupted by a loud summons from the kitchen below.

"Bachu, Bachu, what are you all doing up there? Can't you come down? Dinner will be getting cold."

* * * * *

At about four that afternoon Bachu and Jagat were talking and Gunavanti was downstairs with Mahakor. A whistle sounded from below the back window. Bachu got up immediately and answered the whistle.

"Come up, Raman. My cousin has come."

A youth pattered up the stairs. His well-greased curls were dangling over his forehead from underneath a cap worn at an angle of forty-five degrees. Impudence was plainly visible in his looks. He was wearing a threadbare vest and coat, which had once been fashionable, and a fine muslin *dhoti*

worn stylishly according to the latest mode. On his feet were an old pair of "pumps" which had long lost all their shine. The wearer was barely sixteen and such swank, such fashion and such traits as were evident on his very face indicated a character such as no experienced teacher would like to see in a youth of that age. Jagat was quite staggered.

"Who this chappie?" asked he in fluent "English," pointing at Jagat.

"But, Raman, he reads in the third form."

"Who? This bloke?"—a look of supreme contempt accompanied this.

Jagat at first did not know what to say. He quietly inquired: "What are you studying."

"Ha-ha! Your humble servant is in the first. Education spells stagnation now-a-days," asserted Ramanlal in self-defence.

Jagat found such manners, such language and finally the cigarette, which Raman took out, very strange and so utterly against all he had learnt from Gunavanti that he merely sat still and listened. After a while Bachu and Raman went out for a stroll.

Ramanlal was the heir-apparent of a millionaire and was quite up-to-date in all matters befitting a man about town.

* * * * *

Time passed thus. Gunavanti little by little won over even her sister-in-law. Before two months had passed she had assumed all the burden of managing the house. Old Raiji saw cleanliness, order and a certain quiet dignity appearing in the house and saw in it the silent influence of Gunavanti. The children loved her even more than their own mother. Jagat also got more and more at home. Dull-headed Bachu got very proud of his "little brother's" cleverness and in admiring his learning he tended to neglect his own. But he was constantly striving to serve Jagat with the fidelity of a dog. Raman had also condescended to come down from his

"fashionable heights" and to glance at Jagat. But more often he looked down with superior scorn upon Jagat and called him "a little girl" to express his opinion about his lack of *taste and fashion.*

Jagat grew and flourished both in body and in mind. The well-mannered, clever, hard-working and idealistic Jagat won praises from every one. But he went his own way without being spoilt by them. Sometimes he sank in melancholy; Tanman's face rose up before his mind and he felt that his life lacked some thing. At such times he retired into a corner and shed tears, he knew not why. And then he would resume his studies in the hope of working hard to make his life of some worth and winning Tanman at last. Gunavanti's maternal heart rejoiced to see her son.

But there was one subject which neither mother nor son could freely discuss with the other. Gunavanti had warned him never to mention to anyone why they had suddenly to leave Raghubhai's shelter. As Jagat grew older, he began to have some faint inkling of the truth, but whenever he asked her about it, Gunavanti became evasive. He was sore perplexed over the matter and began to look upon Raghubhai as his mortal enemy.

Two or three years later the Angel of Death descended upon Raiji's house. The first to go was the sickly sister of Bachu. Then came the turn of auntie Mahakor, frightened and terrified on the brink of the unknown; and she went without any one wishing her to have remained a little longer. Two years later old Raiji also went to Heaven, loved and honoured to the last, as he had always been throughout his long life. All restraints being removed Mr. Bachu bade adieu to the worship of Sarasvati after reaching the giddy heights of the third English form. He always maintained with just pride that it was not at all necessary to have two brothers educated in one family. He made the noble resolve to offer his whole life to the grand task of looking after his patch

of ancestral land. Old Raiji had kept a carriage but his son sold it off, but with the creditable object not to bring his city[1] to shame, he kept an *ekka*[2]—about the size of a big basin—and a bullock—the size of a big goat. In this magnificent chariot he used to drive out through the "bazar" in the Fort, adorned with a couple of small shops, or otherwise he went out to take air in the dreary treeless waste known as the "Queen's Gardens" or at the farthest he reached the limit of the empty bungalows of the civil lines, and in these enjoyments, he thought, consisted the highest that life could offer. Such is indeed the viewpoint of the average citizen of Surat.

Parisians hold that there is nothing to be seen outside Paris. Surat is the beautiful Paris of Gujarat and Mr. Bachu was a typical Surati: hence no wonder that he too thought likewise.

CHAPTER II

Another Interval

Days flew fast in this manner. Six years had past since Jagat had come to stay with his uncle. The little Jagat of those days was now an undergraduate in a College at Bombay. The holidays had begun and Jagat was to come home to Surat. Bachu was at the railway station to receive him.

"Well, brother, how are you?"

"Quite well. And is mother quite well?"

"Yes, quite."

Collecting the luggage both went along and stopped at the door of a second class.

[1] Surat.

[2] A small wooden box upon two wheels.

"Hallo, Jagat, dear?" exclaimed Ramanlal, shaking his hand in the most approved style. "Bachu, my darling, how are you"; the "darling" showed that he had friends among the Bombay "smart set." "Hale and hearty, eh!"

Mr. Ramanlal was doing some business in Bombay. What that business was no one knew. But people believed that he dealt only with millions, and his airs also supported that belief.

"I am going to Dumas.[1] The old governor is there and I am going there for a month's rest."

"Very well, but how long do you stay here?"

"A couple of days at most. Your town is a jolly little hole. It is too slow for me. But Jagat and Bachu, old chaps! You too come along, both of you. The old 'un will indeed be glad. He is specially gone on you, Jagat."

"But I won't come. I come home after these months and do not want to be out wandering again."

"You are indeed a deuced stay-at-home little chicken. But come along, my carriage is here and I will reach you home."

They reached home in a few minutes.

"Auntie, here is your little chickie. But I will whisk him off this time to Dumas," Raman said to Gunavanti, "the old 'un would be feeling a bit lonely and he will be just the companion for that ancient fellow."

Ramanlal used to forget in the pressure of his business that the old gentleman was his father and deserved somewhat more respectful epithets.

"Very well, I will consider your proposal. You will be back in the afternoon."

The mother and son embraced each other and talked long and lovingly. In the afternoon Ramanlal presented himself. He scarce left off any whim without getting all he could out of it.

[1] A small seaside village and health-resort about six miles from Surat.

"No, auntie; you must send him along. Bachu has his rents to collect, but what is Jagat going to do at home? Our people have always been lifeless and wanting in energy."

"But I do not prevent him. He might certainly go for a fortnight. Yes, Jagat, do go. You will get a good change."

Raman had succeeded at last, Jagat did agree to go to Dumas. The night before the departure mother and son sat together in conversation.

"Mummy dear, may I ask you something before I go away? You won't be angry?"

"What is it?" asked Gunavanti with a smile.

"Your health seems to be worse than ever of late. Why are you so careless about that?"

"Not at all my child, it is only your fancy."

"No, it's no fancy of mine? You are as pale as a sheet. And just look at your face, you look quite old."

"But what of that? It is my time now. You are now grown up. If I could only welcome home your wife I would die happy."

"You should not talk of death just yet. You have got to live for years yet," Jagat replied hurriedly.

Gunavanti was daily getting more and more anxious to get a wife for her son. But whenever she talked about this Jagat felt in his heart as if it were being rent in twain. He felt utterly lost and in his ears the old words re-echoed, "Mummy, you and I."

(*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI


LIBRARY

MITES FROM MANY

I

(Beauty and Love.)

(1)

Folly the world in beauty paints,
But God is hidden away:
In existence' every speck
His beauty's above sight and say. (*Silhana.*)

(2)

What can truly beauty test ?
The power to please the loved one best. (*Kālidasa.*)

(3)

For thy beauty, O World-Mother,
All great poets,
Brahmā [1] and the rest,
Labour, thro' unending time,
In search of simile
To suit Thee best. (*Sankarāchārya.*)

(4)

When love's between,
Comes joy unseen,
Love knows nor near nor far,
In silent darkness shines a star. (After *Bharabhuti.*)

[1] The Archangel of creation.

(5)

Friend to friend a treasure is,
Doing naught, a soother is. (*Bhavabhuti.*)

(6)

Roar thou cloud, pour down rain,
Let flames of thunder burn ;
He reeks not fair or foul,
Let him his face but love-ward turn.—(Anonymous—*Sanskrit.*)

(7)

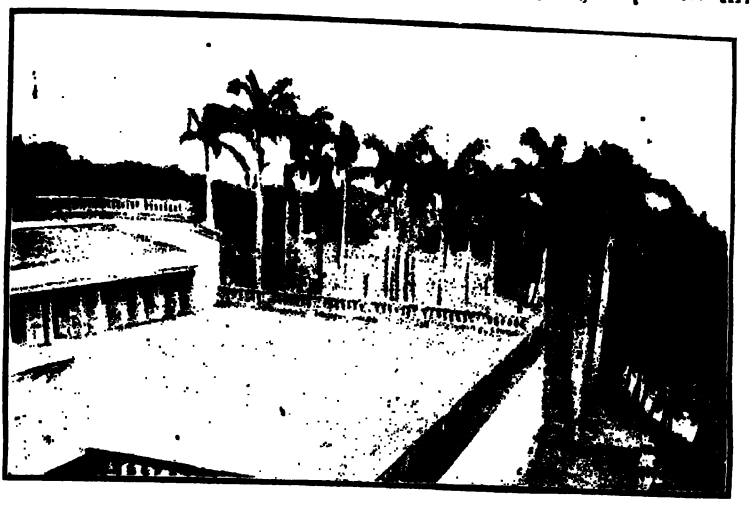
Should Fate condemn this faithful heart
To choose my love or choose her absent self ;
Her absent self I'll hold more dear :
Present, she's the world to me :
Absent, by her the world is filled. (Anonymous—*Sanskrit.*)

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

"VERY YOUNG"

For sometime past a friend has been urging me to "write something for the *Calcutta Review*. I have told my friend, "I have nothing to write about." My friend's wife suggests "something humorous." But who can have any sense of humour with the thermometer at 93° in our enclosed north verandah? From the thermometer my eye wanders to the glories of the scarlet-orange blaze of the gold-mohur trees lining the road outside, our Via Regia—and I think, "well, there is something to live for, even if it *is* a perspiring life." I remember also the drooping gold of some trees I saw yesterday in the pretty park on Ritchie Road. They looked just like the laburnum at home, but I am told they are Cassia fistula. Then one takes comfort from the large rain trees now in blossom, the mango trees; teak, and here and there, a mahogany tree. Above all, we in Baligunj can boast of palms. From our eyrie we look out on a sea of palms—sometimes stirred by gentle zephyrs, sometimes shaken roughly by ruder winds, which makes the old and dry leaves rustle and moan, as if asking to be allowed to die and drop off in peace. I love to watch the tall green spike rising from each palm tree; to see it gradually unfurl, day by day, in its delicate, shining green, till it waves free, another perfect leaf. Remembering our beautiful tree-friends, standing day and night around us; thinking of the hours spent on the terrace looking into the scented darkness of the night—night gleaming with diamond stars; thinking too of other nights, brilliantly moon-lit; from some psychological Without, or Within, come the words of an old Greek poet, "that is best which lieth nearest." And I make up my vagrant mind to

write about the house I live in! Or more correctly, the twin half of the house I live in. In these hurrying days the mind



Terrace of Biological Laboratories.

turns easily from anything to anything. So one turns easily, if reluctantly, from the glamour of memories of the moon-bathed terrace, to the magic of Science in the verandah of the Histological Laboratory. This verandah holds



Plant-Histological Laboratory.

all sorts of algological mysteries. At least, they are mysteries to *me*; but, I suppose, open secrets to the presiding Genii of the place. Here may be seen the University Professor of Botany, with enthusiastic students, poring over horrid-looking green messes—and these they call "algae-*cultures*!" I go on hurriedly into the microscope and microtome rooms, and admire everything, as I am evidently



Lecture Room.

expected to do. *En passant*, when told how pleased the Professor and Students are with their beautiful instruments, which enable them to do work of first quality, my mind turns to the "Super-man," whose broad outlook and far view make it possible for these young men of Bengal to be trained in work so important to their mother-land. I go down next to the first floor, where are the Physiological and Zoological laboratories, and the Zoological Lecture Room. Down

again, to the ground floor, which has its lecture room in the centre, with the Herbarium to the south. On the east of the



Microtome Laboratory.

lecture room is the Bio-chemical laboratory, from whence at times issue abominable odours of H_2S. On the west is the Mycological laboratory—this last was the scene of Professor Bal's labours—shared in the Bio-chemical laboratory by the University Professor of Botany. We move on from the



One of the three Phyto-Chemical Laboratories

ground floor lecture room, out to the narrow verandah, and under the pillared portico. Here I stop for a few words with "Boodhoo" *chaprassi*! He tells me how very unhealthy the place used to be before the *Bara Saheb* had the jungle cleared. He says, *Sab jangal tha, huzoor, aur bahut sanp tha.* He also tells me a funny story of how servants could never leave their shoes about, because the *gidar-log* used to carry them off! I discover later, that long before September 1917, the University Professor-elect of Botany, used to visit "Chamba," the old name for this building, constantly, and spend many hours in the planning and supervision of the repairs to the buildings; and the arranging for the water supply, of all of which he was placed in charge. And this was during months of strenuous labour as Registrar, and was continued for the whole of "four months' leave," during the months of June to September, 1918.

In an old book we read, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Many years ago Charles Dickens wrote of "the divine faculty of imagination." Within the last ten to twelve years, the investigations of the New Nancy School of Medicine show the pedagogic as well as psycho-therapeutic value of the imagination. It is now considered a most important item in our mental equipment. Quite a few years ago H. G. Wells wrote: "foresight dies when the imagination slumbers." The context shows that "foresight" here means a larger vision.

Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, in his Whip and Scorpion article in the May number of the *Calcutta Review*, writing of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, says, "Who would dare condemn the *spirit* which has called the Post-graduate department into being, or has prompted its extension?" Further on, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh says of the Post-graduate Course: "It is still young, very young." Before reading Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's article, I had already begun one for the *Calcutta Review*,

which, as far as it is written, I shall leave unchanged. But I think it will come very *apropos* after Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's eloquent defence of the Post-graduate Course. I am sure this outpost of the University College of Science is not known as it ought to be. We have had some photographs taken of our interiors, and exteriors, which will give an idea of the work done. We are, as Mr. Khuda Bukhsh says, "very young." But how we have grown in the four years of our existence! When I arrived here in December of last year, I had a graphic history of our beginnings from Professor S. N. Bal. He had applied for the post of University Assistant Professor of Botany, and was told to "just go to *Chamba*, and see Dr. Brühl." He set out to find "Chamba," and after a long journey from town, and much expostulation with a reluctant *ghari-wallah*, he arrived at—"a jungle!" Professor Bal said he could not believe this jungle sheltered a European! But, being an enterprising young man, he entered through a dilapidated gate, interviewed a "gamari" Durwan, and was finally taken upstairs to Dr. Brühl.

This was the first meeting of the two men who were to work shoulder to shoulder for the next four years, and do all the spade work, literally *spade* work, for the Botanical Department of the University College of Science. First, the historic "jungle" had to be cleared—the grounds planned and laid out, the buildings put into repair and made habitable—the Laboratories planned and equipped. This work takes a few lines in telling, but it took four years in *doing* and there is still very much to do. If only funds were forthcoming! I am a hopelessly unscientific person, and it is not for me to write of the scientific value of the work done here, but I may mention that both Professor Bal and Dr. Brühl have always laid great stress on the desirability of associating advanced students with themselves in their research work. Thus, Professor Bal has written several valuable papers, of great *practical* importance, on Mycological subjects, partly in

conjunction with Research Students, and Dr. Brühl has had the valuable and ungrudging assistance of one of his Senior Students, Mr. Kalipada Biswas, in working on the algae of Bengal filterbeds—as well as the algal Flora of Bengal ponds, Jhils, rivers, and roads. Another senior student, Mr. Atulchandra

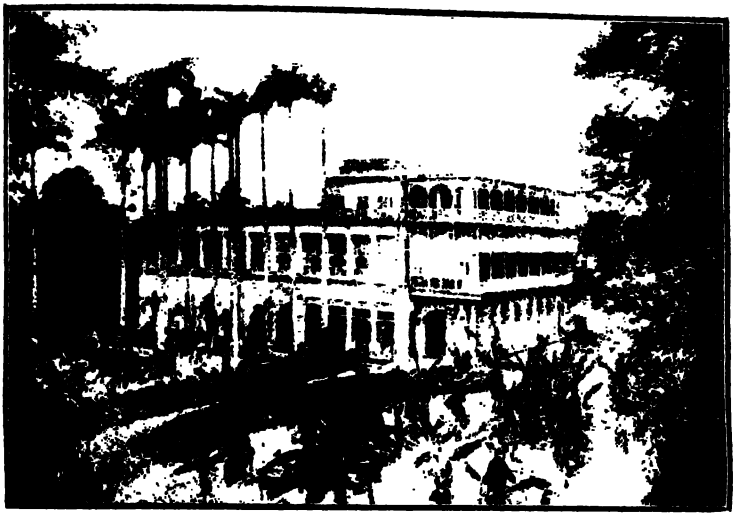


Plant-Physiological Laboratory.

Datta, is collaborating with Dr. Brühl on a research into the distribution of potash in the tissues of the Water Pest. This is part of a research into the physiology of this scourge of Bengal water-ways! I understand that papers on these subjects are either in the press, or will be published shortly. Since Dr. Brühl and Professor Bal began work here, we have been reinforced by Dr. Agharkar, the Ghose Professor of Botany with special reference to agriculture—and quite recently, by Professor Ganguli, Professor of Agriculture. After the death of the Rev. Father Lafont, S.J., C.I.E., I have more than once heard Dr. Brühl described as the "Father of Science in Bengal." If he is so, I am quite sure he has a number of lusty sons!

For all I have heard of the First Days at 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, I am mostly indebted to Professor Bal;

our V.C. is the most salient figure in Bengal, but I doubt if even his brilliant capacity could extort much speech from his University Professor of Botany unless aided by a corkscrew! The photograph of the exterior of the *Biological Laboratory*



Biological Laboratories—University Co

shows very well what I call Professor Bal's *Kolla Bagan*—This was, Professor Bal tells me, begun and carried on by Dr. Brühl and himself for botanical purposes, much to the delight of the monkeys, who then infested the place, and made off with the first fruit. But now the monkeys seem to have trekked to fresh fields and pastures new.

The jackals and civet-cats seem to enjoy the invasion of science and civilization, and are still with us. During these May holidays, Dr. Brühl, and his loyal and hardworking Assistant, Mr. Praphullakumar Bose, are engaged in laying out the grounds as a systematic Botanical Garden, representing

the various natural orders and their tribes. These two gentle-



Laboratory for Systematic Work.

men can often be seen manipulating a man-power plough and trying to teach its management to their small group of *malis*. The group is very small, for even in this apparently insignificant matter the lack of funds hampers progress. Yet, the University is criticised and censured for prodigal expenditure. It would be a very good thing if the Calcutta University friends and enemies alike would get some *personal* knowledge of the Post-Graduate Course, and what is being done in its various departments. Anyone can criticise; but to understand, and to sympathise, and to appreciate, depend on *higher* functions of the mind, and imply the possession of a larger nature.

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ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM—A SOCIAL STUDY OF ITS INFLUENCE

In all spheres of thought and action, European and Asiatic, in law and politics, in Economics and Sociology, in metaphysical speculations and new psychology, in literature, arts and education, in biology, even in the art of statesmanship and in the rise of nations, there has sprung up a certain reaction against the process of over-abstraction which was the natural 'denouement' to the cult of a false sense of utility and a perverted notion of the function of intellect. As early as the separation of individual faculties into such water-tight compartment as Intellect, Emotions and Will, the door of human mind was opened to the idea that there was a hierarchy of faculties presided over by Reason and served by the emotions and 'feelings' of man. Systems of philosophy and psychology were invented to pay homage to Reason. In the sphere of the Social mind, which was as yet but dimly recognised, this separation was preserved, though in the act of transference, from one compartment to another, certain changes were effected under the influence of a factor which made itself felt in a region wider than individual psychology—*viz.*, Time. Considered historically, the social emotions supplied the moving force of civilisation in its early stages, as evidenced by war waves and faith-upheavals. Next in order of time was the predominance of social will, which drawing its sap from the collective emotions centred round history or traditional culture, took to organising the under-current forces of society. That was the era of social control and social co-ordination. Next came the age of Reason, the era of demotic composition when the collective mind deliberately began the task of teleological construction. In politics the State was deified, reformative

legislation was introduced, economic Utopias were dreamt, the schoolmaster was sent abroad, Prose tyrannised over Poetry, and commentaries appeared to shroud works of direct inspiration. There arose gradually a mysticism of abstraction and an excessive attention to parts which rendered clear sight of the whole an impossibility. The unconscious and the sub-conscious elements were ignored—the human factor was eschewed from all affairs and men resembled those Martian deities pictured by H. G. Wells. The philosopher went to his cell and the scientist to his laboratory. And the whole earth was left contemptuously to be grazed upon by the "herds and masses" who were supposed to be the worshippers of such cruder deities as Feelings and Emotions. Religion which binds the whole man, was considered by the State to be a convenient superstition to be utilised in accordance with higher political needs. Thus under the imperial sway of a false intellectualism, man could not take advantage of his institutional environments to realize his purpose and destiny on earth. Such had been the process of human history up till the last century. Logic would invert it by saying that the above survey is arbitrary. But Logic would take no account of the sequence of events which has so long paid scant courtesy to it.

The nineteenth century witnessed the imperialism of Reason in its practical aspects and that, in an excessive degree. Thus arose the anti-intellectualist reaction.[1] Let us consider a few of its phases.

The state as bolstered up by the over-logical Austinian school of Jurisprudence is discredited. Prof. Barker has shown how, in the first place, the opposition is made by the

[1] Every thought has a double origin. First, it is a reaction against an older thought that has become stereotyped and does not work in harmony with new environments and embraces a new series of facts. Secondly, it is the last step in a process of evolution, having its nucleus imbedded in the past, but so long prevented from growing vigorously by the greater vigour of other forms of thought. Anti-intellectualism has also the Newtonian and Darwinian origins. In this essay we are more concerned with the first than with the second.

anarchists and extreme individualists who base their resistance upon a supposed theory of individual natural rights as existing prior to the formation of the State. A second batch of detractors is formed by those who believe in groups. The group made its debut chaperoned by the guilds and the Church in the Middle Ages and it has stayed on till then because it took into account the human element which the concept of the Unitary State, either in the shape of an Empire or of a nationalistic State, was daily losing. Whatever differences there might be between the mediæval and modern economic groups, it can be safely asserted that the modern political group is not an atavistic revival of political theory. It has the same *raison d'être*. In the vastness of the State man loses the touch of intimacy. Contiguity of association can, as it is thought, develop all the faculties of man much more efficiently than Government from a distance and through "non-human" agencies. Theoretically it is a recognition of the principle of variation. From the constitutional point of view the group-theory represents the idea of devolution in local affairs. From the *legal* point of view, permanent groups have a 'real' personality possessing will and character growing from within and not created by the fiat of any external agency; and having a juristic personality capable of contracting obligations, of suing and being sued in return. According to this theory as groups exist prior to any legal act of incorporation the abstract notion of state recedes into the background as being not of any primary importance. Its function now becomes confined to acts of general superintendence and harmonising the fundamental groups. From before the Great War the group-theory has been in the ascendant and nibbling at the foundations of nationalistic states. Thus the "various novelties of political experiments" as advanced by the different sections of the socialistic school, the Distributists, the Fabians, the Syndicalists, the regional sociologists are all derivatives of the group-idea just like those schools which uphold the group

rights of the Church, the Universities and such other corporate entities. The group theorists are arrayed in serried ranks against the authoritativeness of the state. Thanks to their determined opposition, the present function of the state is limited to the task of preserving an equipoise, a balance between different groups and activities.

A third breach is effected by the Federalists. Federation which has been aptly described as the alpha and omega of modern political philosophy is a derivative of the group-idea. The State has been supposed to be "the community of communities, which embraces economical, ecclesiastical and national groups." The British Empire on the whole and in the parts is more or less Federal. The salvation of India has also been rightly supposed to lie in that direction. The League of Nations seeks to advertise its supreme importance on the strength of its federal basis. And we hear of World-Federation though as yet like a cry in the wilderness.

The last opposition to the intellectualism of an Austanian or a Hegelian State is furnished by the internationalists who try to prove that war is unprofitable on account of the fact that the vast system of credit reared up by banks, railways and telegraphs falls to the ground like the walls of Jericho at the slightest breath of the war-trumpet. Sometimes their arguments rest upon grounds other than the vaults of banks. They lay stress upon the long forgotten aspect of Darwinism, *viz.*, co-operation.[1] They also lay functional psychology under contribution and recognise the modifiability of human nature under the stress of new environments—here, the vantages of the credit-system chiefly. They deny the state-personality and call it purely an administrative mechanism which has no respect for heterogeneity of race and creed. In their opinion

[1] Darwin, like all other great men, has been misinterpreted. In the Descent of Man he writes "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring." He was too great a thinker to ignore the part of co-operation in building up the higher faculties which secure to the species the best conditions for survival.

the real entity is that of a psychic corporation having a definite view of life for its own. Conflict is inevitable in such a case with another psychic corporation having a different view of life. But it will banish the conflict of States, *i.e.*, War.

The Socialists hold a peculiar position with regard to the movement which we are tracing. On the one hand, it has been apprehended, the particular kind of socialism that is likely to be the reigning "Sociocracy" of the future, purposes to bring about a stationary state which by reducing the individuals to a drab monotony of existence will interfere with the infinite variety of life which is the keystone to all progress. There is yet another danger. A socialist state in the fullest sense will be afraid of being undersold by other states acting under more vital principles such as Free Trade and hence will tend to be "severely national, possibly protectionist and almost certainly militarist." If the group, which justifies its existence on the two-fold bases of a closeness of human touch as opposed to a mere intellectual abstraction and of its associativeness or federativeness with other groups in the line of common instincts, emotions and purposes, becomes an agency for producing machines and is crystallised into a militaristic nationality deliberately starving the tendrils of friendship with other groups, then it will have to be confessed that the revolt against the autocracy of Intellect—its policy of Divide and Rule, has failed to preach home its far-reaching lessons. Of course, to an optimist, the Life-principle appears to work wonders and to young men, it seems to guide the destiny of Socialism. Nevertheless the above tendencies of Socialism must be noted carefully. On the other hand, however, Socialism by calling class struggle an unavoidable step in the process of inaugurating an ideal state, has a decided predilection to be international in its scope. As conditions of labour and methods of economic exploitation are, more or less the same all over the world the Trade Unions gravitate towards the central interests of Labour. Of course, during the last War, we were

treated to the curious spectacle of national Labour Parties supporting national capital against Foreign Labour and Capital—a position rendered inevitable by the nationalistic bend of even semi-socialistic States. But it seems that the pendulum has swung back. The Washington Labour Conference last year was international in its scope.

All these facts are to be weighed against the abstract notion of State. There is one main idea running athwart these political theories—a revolt against the false intellectualism presiding over all theories of State. Now we will look into some facts which are the embodiments of anti-intellectualist theories. A tide of dissatisfaction against the rigidity and aridity of an over-annuated abstraction is sweeping over the whole world. In some cases the flood has deposited rich soil upon the innundated area where the seeds are growing—in some other, the tide is on.

The Celtic movement is decidedly anti-intellectualist both in theory and practice. In theory the sense of its oneness and uniqueness hovers over its literature and art. Attempts are being made, in the face of the lessons of anthropological sociology, to prove that the Celtic is a homogeneous culture with a peculiar set of traditions of its own. Its cult of the emotions directly in touch with nature, its acute sense of the Living Presence and its delicacy are all reflected in the new literature. Its mystic sense flouts all notions of rationalism, its great heart discards false notions of utility and its brain is in the right place—*viz.* the heart. The poetry of A. E. Russell and Yeats, the painting of the new school, the dramas of Synge and Shaw all sing the fundamental note of intuition. The springs of human action are laid open and they discover a pure stream of sympathy and affection, unaffected by any frothy 'gray matter.' There is less of technique in these artistic endeavours than anywhere else and there is more of that silence which is undisturbed by logomachy but teems with the murmur of a soul-intercourse. Logic—that

is false logic, is a forbidden stranger to this silent communion of spirits to which knowledge is intuition. Even so with the methods of the Celtic Revival. One should say that it has one method. The constructive side of the Sinn Fein movement is its co-operative principle reared up on the true sense of utility, *viz.*, self-sacrifice for the good of all. The group-idea is working here at its best. Thus in laying stress upon the sub-conscious side of human nature on one hand and on the other, by emphasising upon the group as the best means to humanise political and economic institutions, the whole Celtic movement is decidedly anti-intellectualist.

The germ of the Slavonic Renaissance was laid long ago by the hand of destiny. From the point of view of culture this Slavonic Revival can be distinguished into three different types, the Russian, the Czecho-Slovakia or the Polish and the Jugo-Slavonia or the Balkan. From the point of view of politics they all represent, in the first place the struggle of a race fighting for its very existence against what Housten Chamberlain calls, the Germanc spirit and in the second place, along with the Celtic and other Eastern movements, an attempt to take stand upon a conception of natural rights which was exploded long ago by Austin and his school. From the point of view of religion they are one, being all under the influence of an Orientalised version of Christianity—the Orthodox Greek Church. Economically, they are still outside the vortex of modern Industrialism—their staple industry being agriculture. In history, they formed the bulwark against Islamic aggression and inherit a dislike of the Turks. The Slavonic civilisation in the Czecho and the Yugo-Slavonic types is more or less a buried treasure to the rest of Europe and the world at large. From a severely intellectual stand-point the Russian genius resembles that dear soul, the Idiot of Dostoeffsky who disarms the intelligent Gania by his naked goodness but whose heart leaps out in sympathy for such incarnations of

uncontrolled passion like *Rogojin* and *Nastasia*. The Prince believes in instincts and emotions and distrusts intellect. So does the Slav. The Southern Slav poetry is rich in folk-lore through which the simple emotional nature of the Southern Slav is apparent. The art of Mestrovic in his sculpture of the Temple of Kossovo is an outburst of the long pent-up ambition of a race looking ahead for a Federal State to typify its own simple culture. There is nothing of that dry intellectualism in these national songs and temples which makes the appeal of a decadent style less direct. The national art in its pristine vigour has a quantity of earth in it. It smells of the wet grass and the people know it as their own and have no hesitation in calling it as the true representation of their political aspirations.

Similar is the case with the new Indian movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. It draws its sap, rather seeks to draw it from the pure source of the peasant's heart, and derives its strength from his religious sense, however superstitious it might appear to an intellectual bred upon his Kant and Hegel. Its appeal, to a very great extent economical, goes direct to the feelings and emotions of the simple cultivator of the land, which, apart from the fact of feeding richly the sub-conscious part of human nature, is the source of the staple industry of India. With a deep consistency to the fundamental principles of construction[1] and under the guidance of the thought-current which is passing through the whole word, Mahatma Gandhi seeks to discredit the state as it is, through a movement which is thoroughly anti-intellectual, even to the extent of a distrust of the University people. His destructive power is levelled against the state and his constructive work is in leavening the Indian masses with the yeast of a religious fervour for a primitive simplicity of life as opposed to the artificialities of the present-day civilisation.

[1] *Vide* Bertrand Russel's *Principles of Reconstruction*, James' *Psychology* and G. H. Well's *Outline of History*.

In both these aspects Mahatma Gandhi is a creature of the Time-Spirit.

The instances we have quoted show the influence of the anti-intellectualist movement. The Celts, the Slavs and the Indians all want to be free, whatever form that condition of freedom might assume. To achieve that end, if warfare is inevitable, the odds are against them. So their anchor-sheet is in the doctrine of Natural Rights; that is just why 'Birth-right' is the stock-phrase of nationalists all over the world. Woodrow Wilson, the *ci-devant* Saviour of civilisation, in his famous note, went against his own text-books to give credentials to such a preposterous claim of subject peoples. His "Self-Determination" and "Rights of Small States" have no sanction in political logic, which renders right a corollary to might, as in Spinoza's treatment of the question, nor are they supported by history which proverbially confounds "what is" with "what should be" in a perpetual attempt to justify the facts or events as they are and uphold the existing order of things. His note undermines the position by defining rights as social and co-related to duties. It will not be too much to say that since the abolition of slavery, Wilson's note was the noblest attempt in recent years to carry out in practice on a wide scale the lessons of a definition that lay cramped and devoid of significance within the pages of books merely. The 'Natural Rights,' as the historical school points out, is nothing anti-social, now we admit it as a compliment to the historian's labour. We also admit that rights exist because of society and that they do not exist independently of duties. But we want to do something more than a mere admission of facts, we aim at a conviction beyond a mere acceptance of theories. "Nature" might as well be post-social, as Aristotle meant in his statement, "man is by nature a social animal." In other words, if by Natural Rights, we mean rights as they would be in a more prefect society working under the principle of mutual aid as opposed

to that of competition in the existing order, the preposterous claim receives the sanction of something deeper than the *logic of Austin or the labour of Maine.* This new, rather this revival of the Greek concept of Natural Rights founded upon the instinct of possession, the impulse of creation, and the emotions of self-expression and expansion, thus justifies the 'birth-right' assertion of every individual and every conquered nation. It seems that this justification is being gradually recognised. The League of Nations has been installed, not only to kill the abstract notions of indivisible and inalienable sovereignty by the weapon of Federation, but also because the conscience of mankind (not the intellect) could ill afford to ignore the cry of human instincts. That the League is only a '*clique*' is not a fault of the movement but of the alliance of Die-hard nationalists with the abstract theorists of state-sovereignty. Anyhow the influence of the movement is quite clear here as elsewhere.

DHURJATI PROSAD MUKERJEA

From Far and Near

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea and the League of Nations.

The Calcutta University has just had a handsome compliment paid to it. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, Minto Professor of Economics, has been appointed one of the ten nominated by the Council of the League of Nations to study the question of international intellectual co-operation. Dr. Banerjea was one of the delegates from the Calcutta University to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held at Oxford last year and along with his colleagues rendered a very good account of himself at that noted assembly and the League's recognition, therefore, has been by no means undeserved. Dr. Banerjea comes of a literary family and finished his education in England and was called to the Bar a few years ago. But he prefers teaching to the drudgery at the Bar. It is interesting to recall that like the late Monomohon Ghose, he sought enrolment at the High Court in *chapkan*—the Oriental Court dress.—(The *I. D. News.*)

* * * * *

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea has been the Minto Professor of Economics at the Calcutta University for the last two years. He is the author of two well-known books :—"Indian Economics" and "Public Administration in Ancient India." Both the books have passed through several editions through the Macmillans. We have very great pleasure in congratulating Dr. Banerjea on the very signal honour done to him by the Council of the League of Nations. Dr. Banerjea's appointment is a great tribute to the Bengalee *intelligentia.*—(The *Bengalee.*)

Indigenous System of Medicine.

A Patna message says : With a view to controlling epidemic diseases especially cholera, arrangements have been made for training "kavirajes" (vaids) in preventive measures at the Government Sanitary School at Gulzarbagh from the beginning of April. "Kavirajes" from different parts of the province are coming in batches to avail themselves of this opportunity, and already a number of them have gone through the course of training. The Ministry of Local Self-Government placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Health a sum out of which each "kaviraj" attending

the course of instruction is given his railway fare and a daily allowance to cover his expenses during the training. After having obtained the necessary training, which lasts for a few days on disinfection and other simple duties in connection with the outbreak of epidemic diseases the "kavirajes" receive a certificate from the Superintendent of the School.—(The *Statesman*).

* * *

The Government of Assam being anxious to conserve all that is valuable and suitable to the needs of the country in the indigenous systems of medicine, have decided to award two scholarships, one to a boy from a "kaviraj" family and the other to a boy from Unani family for a course of training at the Berry-White Medical School, Dibrugarh, in the diagnosis of diseases, in order that they may be qualified to treat patients adequately by either system. The value of the scholarships is fixed at Rs. 20 per mensem each and they will be tenable for four years.—(The *Statesman*).

* * *

With a view to encourage the indigenous system of medicine, three-year Ayurvedic scholarships of forty, fifty and sixty rupees per month respectively, have been awarded for the next two years for all students desiring instructions in the Mysore Ayurvedic College, from 1st July.

(The *Bombay Chronicle*).

And what of Bengal ?

Food by Trapping Sunlight.

Trapping the energy of sunlight to make synthetic foodstuffs is one of the most important new aims of scientific research, and the experiments at present going on in this direction are causing the keenest interest in the scientific world.

Formaldehyde is the secret of the process. Carbonic acid and water have been found to combine under the influence of ultra-violet rays to form this substance, which then becomes converted into certain types of sugar. The process is known as photo-synthesis.

What has been done in the laboratory is to carry out the actual life processes of the plant : green colouring matter, chlorophyll, traps the energy of the sun and with its help sets up a chemical action whereby the water and the carbonic acid in the air are combined, and formaldehyde is produced —the raw material from which starch and sugar are formed for the building up of the plant.

By using coloured water containing carbonic acid the scientist has trapped the sunlight just as effectively, and made synthetic formaldehyde as

satisfactorily, as the living plant itself. The fundamental life process has been imitated in the laboratory.

Professor E. C. C. Baly, of Liverpool University, has recently discovered that the ultra-violet rays which produce formaldehyde in his way are waves of light shorter in length than the waves which carry on the process and transform the formaldehyde into sugar; he has adopted the ingenious trick of so colouring the liquid that it is affected only by light of the right kind to produce formaldehyde. In this way no sugar is produced, and pure formaldehyde—a substance of immense use in many industries to-day—can be made synthetically.

The real meaning of this is that by controlling the kind of light that is used the chemist will be able to make what he wants by photo-synthesis, and not make what he does not want. It opens up a new era in chemistry, the manufacture of food-stuffs by artificial means from water and air, the ordinary atmosphere containing carbonic acid as an impurity.—(The *I. D. News.*)

Martyr to Science.

The late Sir Patrick Monson, I am reminded, carried out his pioneer mosquito-malaria investigations while practising as a doctor in China, where, as he once confessed, he "waded through the blood of thousands of Chinamen" before he established the connection. His theory was received with scepticism, but with financial aid from the Government (thanks to the foresight of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, he imported from Italy mosquitoes which had bitten malaria patients. He persuaded two persons—his own son and an assistant at the School of Tropical Medicine—to allow themselves to be bitten. They both contracted malaria. It was these two martyrs to science who built the Panama Canal and made the tropics habitable for the white man.—*Daily News.*

An All-Europe Students' Conference.

We read in the London *Times* that a meeting of the delegates from the International students' organisations of most of the European countries took place at Leipzig in the second week of April last.

"The object of the Conference was to facilitate practical co-operation and intercourse of students throughout Europe. Three delegates were present from the English National Union of Students, and other countries represented were Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia,

Finland, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Lettland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, Chinese students in Germany, Indian students in Europe, and the Indian Relief Commission also sent representatives. The gathering was of a practical character and oratorical flourishes were at a discount. The business covered arrangements for co-operation in relief work, especially for Russian students, exchanges of visits between students in different countries, increased facilities for student travel in vacations, interchange of correspondence and academic information, and general mutual assistance between students. No political discussions were permitted, and any attempts to introduce such questions were ruled out of order."

Judging from the above summary one is inclined to think that the Conference must have been a very useful and successful gathering. It is stated that no political discussions were permitted and any attempts to introduce such questions were ruled out of order. If politics had been introduced, it would probably have made the work of the students' gathering very difficult, if not absolutely impossible. The idea of a Students' Conference is a happy one. We are told that a full report of the Leipzig Conference is being prepared and that copies of the same may be obtained from the offices of the National Union of Students at the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales, King's College, Strand, London, W. C. 2.—The *New India*.


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Reviews

China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, by G. Zay Wood; The Twenty one Demands, by G. Zay Wood; The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25th, 1915; by G. Zay Wood.— Published by Messrs. Fleming H. Revell Company. Two dollars net each.

The first is complete in itself and the other two are companion volumes. They all treat of the Far Eastern question and the foreign policy of Imperial Japan in particular. The author is of opinion that the Anglo-Japanese alliance should not be renewed, because it has outlived its necessity, it is a menace to the independence of China and it threatens the friendly relations that still exist between Japan and U. S. A. His apprehension is that now that Russia and Germany have been one by one crushed and crippled, inspite of the apparently harmless terms of the alliance it is likely to be used against U. S. A. the only remaining rival of Japan in the East. But Art. IV of the revised alliance should have silenced Mr. Wood's fears. After recounting the interesting history of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Mr. Wood concludes that the covenant of the League of Nations has rendered it absolutely useless. As an American, Mr. Wood should have remembered, that his own country by keeping herself aloof from the League has practically dealt the death blow to it and with Bolshevik Russia and Revolutionary China for her neighbours Japan cannot do without the Alliance. China, it must be admitted, has been very badly treated but it is doubtful whether the U. S. A. would treat her better, the Lansing-Ishii notes have been an eye-opener to many. Japan wants an outlet for her surplus population. The Western States have been systematically opposing their migration and Premier Hughes, an advocate of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance also wants to keep Australia white. The poor Japanese certainly wants some place under the sun and they have therefore by means fair or foul, (mainly foul) wrested some territories, rights and privileges from China. The only remedy for China is to set her house in order and meet force by force. In diplomacy no one expects honesty, all the arguments of Mr. Wood notwithstanding.

The Twenty One Demands furnish another instance of the shameless and selfish imperialism of westernised Japan and these notorious demands led to the conclusion of the China-Japanese Treaties of 1915. After carefully analysing the nature of these demands Mr. Wood concludes that the treaty is null and void *ab initio* for "(1) lack of legislative sanction, (2) vital change of circumstances under which they were entered into, (3) disappearance of one of their objects, (4) conflict with the existing treaties, (5) violation of the open door principle, (6) inconsistency with the covenant of the League of Nations and (7) incompatibility with China's sovereignty and her right of self-preservation and self-development." The

Twenty One demands and the manner of their enforcement have been very strongly condemned by some prominent Japanese like Prof. Hayashi and Mr. Kei Hara. But inspite of Mr. Wood's able pleading it is difficult to agree that the treaty or treaties of 1915 was or were void *abinitio* from the point of view of International Law. International jurists have differed and will continue to differ on the point, the case in question is so peculiar and complicated. Mr. Wood pleads duress as a ground of abrogation last because it is his weakest ground. Duress of this form is not recognised in International Law and Senator Robinson, a countryman of Mr. Wood's, has rightly remarked—"If we go back into history and invalidate every treaty into which duress has entered, chaos in international relations will result. Every right thinking man will, however, condemn the policy and the procedure of Japan whatever may be their legal merit."

Finally Mr. Wood accuses Japan of Prussianism and we are afraid U. S. A. will have to bear her share of the blame. It was she who compelled Japan against her wish to throw her doors open and to grant extra-territorial rights to western nations. No wonder she has taken the lesson to her heart and is now bullying her less powerful eastern neighbours.

Mr. Wood has naturally presented only one side of the shield but all students of Far Eastern politics will find his volumes extremely useful. The appendices give the text of the treaties and diplomatic notes otherwise not easily available to the ordinary reader. Mr. Wood's simple style and charming exposition have made his volumes exceedingly readable, and we enjoyed them very much although we have not always been able to see eye to eye with him.

S. N. S.

Higher Sanskrit Grammar and Composition; by Pandit Upendranath Vidyabhushan, B.A., M.R.A.S., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, City College Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

In these days when the market is flooded with books which encourage cramming to a horrible extent it is refreshing to come across this volume of Prof. Vidyabhushan who makes an attempt "to meet the requirements of genuine students of Sanskrit by bringing out an edition of Sanskrit Grammar dealing specially with composition through the medium of Panini's *sutras* with their English renderings and copious examples from standard classical writers omitting everything that has no bearing on the subject and incorporating the elementary principles of Rhetoric and Prosody." (Author's Preface p. ii). And Prof. Vidyabhushan has been eminently successful in his attempt. His long experience as a teacher of Sanskrit has enabled him to spot with an unerring hand the difficulties which confront even advanced students of Sanskrit and he has explained these difficulties with a clearness and lucidity which reflects great credit on his scholarship. Following in the foot-steps of the immortal author of the *Bhatti-kavya*, he has, unlike modern writers of Sanskrit Grammar and Composition dealt in a masterly manner with those portions of Rhetoric

which no serious student of Grammar can afford to neglect. The chapter on *Prayoga* (প্রয়োগ) is a special feature of the work and will be of the great service to the advanced students of our colleges. Another special feature is the list of roots with different prepositions which greatly adds to the value and usefulness of the book and one cannot but wish that the list were more exhaustive. Although all the well-known works on Grammar and Rhetoric have been laid under contribution the stamp of the author's hand and clear intellect is visible on every page. Coming from the hands of a Professor of Sanskrit of more than a quarter of a century's teaching experience the book is intensely practical—we shall be glad to see it in the hands of all college students who take up Sanskrit. There are, however, in this valuable work, certain minor defects (especially typographical errors) which, we trust, will be removed in the next edition. The absence of an exhaustive index will also be keenly felt.

DEVA SARMA

To India: the Message of the Himalayas: By Paul Richards. (Ganesh & Co., Madras).

An attractive little book, a great subject, a true seer to see the vision "far as human eye could see," and a great writer to put down in exquisite language the message of the vision. There is no jingling of rhymes, there are no shackles of metre. Each thought as it is bodied forth in the poet's vision forms one "verse." The book thrills the reader from cover to cover, it is vibrant with the melody of the coming Dawn. Upon the earth there is to-day lying dark and lowering the thunder cloud of conflicting hopes and ideas. But beyond the clouds, through occasional rifts in them, the poet, the prophet, the visionary catches a glimpse of the rosy Dawn flashing in the East—that "ancient maiden, ever-young." The hum of the awakening new life is already in the air. Those who have ears to hear have heard it. Paul Richards is one of those who have seen the rosy flush and have heard the music of awakening life. He is one of a chosen company. We are too close to the earth either to see or to hear, but if in a calm moment we look and listen we shall also see the glory and hear the melody.

BOOKWORM.

A Peep into the Early History of India; by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D., &c. &c. With a preface by H. G. Rawlinson (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. Bombay).

This is a lecture read at Poona in March 1910 amplified largely. The name of the writer is enough guarantee that the contents are perfectly up-to-date (till 1910) and critically presented. To venture to criticise the great Bhandarkar is not the task for an almost unknown person: but one matter

may be pointed out. In the very first page he says, "India ... has no written history" and speaks of the Purāṇas in a somewhat disparaging fashion with which the "reviewer" cannot quite agree. We have as far not gathered much information from the Purāṇas merely because our scholars have never tried to get anything out of them. There has been a fashionable superstition among the orientalists (both Western and Indian) to consider these works unhistorical and uncritical. A veritable mine of sound history and ethnography and kindred knowledge lies buried in these voluminous works. Years of patient labour by a band of devoted scholars collaborating in the closest fashion would surely yield an excessively rich treasure.

But to return to our work. This little book is a fine performance notable alike for its brevity and the extent of the time it covers. The period covered is from the Mauryas to the close of the Gupta Empire. The revival of Brāhmaṇa and Sanskritic supremacy after several centuries of Buddhist and Prakritic ascendency is brought out and explained as only a master can. In every way worthy of the great and revered name of the author, this essay may be considered the ripened fruit of his life-long work. As a small book of reference its usefulness might have been enhanced by an index and another sad defect (which we hope will be corrected in the next edition) is due to the sins of omission (mostly) of the "printer's devil." Of course from 1910 to 1922 a good deal of new material has come in and we hope it will be incorporated in the next adition.

POST-GRADUATE.

Prince Edward's Speeches in India (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras), Price Re. 1.

This is the latest of Mr. Nateson's political books, uniform with the volume containing the speeches of his gracious father, H. I. M. the King-Emperor. The difference between the two collections is just what one would expect to exist between father and son. Still one sees the promise of the Prince blossoming forth as a man as great and good-hearted as his father and as well-beloved as his grandfather the Peacemaker. His experience is small but his heart is in the right place and time shall show that he will be a true friend of our land.

I. J. S. T.

TEACHERS OF H. E. SCHOOLS—THEIR PAY AND PROSPECTS

DEAR SIR,

I am very thankful to you for your kindly placing my humble paper before the Syndicate. We fully understand the difficulty of the University in helping us, but the kind expression of sympathy which we have been able to secure through you will, I am sure, go a great way in drawing the attention of the public and the conditions under which we have to work in the Private Schools at the present moment. We, therefore, beg to request to kindly publish, if possible, the paper in the *Calcutta Review*, so that the sympathy which the University so kindly feel for us in our present situation may be widely known.

* * * * *

Yours truly,

BEPINBEHARY BANERJI

* * * * *

"There are 846 High Schools for males in Bengal. Of this 44 are under the management of Government, and 802 under private managements. Of the latter 277 are aided and 525 unaided. The scale of pay of the teachers in the privately managed schools, whether aided or unaided, is stated in the fourth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1897-98 to 1901-02) as follows: "In privately managed schools the salary scale ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs. 78,"—in other words, there are teachers in the schools under private management who do not earn even one-third of the wages of a coolie!

This was in 1902. Let us see how it fared in the course of ten years that followed. And this time we shall quote from a resolution on Indian Educational Policy issued by the Governor-General in Council in February, 1913. In this Resolution it is stated that a "special enquiry showed that out of some 4,700 teachers in privately managed High Schools about 4,200 were in receipt of less than Rs. 50/- a month, 3,300 of less than Rs. 30/- a month while many teachers of English and Classical languages drew salaries that would not attract men to superior domestic service."

This is in short the sad lot of the teachers in the High Schools under private management. Let us now turn our eyes for a moment to schools under the direct management of Government, *i. e.*, schools that are financed mainly with the Provincial Revenues.

Here the prospect is most edifying and the contrast between the two kinds of the same class of schools—following the same standard and teaching the same subjects—is all but ridiculous. In these schools, Government have recently improved the status of the Head Masters by promoting all of them to the Provincial Educational Service and have enhanced the pay of all English-knowing teachers to Rs. 50/-, even if the teacher be a

Matriculate just manufactured by the University. Under this arrangement the Head Masters of Zilla Schools are, therefore, in receipt of Rs. 250/- per month or more. Not only this : they are, as a rule, in enjoyment of free quarters, and lastly, all the teachers in Government Service have before them the prospect of pensions in their old age.

* * * *

These are the two pictures of the same school-life in Bengal. Looking at them both, the question that naturally suggests itself is "why is this distinction made? Do the Government deliberately intend to fondle the one and kick the other? Is it a part of their policy that the interests, of the many are to be sacrificed to those of the few? Are the Provincial Revenues to be spent to fatten 44 schools and to starve 80?"

From the above it should not be surmised that we propose to bring the recently enhanced scale of pay of the teachers in Government service down to the level where it was. Far from it. What we, on the other hand, intend to urge on the attention of Government is that they should act up to their professions. In that very Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council from which we have quoted, it is stated that "the policy of Government is to improve the existing few Government schools by introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40/- per month, and maximum salary of Rs. 400/- per month side by side, or just below the above, it is also stated that the policy of Government is to increase largely grants-in-aid, in order that the aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in Government Schools on the above-mentioned lines and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary." Now what we mean to say on the above is this that the Government have already fulfilled the one, but have nothing as yet to act up to the other. And what is more and what we are very anxious about is that Government may be handicapped from redressing the outstanding pledge in view of the retrenchment that is to be effected to keep the whole machinery a-going.

If the thing comes to such a pass and if the pledges given by Government, with regard to the privately managed schools, are adhered to, while those about Government schools, are not only given effect to, but better conditions than those proposed in the Resolution have since been made to prevail, then we must say that such invidious distinction will not add to the reputation of the Government, nor will it be expedient.

The number of pupils taught in the schools under Government management is about 14½ thousands, and the teachers a little over 700. While the corresponding number in the privately managed schools are nearly 2¼ lacs and 11 thousands respectively. Do the Government think that the rank growth that they may notice in the High Schools of the present day can be successfully weeded out by making 700 men contented at the expense of 11 thousands? Or, is any harmonious growth of the Educational system, as a whole, possible if the Government be a party to create heart-burning among equally qualified teachers teaching the same syllabus and, in many cases, living in the same locality, nay, even in the same house?

And what can be the Government's reason for creating such a split in the same camp? Are the Government Schools model institutions, and are

they, therefore, entitled to loaves and fishes, and the privately managed schools not even to the crumbs of the Provincial Revenues? The Government and their proteges, the teachers of the Government schools, may think so. But the University Commision of 1917-19, which made a sifting enquiry into the educational institutions of Bengal, seem to hold a different view. They reserved their high encomiums for some of the privately managed institutions and with the solitary exception of the Bankura Zila School did not refer to any Government schools save for adverse criticisms (*vide* Cal. Uni. Report, Vol. I, Chap. VII, Sc. V). In their report the Commission, after describing the excellence of some of the privately managed institutions, such as Mitra, South Suburban, Oriental Academy, etc., proceed to draw a contrast between the Hindoo School and the L.M.S. Institution of Bhowanipur in the following terms:—"Yet within four miles of the Hindoo school may be seen proof of the value of science teaching in the Education of Indian boys. At the school which is attached to the London Missionary Society's Institution at Bhowanipur * * * we had an opportunity of inspecting the steaching of cience given by the Head Master * * * He begins with nature study in the lower classes. From 12 to 15 years of age the boys learn Physical Geography, Physical Measurements, Physics, Chemistry and Mechanics. * * * He finds the pupils responsive to science teaching" (*vide* Cal. Uni. Rpt., Vol. I, pp. 222-3). And this is in contrast with the teaching imparted in the Hindu School, which is universally recognised as the premier institution under the control and management of Government of Bengal.

The Commission have not stopped here, but have gone further and bestowed still higher encomiums on two other privately managed schools, *viz.*, the Santiniketan at Bolepur and the Boy's Own Home in Calcutta which they characterise as "two schools of exceptional merit, which (if such influence as theirs should extend widely through the Presidency) would encourage sanguine hopes for the future Secondary Education in Bengal." (Uni. Com. Rpt., p. 226, Vol. I.).

So the Commission hold that instead of Government Schools being the model for privately managed schools there are some privately managed schools in the province which the Government schools would do well to imitate and follow.

Instances of such authoritative pronouncement might be multiplied, but we must be content with one more quotation and this time from the practical side of education imparted in our High English Schools.

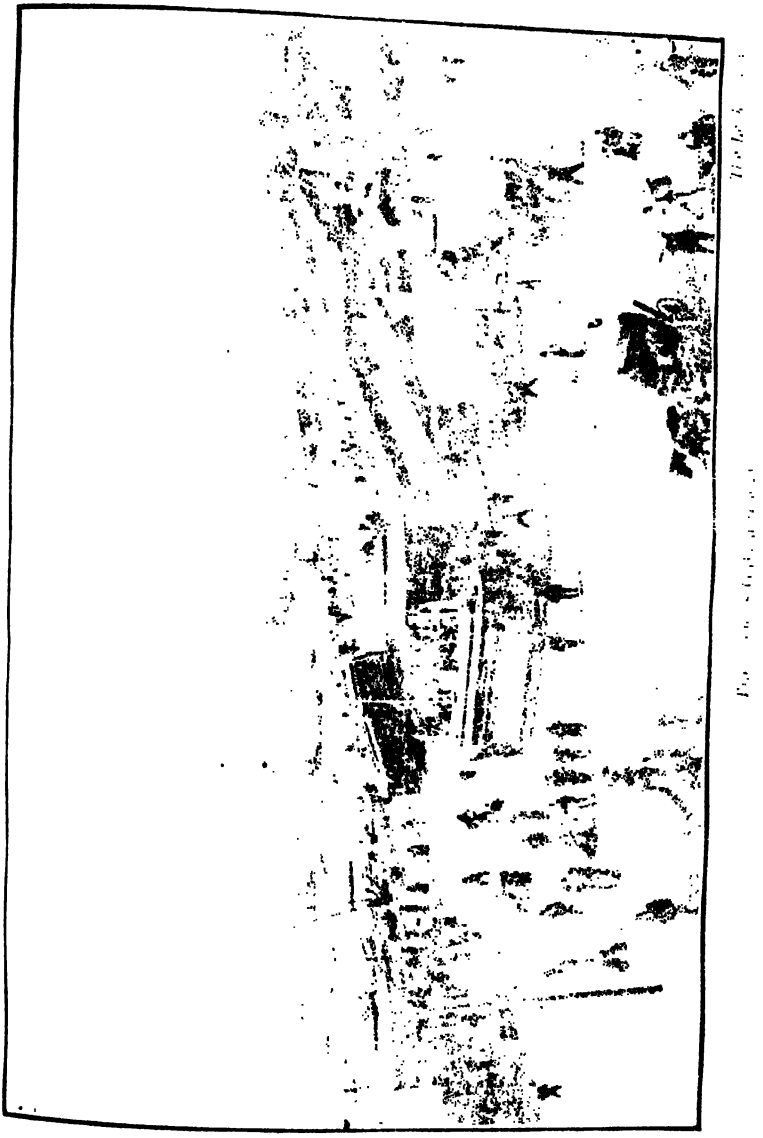
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has, in summing up the proceedings of the Conference recently held in the Senate for the purpose of introducing vocational training in High Schools mentioned only five institutions—all under private control and management the practical side of whose work appeared to me to be quite satisfactory. These institutions are the Polytechnic Institute, financed by the Hon'ble Maharaja of Cossimbazar, two institutions,—one at Allahabad and one at Benares, and the Jorhat and Pangsa High English Schools. (*Vide* Proceedings of the Conference of the Managing Committees, pp. 54-5, 57, 79-80.)

So looked at from the practical as well as from the theoretical standpoint the institutions under Government management are not found by eminent

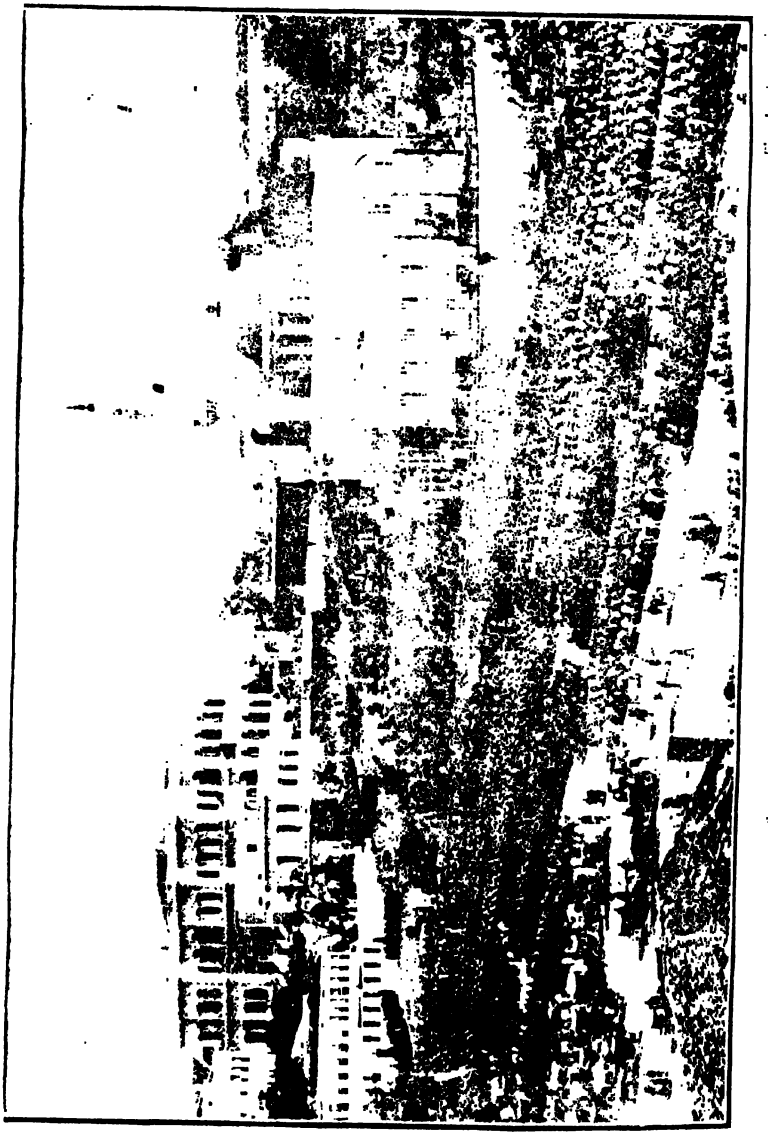
authorities to be on a par with many institutions under private management. Again, if the results of public Examinations be a test of efficiency, the success of the privileged class of schools does not point to, as may be seen from the published results of any year, any decided superiority over many of the schools which are left in the lurch by the Government

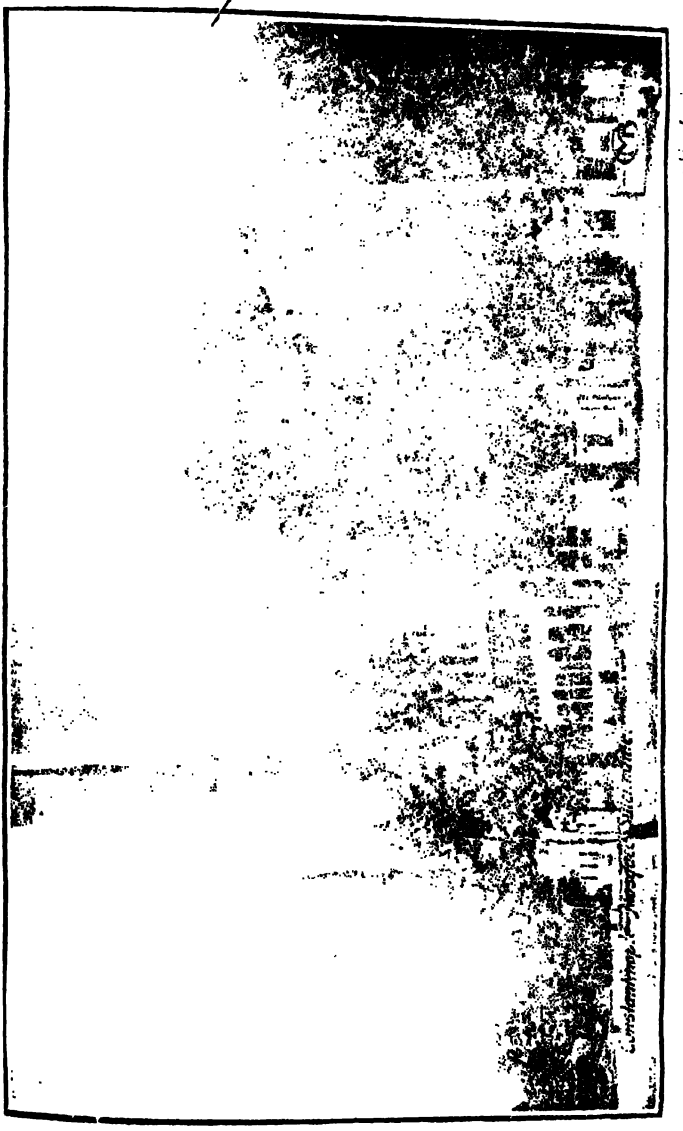
We do not hold any brief for the private schools. We frankly admit that there are schools under private management which are worse than the worst schools under Government management. But we must at the same time say that their failure to come up to the required standard of efficiency is not due to an inherent defect in the institutions themselves but a lamentable lack of encouragement and support from Government. Many teachers in the privately managed schools are very hard workers—they cannot but be so. For, on the quality of their work rests the tenure of their services in the school. While the "ancient solitary reign" of their fellow-workers in the other class of schools is in no fear of being "molested" even by the most "wandering" and erratic master. A bad worker in Government schools may at best be transferred, but a bad worker in a private school may lose his job. So necessity, if not anything else, compels him to put more zest into his work than his brother in the other schools. To do this on pay which is often less than the wages of a coolie, and to show equally good, if not in some cases better, results, bespeaks a faithfulness which should be rewarded by Government by allowing them to have their proper share of the Provincial Revenues—to which on account of their merit as well as numerical strength they have no less claim than their fellow-workers in the Government schools. If the Government do not recognise their claims, now that the claims of the sister institutions have been considered, the Government may, we think, be justly accused of flagrant breach of faith and a deliberate intention to create a privileged class in education. The root cause of the widespread discontent and disruption that is noticeable in the present-day school life of Bengal may be differently diagnosed by different persons, but that low pay, disappointment, and above all, the special favour shown to a certain class have, to a great extent, lent colour to it, cannot be doubted."

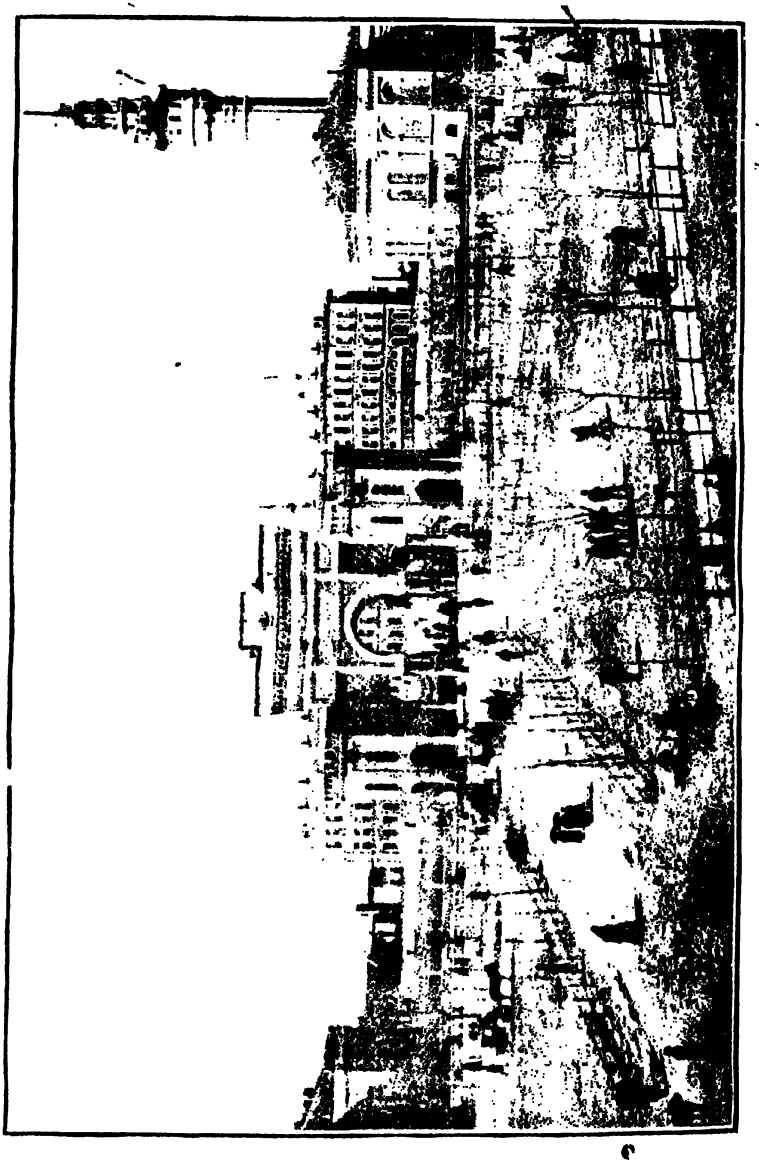
IN AND AROUND CONSTANTINOPLE[1]

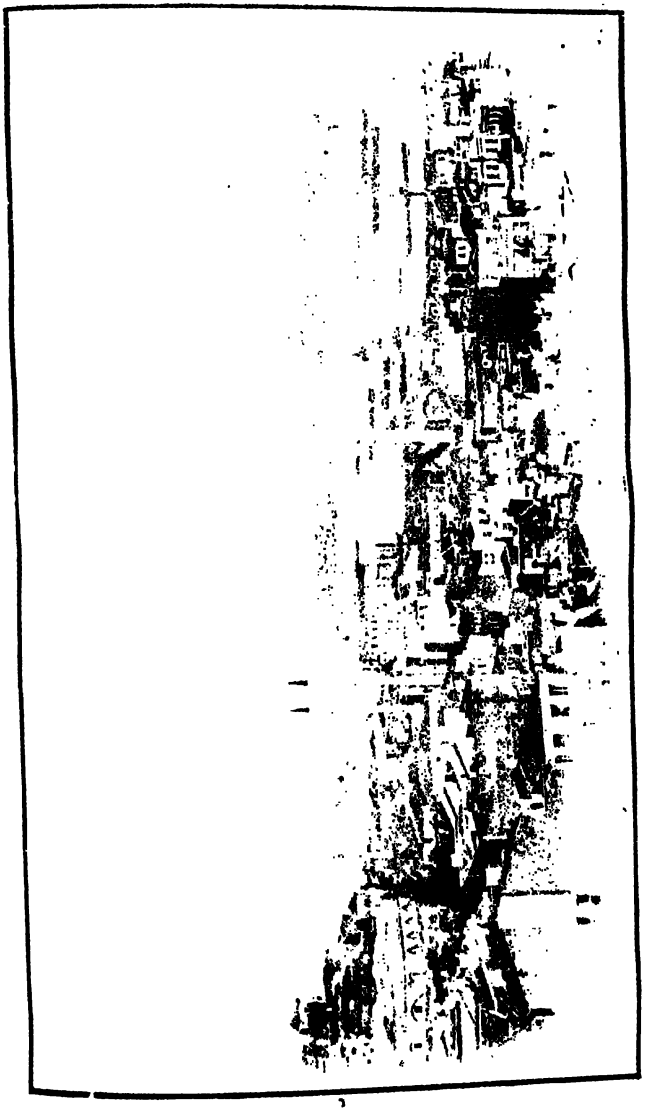


[1] By Courtesy of G. Eckert-Greifendorff.











Ourselves

Our readers will be interested to read the following appreciation of development of University Work in Calcutta, from Sir Dinshaw Wacha whom no one will venture to place in the category of interested witnesses.

"JIJI HOUSE
RAVELIN STREET,
Bombay, 29th April, 1922.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Only this morning I received a copy of the last Convocation Address of your late distinguished and accomplished Governor and that of your own. I read the latter at one stretch, for from the very first I was fascinated not only by the charm, elegance and simplicity of your style, but by the wide thoughts you put therein with a wealth of knowledge and experience of what a University education should be. To tell the truth I was exceedingly impressed by the interesting account you gave of the evolution of the Calcutta University from a mere examining authority to a body of great savants in all modern branches of human knowledge, keenly desirous of converting into a Temple of Higher Learning and Research. The monumental work you have achieved during your unprecedented Vice-Chancellorship, so brimful of the highest utility, will make your name ever memorable in the annals of Indian Universities. By dint of perseverance and patience, combined with your broad-mindedness and wonderful liberality of thought and imagination, you have raised the Calcutta University to a high pedestal indeed—a model for all other presidential universities to follow. Every page gives evidence of your great scholarship and breadth of mind. You have crystallized your ideas of what a model Indian

University like that of Calcutta should be. I am sure those ideas will germinate yielding a rich fruit in days to come. You are the great Indian University Reformer, no mistake. I write all this without any fear of flattery or eulogistic extravagance. I was irresistibly prompted to write this no sooner than I finished the last word of your last sentence. To use the Horatian lines, you have reared a monument of your own more durable than brass and the kingly pyramids of Egypt. Sincerely wishing that by the grace of Divine Providence you may long be spared to preside over the destinies of your great *alma mater* and increase its utility a hundredfold in various directions, binding fresh laurels to your brow already adorned,

I am yours sincerely,

D. E. WACHA.

P. S.—I wish this address will be printed in the different vernaculars of the country by *lakhs*."

During the progress of the recent final M.B. Examinations, an alarming statement was published in the papers to the effect that a candidate for Medical Jurisprudence had died of plague contracted during a *post mortem* examination which he was asked to conduct on the body of a person who had died of plague. The matter was promptly taken up by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate and a Committee consisting of Lieut.-Col. Barnardo, Principal of the Medical College, Dr. B. C. Ray, one of the members of the Governing Body of the Carmichael Medical College and Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy was appointed to investigate and report upon the matter. The report of the Committee was subsequently approved by the Syndicate, and what followed could appear from the following extract from the minutes of the Syndicate, dated 5th May, 1922.

Dated Calcutta May 5th, 1922.

FROM

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION,

TO

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Calcutta University.

SIR,

In accordance with the resolution passed by the Syndicate on the 28th April, 1922, the Committee as appointed by them have enquired into the circumstances of the death of the student Jnanendra Sarkar as noted in the *Indian Daily News* of the 28th ultimo.

They have interviewed carefully the Examiners and the Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital and as a result of these investigations, they are of opinion that the report of the occurrence as noted in the newspaper is mis-informed and the conclusions drawn therefrom are incorrect.

The facts in connection with the case are as follows:—

1. The Student referred to, *viz.*, Jnanendra Sarkar, *did* die on the 25th morning from an infection of plague with enlarged glands in his left armpit.

2. He *was* in contact with a body during the Examination for the University Examination, M.B., in Medical Jurisprudence, Part II, on the 19th morning, and the statement has been made that during that examination he sustained an accidental cut on his left finger.

(*a*) He informed his fellow boarders on the 22nd morning that he had enlarged glands in the axilla and fever. The glands were small and fever slight; so the Superintendent of the Hostel considering that the trouble being one of septic infection, from the cut in the finger, took the usual steps necessary in such cases. The temperature rose and the glands increased in size during the next two days. On the 24th, one of the visiting Physicians of the Carmichael College saw the student and a blood examination was made. No Plague bacilli were found. On the 25th morning the patient took a bad turn and died at 1 A.M. An examination of fluid from the glands showed the plague bacilli. The student in question was examined in Medical Jurisprudence, Part II, on the 19th April. The body which was the subject of examination was that of an unknown person furnished by the Police, cause of death being enlarged kidney, liver and heart, and was not a "pathological" one received from the Campbell Hospital.

(*b*) Dr. Roy reports that two of the Carmichael College Students, Jaga Nath Sen Gupta and Dwarka Nath Dutt, were fellow Examinees on the same body as the late Jnanendra Sarkar and their statement is that the body on which they and the deceased were examined had a large kidney weighing 12 oz. and an enlarged liver and heart and with petechial hæmorrhages over the pericardium. All the evidence points to the conclusion that this case was clearly not one of Plague.

(*c*) All the Examiners assure us that whenever any complaint has been made by any student, during the course of the examination, of any accidental wound during the necessary manipulations, they themselves carefully superintend the cleansing of the wound, and any further chance of infection is prevented by the immediate removal of the Examinee from the vicinity of that or any other body.

3. No complaint of accidental injury cut during the examination was made to the Examiners by the Student Jnanendra Sarkar.

The Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital assures us that no case suffering from Plague or Small Pox is ever allowed to leave the Campbell as subjects for examinations. From an inspection of the register, the Head Clerk instructs the head *dom* as to which of the unclaimed bodies may be taken, and all such "pathological" bodies are injected with arsenic and formalin, so as to preclude any possibility of infection to those handling them. In any case, where the diagnosis of the cause of death is uncertain, a 'post mortem' is always held there in the Hospital before allowing the body to be sent away.

The Committee are of opinion that :—

"The infection of plague sustained by the deceased student Jnanendra Sarkar was not contracted during the examination in Medical Jurisprudence and that all reasonable precautions are taken to guard against possible infection.

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servants,

F. A. F. BARNARDO
BIDHANCHANDRA RAY
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

RESOLVED—

That the report be adopted and that copies of it be sent to the chief daily papers for publication."

91. Read the following note by the Committee, appointed to report on the case of Jnanendranath Sarkar, deceased :—

"The Committee have on the report kept themselves strictly to the subject under reference, but they feel that this is a suitable opportunity to bring to notice the procedure by which the provision of bodies (subjects) for the University Examinations in Anatomy, Surgery, Medical Jurisprudence, etc., is arranged.

At present, the onus of provision is borne by the Examiners themselves, each group in the subject concerned. Whenever there is a deficiency in bodies the Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital is appealed to and he comes to the rescue with whatever material he may chance to have available at the moment, sending suitable unclaimed bodies previously disinfected so as to avoid the risk of infection. This procedure is obviously unfair to the Examiners concerned and it would be advisable that the whole arrangement for the provision of all body subjects for University Examinations should be controlled and unified by the Faculty of Medicine itself, the Dean being responsible for such smoothness and efficiency as will preclude the possibility of public criticisms of such a nature as the one before us.

Further, under the present procedure, of separate arrangements for each examination there must necessarily be a great waste of material, whereas under a unified control there will be undoubted saving as a subject may be utilized on more than one occasion if necessary.

The centralization of control will lead to efficiency and economy without doubt but to secure smoothness it may mean a little expense.

F. A. F. BARNARDO
B. C. RAY
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY."

RESOLVED—

That the report be approved and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine be requested to make the necessary arrangements.

The Syndicate, no doubt, acted wisely in promptly directing an enquiry and publishing the result. There can be little doubt as to the existence of a band of patriots whose one object is to bring the University into discredit and the only means to baffle them is to ascertain and publish the truth whenever practicable at the earliest possible moment. An instance is furnished by what follows. Immediately after the conclusion of the Matriculation Examination, a rumour was started that the question in some subject at any rate, had leaked out and had been known to some of the candidates. It is impossible to test the truth of an assertion like this made after the event is over but the people who had started this game to tarnish the reputation of the University were soon caught in their own trap. They ventured upon a bold statement just before the

commencement of the Intermediate and the Degree Examinations that the questions had all leaked out and that as a matter of fact, were on sale, in the market. The Controller of Examinations, lost no time in testing the truth of these allegations and it was ascertained that the question which had been circulated had no resemblance to the questions which had been set. Examinees who had spent their money in the purchase of the bogus questions were deservedly disappointed but the object of the gentlemen who were engaged in this trade were not merely to make money but also to bring the University into disrepute. This was plain from the tone and contents of the anonymous and pseudonymous letters which flooded the papers.

* * * *

Babu Chandra Kumar De who was appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts to collect Bengali manuscripts on behalf of the University has furnished Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, our Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow, with the manuscripts of the following poems and ballads in the course of a little less than ten months. We have pleasure in publishing the following account made over to us by Dr. Sen:

		Pages.
"1.	Kajir Bichar or Chand Binoder Kahini	106
2.	Lilar Baramashi	63
3.	Kamalar Baramashi	71
4.	Mahua Part I	20
5.	Do „ II	37
6.	The Story of Dewan Mahamod Ali	32
7.	The Story of Feroz Khan Dewan	70
8.	Vidya Sundar by Kavi Kanka, (15th century) ...	84
9.	Ramayana by the poetess Chandravati, Do ...	47
10.	Gopini Kirtan by the poetees Sula Gayen	49
11.	Adhua Sundari	45
12.	Stray leaves containing Radha Krishna and Yatra songs ...	50
13.	The Story of Dewan Isha-Kha	75
14.	Alal Dulaler Pala	83
		744

But the quality of the poems is not to be judged by quantity. The manuscripts, all of them, have been brought to our notice for the first time—Mymensing is a place where the Brahminic Renaissance could produce little impression. There is no *Kulinism* amongst the people of the soil. The ballads and songs disclose a state of society which existed in the Buddhist age, and was not influenced at all by Brahminism. Rural poetry, untramelled by scriptural ideas, strikes us as exceedingly charming. Most of these songs will occupy a high place in our literature from the point of poetic excellence. The atmosphere of these poems is one of freedom from orthodoxy and is strikingly transparent, showing a contrast with the complications and artificiality of Brahmanic canons which are obvious in the poetry of Bengal proper of those days.

As Brahmanic influence in that part of country was not great, the language of these songs is far from being Sanskritized. There is a fair amount of Persian element in them, as the rural population of the district consists of a large number of Mahomedans. These songs have not proceeded from propagandism of any sort and shew the very heart of popular poetry with all its intense emotion, its simple ideas of life and simple codes of ethics. The language is more akin to Prakrit than to Sanskrit—a point which will no doubt interest the Philologists.

These Songs and ballads in some places give us true pictures of social history as it was known *to the people* as opposed to what is found in official records. We find in them how justice was dispensed by the rulers of the land as also some vivid and life-like sketches of Mahomedan worthies.

In fact from literary, philological and historical points of view, this collection seems to me to be invaluable. These songs are sung by the professional rhapsodists and minstrels of the country-side. The calling has been pursued from father to son from a remote age and this poetical treasure is the heritage of a particular class of men who preserve it scrupulously and would not allow outsiders to have any portion of it. Babu Chandra Kumar inspired by a true and burning love for the rural poetry of this district has obtained scraps from stray singers living in remote localities and has thus been able to recover a whole poem. With the materials already collected a new and important chapter of our literature will have to be written."

* * * *

In the course of an address delivered by Viscount Haldane in London, in July 1921 on "the Ideals of a University and

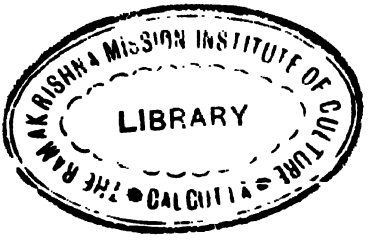
the Doctrine of Relativity" the Viscount spoke of Prof. Radhakrishnan's work as follows :—

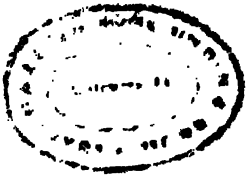
I was reading the other day a book by a Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mysore, Dr. Radhakrishnan. It is written in beautiful English and shows that this Professor in India has as great a command of Western thought as he has of Eastern thought, and I was particularly struck by what he wrote in that book dealing with the influence of philosophy and religion, and by what he brought out as taught in the Vedas. He dwelt most on the Upanishads, a part of the Brahmanic teaching which falls within the Vedas and deals most distinctively with what one might call the philosophical conception of Hinduism. And there was the doctrine of Relativity, not of Einstein but very much as Kant had it, staring you in the face. In Aristotle also you find Relativity. That impressed me very much, and I suspect that if we studied the philosophical systems of the East with as much intelligence as we do those of the West, we should find that they differed very much less than we think, and had common foundations which would give identity of outlook of great value.

And a particular journal in Calcutta, noted for its omission, tells us that the Professor's appointment is an instance of jobbery!

Recd. on...
R. M. No...
G. R. No...

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